

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

PROCEEDINGS.

VOL. V. 3.

APPENDICES;

TOGETHER WITH

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF OPIUM

WITH THE

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND CHINA, &c.

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



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been left as in the original document.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE OPIUM COMMISSION OF 1883.

No. 1218-52 O., dated 7th April 1884.

From A. P. MacDONNELL, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

With reference to the correspondence ending with my letter No. 429 T.—R., dated the 25th June 1883, regarding the remission of outstanding advances in the Behar Opium Agency, and Mr. Bolton's letter, No. 2344-176 O., dated the 13th November 1883, submitting a copy of the Report of the late Opium Commission, I am directed to submit, for the consideration and orders of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Board of Revenue, No. 55 B., dated the 19th January

Chapter 22, Part II., and Chapter 4, Part III. of the Report, and paragraphs 3 to 6 of the covering letter. Copies of both of which are submitted herewith for ready reference.

1884, containing an expression of their opinion on the subject of the general policy which should be followed by the Government in regard to the remission of outstanding balances of the Opium Department, and on the recommendations of the Opium Commission in the matter.

2. The Commission observe that until 1878 it had been customary to allow remissions of outstanding balances to opium cultivators, on proof of the destruction of their crops and of their inability to pay their debt to Government by the delivery of opium, and that this policy was altered in September of that year. They condemn this change as tending to reduce the extent of opium cultivation and to make it unpopular with the ryots, and advocate a reversion of the policy of wholesale remission on failure of crops. To bring home the benefit of the new policy to the people, they would remit all balances at present outstanding, and would refund all the collections that have been made on account of last year's crop.

3. After a careful consideration of the correspondence which preceded and followed the issue of the orders of the 5th September 1878,

referred to by the Commission,* the Lieutenant-Governor finds that those orders were not opposed to the ideas of the most experienced officers of the Opium Department. When, in 1878, Mr. D'Oyly, then officiating as Opium Agent of Behar, recommended, in opposition to the wishes of his sub-deputy agents, the remission of the entire outstanding balances of the Behar Agency for 1877-78, amounting to Rs. 6,59,112, the Board of Revenue supported him, on the ground that, if some such leniency were not shown, the orders which had been issued to reduce the price of opium from Rs. 5 to Rs. 4-8 a seer would injuriously affect cultivation; but the recommendation was negated by Sir Ashley Eden, who, while enjoining leniency in recovering balances, thought the policy of total remission then advocated by the Board (and now by the Opium Commission) to be a mistaken and mischievous policy, for the reasons stated in the letter of the 5th September 1878.

4. The Commission, I am to observe, do not say much to weaken the arguments against the policy of entire remission of balances on failure of crops; while the present Board show good reasons in support of their position, that the collection of outstanding balances in 1878 had less to do with the falling off of cultivation than the Commission seem to suppose. Mr. Rivers Thompson himself fears that, if the Government were to support the views of the Commission, it would afford a direct incentive to slothful and careless cultivation and dishonest dealings. There can be little doubt, he thinks, that if an opium cultivator knew that a failure in his opium crop would not render him liable for the advances made to him, more advances would be taken and less careful cultivation practised than at present. Many opium cultivators would doubtless cultivate none the less carefully because they knew that they were protected from the worst effects of failure,

but many, again, would give up all attempt at improvement when the season seemed to be going against them. In a bad season, moreover, there would be no security that all the opium produced would be delivered to Government if the cultivators were protected from the results of short delivery. If the outturn of a field were much reduced, through blight or any other calamity, the inducement to deliver to the factory the whole of the produce would be much weakened, when it was no longer incumbent on the cultivator to make good the advances received by him.

5. For these reasons, the Lieutenant-Governor, as at present advised, cannot support the proposals of the Commission. The interests of the Government involved in the matter are so important and extensive that any principle of wholesale remission of outstanding balances seems to him unjustifiable. Even in land revenue cases the rule of suspension rather than of absolute remission of the demand has been enjoined both by the Secretary of State and the Government of India; and the same principle should, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, regulate the action of the Government in dealing with opium transactions. In cases of proved hardship, where leniency of treatment is undoubtedly required, remissions should continue to be made as hitherto; and with the view to prompt disposal of such cases some procedure based on paragraph 664 of the Commission's report might be adopted. Improvements should also be introduced into the khatadari system, whereby the industry of one ryot shall cease to be taxed for the sloth of his neighbour.

No. 55B., dated 19th January 1884.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government Order No. 2650-196 O., dated 11th December 1883, forwarding a copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Opium Commission, dated 22nd October 1883, and requesting an expression of the Board's opinion on the subject of the general policy followed by Government in regard to the remission of outstanding balances of the Opium Department.

2. In reply, I am to say that immediately on receipt of the orders of Government confidential instructions were issued to the opium agents to postpone pressing for the recovery of outstanding balances, and the Board, in accordance with the orders of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, beg to submit their opinion paragraphs 3 to 6 of the letter from the Secretary to the Opium Commission.

3. In the letter in question, the Board observe the members of the Opium Commission express conviction that the policy regarding the remission of balances, which was announced in 1878-79, has been and is causing serious injury to the interests of the Opium Department, and that every day during which the present policy is allowed to remain in force strengthens the feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the cultivators. They recommend that the Government should adopt the principle that advances which from any cause a cultivator cannot be covered by delivery shall be remitted and written off the balance. It is also suggested that not only should the Government announce as an expression of their opinion the principle, but that it should have retrospective effect to the balance of the 5th September 1878.

4. Before proceeding to consider the propriety of the policy to be followed in regard to the remission of outstanding balances, I would invite the attention of Government to the fact that the Commission's assumptions on this subject in 1878-79, which seem to have been

APP. I.
Bengal opium
system (1883).

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In paragraph 659 of their report, it is asserted that the Orders of 1879 "resulted in so alarming a forecast of "decrease of cultivation for the ensuing season that in "the early part of 1880 the need of an increase in the "price to be paid for crude opium (from Rs. 4-8 to "Rs. 5) began to be pressed upon Government." The Board are not aware on what evidence this statement is based; but if such were really the case, it seems remarkable that the Behar Agent should not have mentioned it in the reports which were submitted to Government, urging an increase in the price to be paid for crude opium. Mr. Lewis, the Officiating Agent, in a letter dated 16th July 1879, attributes the disinclination of the ryots to cultivate the poppy (1) to the lowering of the price paid by Government for the crude drug; (2) to the growing precariousness of the crop; and (3) to the increasing profit to be derived from other crops grown on similar lands. In a report, dated 16th January 1880, Mr. Mangles (for whom Mr. Lewis had been officiating) stated as his opinion "that whatever "other causes may have been at work tending to "diminish the extent of our poppy cultivation, the "collection of our outstanding balances has had little "or nothing to do with it." In the same letter the Agent added that, though several deputations of cultivators had waited on him in the different districts through which he had passed, in no single instance was the remission of balances asked for. The assertion of the Commission that the diminution of poppy cultivation in the year 1880-81 may be fairly ascribed to the exaction of the debt to Government incurred by the cultivators in 1877-78 is not borne out by the official reports of those who were in the best position to judge of the causes that chiefly influenced the action of the cultivators. Again, the Commission, in paragraph 661 of their report, state that the second consequence of this policy was that the price of crude opium had to be raised to Rs. 5 per seer throughout the Behar Agency in 1880-81, and throughout the Benares Agency in 1881-82. The Board must here again observe that the statement made by the Opium Commission is not borne out by any of the official reports submitted at the time. Mr. Mangles, in a letter dated 5th December 1879, whilst endorsing his predecessor's (Mr. Lewis') recommendation for an increase in the price to be paid for crude opium, added that the previous lowering of the Government price was received with disfavour, not only because the ryots' profits were thereby reduced, but because there was no certainty that the reduction would stop at Rs. 4-8, and that a further reduction seemed to the ryots to be not impossible. An element of uncertainty was thereby introduced into what had hitherto always been regarded as fixed and sure, and these reasons caused the cultivators to entertain in their minds the question whether the advantages to be derived from the cultivation of the poppy were such as to induce them to continue it. Mr. Mangles further pointed out that the unfortunate results of the past two seasons had done much to discourage the ryots in regard to the cultivation of the poppy, and that opium was no longer, as it had been in former years, the most lucrative crop that the ryot could cultivate; wheat, barley, and peas giving as good a return, and potatoes and sugar-cane a far better one. The necessity of an increase in the price paid by Government for opium was strongly pressed by the Agent, but nothing is to be found in his reports which can justify the statement that this necessity was considered by him to be in any way due to the Government orders of 1879 regarding the recovery of outstanding balances.

The views expressed by the Agent in the matter appear to have been completely shared by the Commission, inasmuch as the latter, whilst admitting in their report to Government, No. 182 B., dated 15th December 1879, that the discouragement which had been experienced by the ryots was mainly due to the extensive failure of the crop, were of opinion that something should be done to the recovery of the unprecedentedly large sum of six lakhs of rupees on account of the advances made in 1877-78. The Board accordingly recommend a more definite and liberal policy should be adopted with regard to the recovery of advances which had failed, but these views were not acted upon. The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor, in his report, the policy laid down in 1879 should be maintained, and that the remission of outstanding advances should be more than six lakhs of rupees, which was a very popular measure amongst the ryots, the assamees themselves (the Commission) being these latter being in the Board do not, of course,

question, but their official records fail to show that the reduction of the area under cultivation was due to the orders of 1878-79, or that, as stated by the Commission, they had the effect of compelling Government to raise the price of opium earlier than would have been otherwise necessary.

6. It is desirable to refer here briefly to the circumstances under which the orders of 5th September 1878 and 30th April 1879 were passed, and to state what was the policy laid down in those orders, a policy which the Opium Commission describe as unwise, unjust, and unworthy of Government.

The proposal before the Lieutenant-Governor Sir A. Eden at the time these orders were passed was that the entire outstanding balances of the Behar Agency for 1877-78, amounting to more than 6½ lakhs of rupees, should be remitted. The Lieutenant-Governor declined to accept without reserve the position that the cultivation of opium was to be a purely one-sided arrangement, under which, when the season was a good one, the cultivator was to gain; when it was unfavourable, the Government was to be the sole loser. He held that some consideration should be given to the ryot's capacity to repay a debt irrespective of his opium crop, which in many cases formed but a small portion of his assets, and that those who were able to repay the advance they had received should be made to do so, leniency and total remission being granted to petty cultivators who had suffered large loss of crops, and were unable to repay any portion of the advances they had received. Whilst desirous of making all possible concessions to the opium cultivators, such concessions must, the Lieutenant-Governor held, be consistent with the duty of Government to the payers of revenue at large. Sir A. Eden was of opinion that the position which Government should hold towards its opium cultivators should be similar to that held by a liberal and enlightened zemindar towards his tenants; that in bad seasons every possible leniency and consideration should be shown to the cultivators; but that before wholesale and indiscriminate remissions were made, the condition of the cultivators (many of whom are men of substance), and their ability to repay the advances made to them by the Opium Department, should be taken into consideration.

7. The members of the Opium Commission, in their enthusiasm in favour of the yeoman's service rendered to the State by the typical opium cultivator, Bishn Koeri, view with some scorn the idea that the ordinary tax-payer should grudge him the remission of the balances due from him for failure to complete the contract which he entered into when he received his advance on account of opium. Putting sentiment aside, it is desirable to consider the question from a practical point of view, to see whether there are sufficient grounds for the opinion advanced by the Opium Commission in paragraph 661 of their report, that unless the policy enunciated in the orders of 1879 is speedily reversed, or the price of crude opium is raised, it will be found that the prospects of the opium cultivation in the Behar Agency have been seriously, perhaps irretrievably, ruined.

8. The difference between what is laid down by the Commission in paragraph 663 of their report as the true principle to be observed in dealing with opium cultivators and the policy laid down by Sir A. Eden in the orders of April 1879 appears to the Board to be as follows: The Opium Commission are of opinion that, on proof of the inability of the ryot, owing to the failure or destruction of the crop, to make good his debt to Government, either whole or in part, by the delivery of opium, remission of advances should be allowed. Sir A. Eden, on the other hand, was of opinion that the remission of the advances should not depend merely on the failure of the opium crop, which often forms but a very small fraction of a well-to-do ryot's cultivation, but that his general ability to liquidate the debt should be taken into consideration, all pressure being avoided and the greatest tenderness shown to cases of real hardship.

9. It seems to the Board that the Opium Commission have not, in considering the question, had sufficient regard for the altered circumstances of the country, and the different position which the opium cultivator now occupies throughout a large extent of the area in which it is grown. Some few years ago the poppy cultivation was the most lucrative that a ryot could engage in. It was the only crop, except indigo, which was grown under a system of cash advances, the latter crop being notoriously unremunerative. The cultivator had the prestige and protection from zemindar and

planter which the fact of his being a ryot under advances from Government and the presence of gomashtah and zildadar afforded him. There was but little competition in the demand for other crops, all of which, probably, went into the hands of the village mahajun, and he was well content, looking to the advantages it brought him, to give the best of his time and his labour and the largest share of the water from his well to his poppy cultivation. His chief fear was that he might lose his status as an opium ryot. Under such a state of things, the departmental officers might rest assured that if the cultivator did fail to give the requisite quantity of crude opium, it was owing to causes beyond his control, and not to any default on his part.

10. Now, however, there can be no such assurance. The railways and other means of communication which have been opened out, and the ever-growing demands of the commerce of the country, have completely changed the state of affairs. Opium has lost its place as the most lucrative crop a cultivator can grow. The anxiety is no longer so much on his part to keep his status as a Government cultivator, but on the part of the gomashtah to retain him. Crops which pay him better compete in a year of short rainfall, like the present, with the poppy for their share of irrigation from his well. The liberal cash advance still forms an inducement to him to continue his poppy cultivation, but it seems to the Board that the only means by which Government can ensure that a full and proper share of attention shall be given to the opium crop is by making the ryot understand that the mere failure of his crop of poppy will not, as a matter of course, lead to the remission of his unliquidated debt, without regard to his general circumstances and ability to pay what he owes. The circumstances of the day appear to the Board more and more to require that the opium cultivation should be carried on on a proper business footing, and that the loose system under which, without detailed inquiry, wholesale remissions were made should be put a stop to. They concur in the following opinion expressed by Mr. Worsley, the Collector of Mozufferpore, in his report in connexion with the balances of 1877-78, and fully endorsed by the experienced Commissioner of the Division:—

“In my opinion any undue or sentimental leniency is always calculated to demoralise a ryot. If contracts annually made with ryots be fair, voluntary on their part, and likely to prove remunerative to them under ordinary conditions, I am satisfied that it is the worst possible policy (except in seasons of general distress) to release them from their obligations in the few or exceptional instances in which they suffer losses from such contracts. I have observed that the best ryots are those who hold lands on fair and equitable terms, and who are required by their landlords to pay their rents strictly and punctually.”

11. From paragraph 662 of the Commission's report it appears that they advocate the system under which large remissions are made in bad seasons in preference to that of paying a better price for the crop; and it is on this point that the Board find themselves at issue with their conclusions. The Board are of opinion that the time has gone by when the opium cultivation can

* Paragraph 662, Opium Commission's report.

be advantageously continued on the plan advocated by the Commission. The system* under which the cultivator looked to Government to cherish and protect him, must, the Board think, give place to a more business-like and practical system, under which the ryot will feel that he has entered into an agreement which entails some responsibility on him for its fulfilment. There are, it is hardly necessary to point out, many intermediate stages between a bumper crop and that in which blight, hail, or early hot winds either totally or partially destroy the poppy, in which the amount of produce must mainly depend on the exertions of the ryot, the degree of attention which he pays to his cultivation, and the share of the well or irrigation water that he gives the plant. Unless he is made to feel that his profits depend on his individual exertions, and that he will be a sufferer if his opium crop is neglected, the Board are of opinion that the temptation will be great for the ryot, whilst taking advantage of his position as an opium cultivator to obtain advances without interest, to neglect the interests of the Government, in favour of those of the harder taskmaster to whom he is under bond as to his potatoes or wheat crop. In cases of real hardship and general inability to repay the advance received, the Board would advocate the greatest liberality towards the opium cultivator, but they would have each case

granted singly and exceptionally, and the remission granted only after full inquiry.

12. One of the great disadvantages connected with the existing system of general remissions in bad years is the uncertainty and inequality of its operation. As pointed out by Mr. Worsley (Collector of Mozufferpore in 1879), if there is one thing more than another which makes ryots discontented it is to see wholesale remissions made to their fellow ryots after they themselves have had to pay up their own balances. Unless general remissions are made to all cultivators, it is very bad policy to remit the balances of a considerable section of the cultivators by one stroke of the pen.

13. In considering this question it must not be forgotten that in districts in which the khattadari system prevails, the extent to which the remission reaches the actual cultivator is always open to doubt. Practical experience hardly confirms, the Board are inclined to believe, the view expressed by the Commission in paragraph 249 of their report, that the confidence reposed in the khattadar is seldom abused. Mr. Kemble, the opium agent of Behar, in a letter dated 5th instant, on the subject of the balances of the season 1882-83, outstanding and realised, reports that in the opinion of the sub-deputy opium agent of Tirhoot the balances have been recovered from the actual cultivators; but are kept back by the khattadars. Further on in the same letter he again refers to the fraudulent practices of the khattadars and amlah as amongst the causes which have led to land in other districts going out of opium cultivation.

14. The Board are of opinion that much may be done to improve the popularity of the opium cultivation by the measures proposed by the Commission to remedy the admitted inadequacy of the present salaries of the kothi establishments. The Board are inclined to think that some of the recommendations of the Commission are on a somewhat unnecessarily liberal scale; but they have no doubt that the employment of better paid and more honest agency would make the cultivation of poppy more popular. The Board fully realise the probability that the adoption of the principles of 1879 instead of that recommended by the Commission will lead from time to time to the necessity of some increase in the price to be paid for crude opium as the competition with other and more remunerative crops becomes keener and keener; but they take leave to doubt whether in the long run the Government will be a loser by placing its dealings with opium cultivation on a proper commercial footing. At any rate the Board can see nothing in the adoption of such a policy which can justify the severe condemnation passed on it by the Commission of its being unwise, unjust, and unworthy of Government.

15. In conclusion, I am to state that the policy the Board would recommend may be briefly summarised as follows:—

- (i.) An adequate price to be paid for crude opium, to be settled from time to time with reference to the competition of other crops.
- (ii.) Wholesale remissions of unliquidated advances to be put a stop to at once; the ryot's general ability to pay, his previous season's opium crops, &c., being taken into consideration before remission is granted.
- (iii.) Remissions to be granted liberally in bad seasons in cases of real hardship, where found to be actually necessary, each case being treated special one, and remission only made after inquiry.
- (iv.) Adequate salaries to be paid to the kothi establishment, and the abolition of all gratification strictly enforced.

No. 1701, dated 18th June 1884

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the letter No. 1218-520, dated 7th April 1884, and copy of a letter from the Board of Revenue, dated 19th January 1884, and concur in the views of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the proposals of the late Opium Commission, and to direct that the remission of outstanding balances of opium cultivators, when a failure or destruction of

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Bengal.

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debt to Government, either wholly or in part by the delivery of opium.

2. In reply, I am directed to say that the Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the conclusions of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor as set forth in the closing paragraph of your letter.

3. His Excellency in Council thinks that on the occurrence of such a total failure as to lead to the destruction of a ryot's crop (the only case in which even under the old practice remission was to be allowed), it will be found the better course, in the interests both of the Government and of the cultivator, to arrange for suspension of demand extending over a period proportionate to the ryot's means, and the area on which the crop has been destroyed. Remission in part or in whole should be reserved for cases where a ryot is known to be so completely deprived of all resources as to make the payment of his arrears by instalments practically impossible. In cases of serious disaster, liberal suspensions and rare remissions will probably be found to be the best policy in dealing with opium transactions. Ordinarily, and where the damage done to the whole or part of a crop is not of a nature to be called destruction (where, in fact, it is only a question of a short crop or indifferent season), even suspension should be very cautiously allowed.

4. In conclusion, I am directed to say that the Governor-General in Council desires that arrangements may be made for the introduction of field books on the plan sketched in paragraph 664 of the Commission's report in order to facilitate the disposal of claims to remission of advances.

No. 980 T. R., dated 23th June 1884.

From A. P. MACDONNELL, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

In continuation of my letter No. 1218—52 O., dated 7th April 1884, I am now desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to submit, for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, the following observations on the Report of the Opium Commission, copies of which have already been forwarded to the Government of India.

2. The events connected with the damage which befel the Benares Provision Opium of 1880-1 are known to the Government of India, and need not be related here in any detail. It will suffice to say that, in order to ascertain the exact facts of the case, and apportion responsibility for the result, a committee of inquiry was appointed, composed of Messrs. Reynolds and Monro of the Civil Service, and Dr. Warden, chemical examiner to this Government. The report of that committee was submitted to the Government of India, with my letter No. 9 of 3rd January 1883, a further communication being at the same time promised. The Government of India, in acknowledging the receipt of the committee's report, expressed an opinion that possibly the time had come for a thorough examination and re-organisation of the establishments and system of working of both agencies. The opinion on these points of the Bengal Government was asked for, generally on the scope and direction such an inquiry should take. Accordingly, in my letter No. 80 O. of 10th March 1883, a line of inquiry was set out by the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of the Commission nominated. Some special correspondence followed, in which the Lieutenant-Governor was given to understand that his views were acceptable to the Government of India, and a formal expression of this approval and of the Government of India appointing the Commission were received. Meanwhile the Commission worked under authority of the Lieutenant-Governor No. 1,005 of the 22nd March, as it was thought they should visit the opium-producing districts during the weighing season. They were directed to report their inquiry on the lines of my letter (referred to) dated 10th March, to the Government of India; and as the subsequent detailed report was inconsistent with the substance of the Commission's proceedings, were in no way approved. The Commission were at work for seven months, and their report was submitted on 20th October 1883. It is allowable to think it would be a financial and statistical

point of view, it must still be pronounced a valuable and interesting record of research, industry, and observation.

3. In forwarding their report to this Government (in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India), the Commission, while requesting that their recommendations might be considered as a whole, represented that on one question, namely, the policy of recovering advances not covered by deliveries of opium, immediate orders were necessary. There had been a most serious failure in the opium crop in 1883, and the Commission were apprehensive that if the policy of recovering advances, insisted on by Sir Ashley Eden, were followed up, the interests of the opium revenue would be gravely prejudiced. The Commission referred to that portion of their Report (Chapter 23, Part II., and Chapter 4, Part III.) in which the question was discussed, and urgently pressed for the reversal of the existing policy of recovery when people became able to pay, and the adoption of the "principle that advances which (from no fault of the cultivator) cannot be covered by deliveries of opium shall be remitted and written off the accounts." In accordance, therefore, with the Commission's wish, that question was dealt with in the Lieutenant-Governor's letter No. 1218-52 O., dated 7th April 1884, to the Government of India. In that letter Mr. Rivers Thompson, without supporting a policy of total remission as urged by the Commission, advocated leniency in recovering advances, and remission in all hard cases. The Lieutenant-Governor has just received the orders of the Government of India, No. 1701 of the 18th instant, approving of his conclusions upon this point.

4. In now submitting the Commission's Report to the Government of India, the Lieutenant-Governor is obliged to say that he cannot deal finally with it. Indeed the Report is so voluminous, and the ground it traverses so varied and debated, that it would be hopeless to attempt to obtain a satisfactory solution to all the questions raised in a single letter. The numerous recommendations and reforms suggested involve, too, a very large additional expenditure; and as the charge is an Imperial one, it is only the Government of India who can decide whether this increased outlay should be accepted. It is, however, open to the Lieutenant-Governor to comment upon the changes proposed by the Commission from a general or departmental point of view.

A further difficulty is found in the fact that the Commission have not elaborated, in any precise form, an estimate of the cost which an acceptance of their proposals would entail. It would, of course, be possible for this Government to ascertain from other sources the total additional expenditure involved in the acceptance of the Commission's proposals. But this would be a waste of time and labour if the Government of India declined to consider the principal changes which the Commission would introduce; or if accepting them as regards the chief control of the department, they preferred to work out the details with the aid of a director-general. Therefore, in the present communication, the course the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to adopt is to review the main features of the Report, to ascertain what the policy of the Government of India is on those main features, and thus, having come to an understanding with the Government of India, to take up the Report in detail, and work the proposals out in communication with the local officers and the Board of Revenue, should it be resolved to maintain the superintendence which the Board now exercise over the Department.

5. The Commission's Report is divided into three parts. Part I. gives a historical summary of the Department from the earliest times of which we have any information up to the present day. Part II. reviews the existing condition of things in all branches of the Department; while Part III. sets forth the recommendations which the Commission make "for the purpose of placing this important Department of the public service on a satisfactory footing, and for rectifying such errors and supplying such deficiencies as our inquiries have shown to exist in its organisation and working." Each of these main divisions is sub-divided into minor divisions, but it is unnecessary here to enumerate the latter.

6. *Historical.*—The history of the opium monopoly is a history of small beginnings and great development. Less than a century ago it formed an insignificant portion of the East India Company's business. "Now the magnitude of the interests involved is indicated

“ by the fact that more than 1,300,000 ryots cultivate the poppy every year under advances from Government; and even this number does not adequately express the truth, as a large share of the labour required for the production of the drug falls to the lot of the women and children of the ryot's family. We should probably be within the mark in saying that the Opium Department calls into activity the energies of not less than four million persons of the agricultural classes. The cash paid to the cultivators for opium flower-leaves and trash amounts to about 180 lakhs of rupees a year.” The earliest authentic reference to opium cultivation is said by the Commission to occur in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1590 A.D.), which states that opium was a staple crop throughout what is now the Benares Agency, in Malwa, and in the Punjab. The trade in opium in Mogul times was an Imperial monopoly, and “ was farmed at a quit-rent.” Until the British acquired sovereignty in Bengal and Behar, the Dutch were the chief foreign purchasers of opium, though 200 years ago, the first orders were given to make opium a part of the East India Company's investment.

7. During the political commotions of the first half of the eighteenth century, when the Mogul power was on the wane, the opium monopoly fell into abeyance, and the cultivation of the poppy seems, at all events in what is now the Behar Agency, to have been carried on by the ryots without license, on advances from Patna merchants, who, in their turn, disposed of the drug to the English and Dutch. The triumphs of Serajudowla, however, brought ruin on the English merchants, and as there was no competition the Dutch commanded the opium market. The price of opium accordingly fell so low that the native dealers could no longer make advances, and the production of the drug declined. This state of things prevailed when the victories of Clive enabled the English merchants to recover their lost position at Patna. They found the trade disorganised, and, in default of native dealers, the European merchants began to make advances direct to the cultivators. This, however, led to quarrels, which resulted in the re-establishment of the monopoly by Mr. Hastings in 1773, on the understanding that a certain quantity of opium was to be delivered annually to the Dutch, Danish, and French companies. Political complications subsequently led to the annulment of the understanding with the Dutch and the Danes, but that with the French is still in force.

8. From 1773 to 1781 the exclusive right to manufacture opium on account of the East India Company was sold annually; and it would seem from the Fifth Report of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company (to which the Commission make no allusion) that under the first contract Behar opium was deliverable at Rs. 320 and Ondh opium at Rs. 350 per maund. Stipulations were inserted in those contracts against oppression of the cultivators, and the Provincial Council were enjoined to see that the stipulations were observed. From 1781, according to the Opium Commission, sale contracts were made for four years; and in 1785 the sales became competitive, various stipulations, designed in the interests of the cultivators, being at the same time insisted upon. According to the Fifth Report, however, competitive sales and contracts for four years were introduced simultaneously in 1785, while power was also taken to appoint inspectors to superintend the provision and manufacture of opium, and collectors were enjoined to protect the cultivators against the contractors. These competitive sales, according to the Commission, while for the time benefiting the revenue, left the contractors a smaller margin of profit, and consequently lowered the prices paid by them to the cultivators. Adulteration of the drug, and its depreciation in the market, ensued, and accordingly, say the Commission in 1797, with the object of “ restoring and improving ” the character of the opium, the contract system was done away with, and the agency system, which has lasted ever since, was introduced. Doubtless this improvement was a result of that scrutiny which Lord Cornwallis instituted in the opium as well as in all other Departments of the Administration—a scrutiny which brought to light the fact that the contract system had developed impositions in the nature of *advances* on cultivators “ in the same manner ” (to quote the Fifth Report) “ as practised in the land rents.” This portion of the Report then conveys a valuable lesson, and gives us some insight into what may be expected if the agitation against the opium monopoly should be successful. The early history of the question teaches us that the abolition of the monopoly would lead

to increased production and increased consumption among the people of India; that competition among exporters would follow, and, as a natural consequence, that the opium produced would be inferior. An inferior article would succumb in the competition with the Chinese drug, and thus the opium revenue, which now depends on the excellent quality and character of the drug, would tend to fall off and ultimately become extinct. The result would be a heavy loss to the people of India and increased taxation.

9. The agency system, under which the Department is at present administered, was thus established in 1797. Two agents were appointed, the Behar agent being purely an opium officer, while until 1835 the Benares agent had other duties to perform in addition to his function as opium agent. Until 1833 the agents were paid partly by fixed salaries, and partly by commission, which was abolished in that year. While it continued, the opium agent of Behar was perhaps the best paid civilian officer in the service, drawing from commission alone in some years nearly a lakh of rupees. The agents were at first assisted by independent deputy agents, but in 1822 the collectors of the opium districts were made deputy opium agents with a commission on the sale profits. In 1835, at Captain Jeremie's suggestion, an independent opium service of sub-deputy agents was constituted, and the active connexion of collectors with opium fell into abeyance. Since that time they have remained *ex-officio* deputy agents, but they now never interfere with the work of the Department.

10. It has been stated that Captain Jeremie was the originator of the separate opium service. To him is also due the introduction of a more scientific method of manufacture of the drug in both factories. For the first 25 years of the monopoly system, the factory testing and manufacture were superintended by the agent. In 1826 Captain Jeremie, quartermaster of a native regiment, who had made certain experiments in opium cultivation and manufacture, submitted proposals to Government, which ultimately led to his appointment as “ first assistant to the agent ” at Patna, which designation was, in 1839, changed to the “ principal assistant.” After Captain Jeremie's time the post was held by the civil surgeon of the station, in addition to his other duties. But from 1846 in Behar, and from 1859 in Benares, the post was made a separate one, the incumbent being placed wholly under the control of the agent.

11. Reverting to the connexion of the Department with the Government, it will be seen that when in 1797 the agency system was established, the control of the Opium Department was at that time vested in the Board of Trade, the President of which was *ex-officio* a Member of Council. The opium accounts, however, were always kept distinct from those of the Commercial Department, so that when by Regulation IV. of 1813, the “ Board of Revenue in the Customs, Salt, and Opium Departments ” was constituted, no difficulty was experienced in transferring the opium business to the new Board at Calcutta, which, consisting at first of three, was, from 1826, composed of two members. In 1834, on the creation of the Government of Agra, the Governor-General in Council declared it necessary to retain the management of the Benares Opium Agency by the Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium at Calcutta, “ in order to secure that the whole concern, whether Behar or Benares, may be conducted on one uniform system.” By these orders the Benares Agency still governed. To bring this portion of the history of the Department down to the present time, it need be added that by Act XLIV. of 1850, the Custom and Opium Board was merged in the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, the number of members in the latter being at the same time increased from two to three. In 1865, however, a vacancy in the Board occurred, which was not filled up, and since that time the Board in the Lower Provinces has consisted of two members only.

12. *Production.*—I am now to pass on to the superior administrative machinery of the Department in regard to the production of the drug. In dealing with the producers, the Government had against them, and the Government had against them. A century ago, the poppy was cultivated in Bengal proper as well as in the North-Western Provinces, the Bhagulpore Division, and in the provinces of Dindigul, and Cooch Behar. The inferior quality, and its production in Regulation VI. of 1799.

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people opposed the enforcement of that Regulation, and a long struggle ensued which was terminated by the enactment of Regulation XIII. of 1816, which legalised the cultivation of opium in Bengal, under the supervision of the Commercial Resident of Rungpore. The opium produced was to be used for excise purposes only. But it soon turned out that nothing could be made of this Bengal opium, and the production of it was again abandoned in 1837, only to be revived in Monghyr and Bhagulpore between 1830 and 1834, and in numerous Bengal districts between the latter year and 1840.

13. The cause of this expansion of cultivation was probably due to the policy adopted in 1830 regarding "Malwa" opium produced in the Native States of Central India, where cultivation was unrestricted, the manufacturers skilful, and the quality of the drug exceptionally good. This "Malwa" opium was brought via Baroda and Cambay to Diu and Damaun and thence exported to China, where it threatened the Bengal monopoly in the early years of this century. The Company's efforts having proved futile to restrict the cultivation in Central India, or to introduce the Bengal monopoly system, the trade was in 1830 thrown open. The supervision till then exercised over Malwa opium affairs by the Bengal Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium was withdrawn, and the pass system introduced, care being taken to fix the duty levied on the drug brought direct to Bombay for exportation to China at a favourable rate compared with the cost of transmission through Native States to Diu, Damaun, or Karachi. It was anticipated that this change of policy would cheapen the Malwa drug in the China market; and to counteract the effect that result would have on Bengal opium Government, in 1830, directed that an effort should be made to make up for the probable loss in price by increase in quantity. Accordingly, between 1830 and 1840, opium cultivation was largely extended throughout Benares, Behar, and Bengal; but in 1840 there was a collapse, largely due no doubt to the seizure of British merchants and the destruction of a large quantity of opium by the Chinese in 1839—events which led to war between England and China. The immediate effect of events in China on opium in India was the contraction of the area of operations in the North-Western Provinces, while opium cultivation in Bengal proper was finally abandoned. Since then, the number of districts which grow opium has been largely extended in the Benares Agency, but in Behar (with the exception of the re-introduction of cultivation into Chota Nagpur in 1869 and its abandonment again in 1877) there has been no change. From the statistics given on page 26 of the Report, it would appear that the average produce per bigha has generally decreased, with any very marked extension of the area under cultivation, and this is what might be expected from recourse being had to inferior soils.

14. *System of dealing with Producers.*—The main points of the system have not greatly changed during the century, and the principles of the first opium law (Regulation VII. of 1799) are not very different from those of the present Act (XIII. of 1857). Engagements were taken by the agent or his deputy for a specific area of cultivation. When the poppy was grown, an estimate of its yield was made, and a further engagement for the delivery of the estimated quantity of drug was taken up. The opium, when delivered, was weighed; if found too liquid, an additional quantity or *batta* for consistence fixed by arbitration was deducted from the weight; if adulterated, it was confiscated; and if any of the above was kept back, the cultivator was liable to fine. These were the lines worked upon in the beginning of the century, and with additions and modifications, under the head of *batta for consistence*, the system followed to-day. The system was worked by *zilladars* on behalf of the agents, while *gynes* and *gyne mahatoes* were supposed to represent the cultivators' interests. The *zilladars* were to perform much the same duties now as the *gynes*. The *gomasta*, though still an important part, has become less to do now than formerly, while the *gyne mahatoes* have disappeared. The *gyne mahatoes* has become the *khatadar* or *lamadar*, and is now a most important part in the management of the Opium Department, as will subsequently be seen.

The system in early times did not always meet the various complaints were from time to time made by the cultivators of the exactions to which they were subjected and the inconveniences to which they were subjected. It was urged by the ryots that the price from 1820 to 1860 varied

between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 the *seer* was fixed too low; that nothing was allowed for cost of carriage to the weighing places, of which there were too few; that ryots were confined and sold up for arrears; that the various grades of under-officers extorted at weight and other times an unlimited quantity of the drug under various pretences, and that when accounts were settled the *gomastas* levied perquisites. Redress did not always follow upon these complaints, the Board at first being somewhat apprehensive of interference with any custom that had grown up; and if it is said by the Commission that generally the history of the Department is one of improvement, of increasing supervision by European officers, of increasing checks upon the malpractices of subordinates, and of increasing security to the producers, it is more than may be said of every public department. The custom of taking *batta for consistence* opened perhaps the widest door to fraud, for, as till 1830 there was no fixed standard of consistence, the *batta* depended on personal caprice. A standard was, however, fixed in 1831, and since then the existing principle has prevailed in both agencies, viz., that for the deliveries below 70 deg. a proportionably decreased, and for deliveries above 70 deg. a proportionably increased, price should be given. But even in Benares, where weighments are elaborately conducted, instances in which subordinates have been effectually punished for defrauding the cultivators are extremely rare. This cannot be due to the absence of abuses, for admittedly such exist; but the consideration of these abuses, and the best methods of removing them, will be dealt with later on.

16. If the cultivators had thus many grievances against the Government, the Government also had grievances against the cultivators. Minor grievances were the practice of planting of other crops along with the poppy, and delay in bringing in the produce; but the chief grievances were illicit cultivation, "paper cultivation," or drawing advances for poppy land, yet growing other crops upon it, and illicit sale of the drug. It was illicit cultivation in Northern Bengal that led to the re-introduction of the opium system there under Regulation XIII. of 1816, but latterly it is said that both illicit cultivation and "paper cultivation" have ceased to trouble the Department. Illicit sale, however, still gives trouble, and the Commission's remarks on pages 44-45 show that no effort hitherto made to suppress it has been completely successful; while one at least of the methods adopted—the granting of large rewards to informers—greatly aggravated the evil it was devised to check.

17. *Manufacture and Disposal of the Drug.*—The chapter which deals with the history of the "manufacture and disposal" of the drug when delivered by the cultivators to the opium authorities also demands attention. It seems that from the earliest times the crude opium when received from the cultivators had been packed in earthen jars, each containing about a maund of the drug, and in this way forwarded to the factory. This mode of conveyance led to considerable evaporation, and experiments were therefore tried with leather bags, galvanized-iron vessels, and wooden boxes, with a view to the prevention of loss of weight—all proving unsuitable. The original method of transport in earthen jars was reverted to, and is still in force. At times loss is experienced by the breaking of the vessels in transit, and such loss used originally to fall on the cultivators. But the unfairness of this arrangement was perceived in 1831, and since then Government bears the loss.

18. On arrival at the sudder factory it was the custom formerly to keep the opium in the jars, and to cask from them direct. But so far back as 1830 wooden tanks were introduced. These proving unsuitable, were replaced by stone vats, which are still in use. In the manufacture of opium for the market two objects were always aimed at—(a) that the quality of the drug should be invariably good; (b) that the weight of pure opium per chest should be always the same. In order to secure the first object, it does not appear that in the early years of the century any definite rules were prescribed, but the practice must have been very appropriate to the end in view; for that practice, as described in general terms by the agent in 1820, is pretty much what it is to-day. As regards point (b), it may be said that before Captain Jeremie's time, consistence, scientifically ascertained and regulated, was unknown; but in 1832 it was determined that Patna should cask at 75 deg. and Benares at 70 deg., and these average standards have been since adhered to. Accordingly it has been since 1832 possible to regulate

the weight per chest. This is done with reference to the Chinese system of weights, which runs in taels, catties (16 taels), and piculs (100 catties). A chest of opium should contain 1 picul (133 lbs. 5 ozs. 5½ drs. avoirdupois) of pure opium, and as 40 balls are packed in a chest, each ball should contain 3lbs. 5¼ ozs. of the pure drug.

19. As has been observed, no great change in the system of manufacture has been introduced from the beginning of the century, though some improvements have no doubt been effected. There is, for instance, owing to mechanical appliances, less danger of variation in consistence, and owing to better chemical knowledge, less danger of adulteration now than formerly. But the greater scientific knowledge of to-day has been unable to improve, to any very material extent, on the empiricism of earlier times, either in the manufacture of the drug or in caking and packing. Numerous experiments have been tried under all three heads; but unless Captain Jeremie's invention of compartments in the chest be considered a great improvement, we are now pretty much where we were 60 years ago. Captain Jeremie's aim was, just as the Board's aim now is, to pack the cakes without dunnage; but he had, after all, to furnish his compartments with a bed of trash. It is unnecessary to summarise any further the Commission's remarks on this part of their Report; but that section of this chapter which deals with the three great disasters which befel the opium provision owing to preventable causes is interesting. History repeats itself, and in the recital points occur which recall the Benares disaster of 1880-81. With this the Commission do not deal, as when they wrote it was still *sub judice*.

20. The Commission close their interesting sketch of the origin and growth of the Department by exhibiting statistics of the general results of the monopoly from the establishment of the agency system in 1797 down to 1882. These statistics show that the highest price ever obtained for the drug was in March 1822, when it averaged Rs. 4,274-9-7 per chest; the lowest occurring in April 1839, when, under the panic caused by the news from China, the average per chest was only Rs. 365-1-11. The net profit to Government from opium grown on this side of India has risen since 1797 from less than five lakhs to more than five crores of rupees per annum. On the general uses of their review of the past history of the monopoly, the Commission make the following remarks, which are worthy of being quoted here:—

“The considerations suggested by this review of the past are not, we think, foreign to the questions which our instructions direct us to examine. There are economists who assert that the Government, without incurring a loss, might sever its connexion with the production of opium, and confine itself to the levy of an excise duty and a tax on exportation. It may be useful to remind these gentlemen of the evil days when, under the contract system of supply, the quality of the drug had fallen so low that Bengal opium was offered at Rs. 50 a chest without finding a purchaser. The history of the connexion of the Government of Bengal and the Calcutta Board of Revenue with the administration of the Department may be of service in determining what answer shall be given to the question whether that connexion should any longer be maintained. There are officers at the present day who advocate a general return to the system of remuneration by commission. Upon this point, the reasons which led such distinguished administrators as Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie to an opposite conclusion seem worthy of being reproduced. The difficulties with which the Department has to contend, the complaints made by the cultivators, the practices by which the law is violated or evaded, are substantially the same now in kind (though differing in degree) as they have been for many years past. We gladly recognise the fact that the record of the opium administration is in the main a record of progress and improvement. Much has been done to remedy such evils as experience has brought to light, and to make the cultivating license a source of profit to the ryot as well as to the Government. There is not the slightest ground for saying that the officers of the Department exercise any undue influence, or that the engagements entered into by the cultivators are not entirely voluntary. In most matters of detail such reforms as are still required will probably be most successfully carried out, by working upon the lines which have been laid down by the administrators of a former day. It has therefore appeared to us that a summary of the past history of the Department is a

useful introduction to the inquiry which we have been directed to undertake.”

21. In the preceding remarks the existing constitution of the Opium Department has been to some extent described; but the narrative looked more to the genesis and history of the Department than to any other aspect. It was insufficient as a statement of existing facts with a view to determining whether improvements were necessary or not. Such a statement the Commission give in Part II. of their Report.

The Lieutenant-Governor does not, however, purpose to summarise Part II. here, because, in the first place, the existing state of things is generally known, and in the second place, such a summary would cause useless repetition. When stating and examining the Commission's recommendations, some description of the existing facts which the recommendations are intended to alter and improve will be necessary, and opportunity can be taken of that necessity to explain facts as fully as may be needed. In other words, instead of following the Commission through the various stages of their Report, I am to discuss Parts II. and III. together, thus saving time without any great sacrifice of clearness.

22. Before entering on the subject of the Commission's recommendations, I am to call attention to their desire (paragraph 602) that their proposals should be regarded as a whole, each portion of which is naturally dependent on the other; and to the fact that they guard themselves against being understood as recommending changes except as component parts of a complete plan. Having carefully examined all the proposals made in the Report, the Lieutenant-Governor, I am to say, is not prepared to follow the Commission in thinking that all or none of their proposals should be accepted. He thinks that some proposals may be adopted at once, while the introduction of others may with advantage be postponed. The Commission's proposals are not always very clearly put from a financial point of view; but as far as the Lieutenant-Governor can ascertain, the yearly increase of expenditure which they involve would be about eight lakhs of rupees, while the improvements in plant, &c., could hardly cost less than five lakhs more. Whether the Government of India, in consideration of a better system and prospective benefits, will incur such expenditure, rests at the threshold of the inquiry, and if to that question an affirmative answer be given, then it becomes a question for his Excellency the Governor-General in Council to decide whether this Government should not leave all action on this Report for the Director-General of Opium and the Government of India. The doubt on this point does not relieve the Lieutenant-Governor from the duty of submitting his general views on the whole question, and on the Commission's recommendations.

23. The first recommendation which the Commission make in Part III. of their Report has reference to the questions of general control and administration. Their instructions directed them to consider whether the Opium Department should continue to be administered by the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, acting under the orders of the Bengal Government; or whether the control and administration should be divided between the Governments of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces; or lastly, whether a single officer, acting under the orders of the Government of India alone, should be appointed to administer the Department. The Commission are strongly of the opinion that the third should be adopted, and they justify their view by illustrating the imperfections and inadequacy of the existing system as by maintaining that a direct control, such as the second plan contemplates, would involve even greater difficulties than are at present encountered at the head. The Commission think that, although the Government of India is financially interested in the success of the Department, its connexion with the management of the Department is slender. The power of the purse, of which the Government is the ultimate controlling authority, is not as budget requirements are satisfied, a sufficient reason for the Government of Bengal to be consulted, or not to consult the Government of India. In fact, the Government of India is not consulted, though matters of exceptional importance are referred to it for information. Again, the Government of Bengal is itself concerned in the management of the Department, and think that the control which it exercises over the actual work of the Department, and the control over the Board's management, is mostly exercised between the agents and

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having no independent means of testing or forming an opinion on the matters reported. Therefore its control consists, the Commission say, of comments (mostly laudatory) upon the Board's administration, and of orders (generally affirmative) on the Board's remarks. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Benares Agency, the districts comprising which lie outside the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. And if the control of the Bengal Government be, in the Commission's opinion, shadowy, that exercised by the Board is hardly more real. Under the law, indeed, their powers are full, and in point of fact the Board are consulted on almost everything that is done. Still their knowledge of the wants and requirements of the Department is of a mere routine order, the reflex of subordinate officers' opinions, not a living opinion of their own. "In dealing," say the Commission, "with every other subject than opium, the Board's Report is an independent review of the administration of the year. The Board lay before Government their own summary of the facts, their own conclusions and recommendations, their own tabular statements of what has been accomplished, and of what remains to be done The scheme of the Opium Report is altogether different. The reports of the agents and their principal assistants are submitted at length, and form the bulk of the Report, the Board's share in it being confined to the preparation of a brief extract which is prefixed to the local reports and tables It may be added that this practice is not confined to the annual reports, but is the common procedure when the Government calls for information upon any point affecting the working of the Department." The Commission consider it thus apparent that the Board instil no energy of life into the actual work of the Department; while, as the controlling authority originates nothing, no advantage results from the control which the Government of Bengal exercises over the Board. And this view is, the Commission think, confirmed by the consideration that, owing to the enormous extension of cultivation in the Benares Agency, the Calcutta Board of Revenue is no longer the natural administrative head of the Department, nor is the Bengal Government any longer the Local Government with which the Department is chiefly concerned. Therefore, the Commission declare that a change is necessary. "We have," they say, "patiently investigated the past history and present working of this Department, and we are led by our inquiries to believe not merely that certain specific cases of disaster have been due to faulty administration, but that the general principles on which the existing system is based are unsuited to the circumstances of the present day. If a certain measure of success has been achieved, we are convinced that this result has been attained, not in consequence of the present constitution of the Department, but in spite of it." They therefore recommend the withdrawal of the control of the Department from the Bengal Government and Board of Revenue, and the appointment of an Opium Commissioner or Director-General of the Opium Department, who would act immediately under the orders of the Government of India. To the Director-General they would attach a secretary or personal assistant, who, after five years' tenure of his office, should be eligible for the post of opium agent. The Commission should, in the Commission's opinion, be able to select energetic covenanted civilians of from 13 to 15 years' service, whose pay should be fixed at Rs. 2,200, Rs. 2,200 in order to retain them in the Department, and for the most successful among whom should be reserved the post of Director-General when vacant.

The Commission propose to drop the deputy collector (strict collector) out of the sphere of the Department, and to style the sub-deputies in the Department as agents; to raise the number from 23 to 29, and by the addition of six new appointments in the Department, and by the addition of three new appointments to the 47 appointments of the assistant agents, the house allowances they receive; to reduce the house allowances to Rs. 13,500 to be annually expended on the Department, and to reserve the most successful deputy and assistant agents. These latter proposals are recommended, and that the present staff in the Department is inadequate for the work which

the Commission recommend to increase the number of agents, the Lieutenant-

Governor thinks there is much reason, and he, on the whole, agrees in them; while in the recommendation to appoint a Director-General of Opium, acting under the orders of the Government of India, he entirely concurs. The recommendation, it will be seen, is not approved by the Board of Revenue, who, in their letter No. 3 B. of the 2nd January 1884, propose an alternative, which the Commission have not noticed. That letter (which is an imperfect commentary upon the Commission's Report, and might, of itself, be held to suggest that some reform is necessary in the constitution of the Department) is chiefly remarkable for a suggestion which, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, is little calculated to improve matters. The suggestion is that, instead of having a Director-General of Opium, whose whole time would be given up to the work of the Department, and who would serve only one master, we should have the member of the Board in charge of the Opium Department placed under the control of the Governor-General in Council, and freed from the control of the Government of Bengal in all matters connected with opium. This suggestion affords, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, no solution of the question. It would remove none of the difficulties which the Commission so forcibly dwell upon, unless the member is to be constantly on tour making inspections to the detriment of his many other duties; and to suppose that he can be constantly on tour, even in the present extent of opium cultivation in the Benares Division, is to suppose the impossible. There would be the disadvantage of a Bengal officer controlling details of administration in other Governments, and there would be the great objection of allowing this member of the Board to be the servant of two or more masters. In writing as they have done, the Board have, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, unduly estimated the value of "the official traditions which have hitherto guided the working of the Department;" but the report which condemns these traditions has, in Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion, all the greater force in that Mr. Reynolds, the president of the committee, speaks with the knowledge arising from personal experience acquired as member of the Board in charge of opium affairs. Mr. Reynolds' condemnation of the system carries conviction to the Lieutenant-Governor's mind, not only as it concerns the Board, but as it concerns the local Government also. In the Lieutenant-Governor's belief this Government can rarely do any substantial good in connexion with the Department, while the financial control is in the hands of the Government of India, and while it is dependent on the opium agents alone for all knowledge of facts and details. And if particular examples to enforce this belief are wanting, the report furnishes them. The history of the Patna saw-mills, given in paragraph 156 of the report, is an excellent illustration of how not to do it; while the history of the recent misfortunes in the Ghazipore Agency, by which Government lost several lakhs of rupees, no one being punished except an unfortunate mohurir, indicates the necessity of such a complete reform as shall bring the internal conduct of the agencies under a much closer and more direct personal supervision than now exists. For these reasons the Lieutenant-Governor would strongly support the recommendation that a Director-General be appointed to control the Opium Department, under the direct orders of the Government of India. It is perfectly clear to his mind, both from practical experience of the working of the Department and from this report, that the Department must be under the undivided control of one authority; and looking to the vast extent of cultivation extending into the territories of three Governments, there seems no room for doubt that the central authority should be that of the Government of India. The Lieutenant-Governor, further, sees no reason why the Director-General should not have the charge of the opium godown in Calcutta, and the conduct of the periodical sales (as noticed in paragraph 620 of the report). The courteous relations between him and the opium merchants (on which the Board lay stress) would, Mr. Rivers Thompson thinks, be soon established.

25. Turning from the Director-General (to whom the Lieutenant-Governor would allot a salary of Rs. 3,000 a month, with Rs. 300 as travelling allowance) to the agents, the Lieutenant-Governor must concur in the opinion that the Government of the North-Western Provinces should have the appointment of the Benares agent. Every consideration seems to justify this, and although the Civil Service of these provinces, which is not very fortunate now as regards promotion, will

suffer, the interests of the public service call for the change. Mr. Rivers Thompson, while agreeing so far with the Commission, must, however, differ as regards the salary which the agents should draw. He sees no reason for thinking that a higher pay than Rs. 1,500 rising to Rs. 2,250 is necessary. Such pay as this would practically mean the addition of an officer to the lowest grade of magistrates on the Bengal list, rising with the promotion of his contemporaries to the highest grade. This would secure continuity in administration in a special department, which has, in Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion, more to recommend it than changes in the office every five years.

Finally, the Lieutenant-Governor does not think that a strong case is made out for a personal assistant of the covenanted civilian class to the Director-General. If help of the kind is wanted it can be got more cheaply from the uncovenanted service, as in the case of the Inland Revenue and Salt Departments. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, doubts whether such assistance would be required at all; if required, it should not, he thinks, be liable to the changes which the Commission recommend in paragraph 618 of their report.

26. While thus in general accord with the chief proposals of the Commission on this part of the subject, Mr. Rivers Thompson must confess that the want of anything like a precise and tabulated estimate of cost in the report renders it difficult for him to make recommendations with assurance of support from the Government of India. Failing such an estimate, he can only presume that the pay and travelling allowances of the Director-General, with the cost of his establishment, would be about Rs. 50,000 per annum, while the pay of his assistant, if allowed, would come to close on Rs. 8,000 more. The additional appointments in the deputy grades would probably be scattered over all classes, and possibly one appointment of the first class, two of the second, four of the third, and five of the fourth, at a cost of Rs. 8,300 per mensem, or Rs. 99,600 per annum, might be considered appropriate. The cost of three new assistants' appointments (one in each of the first, second, and third grades) would be Rs. 1,200 per mensem, or Rs. 14,400 yearly. Thus excluding house allowances and bonuses, but having regard to the saving that would be effected in the pay of the agents, the cost of the Commission's proposals would be about Rs. 1,50,000. With bonuses and house allowances the cost would be about Rs. 1,70,000, which, with costs of additional establishments, may amount up to nearly two lakhs of rupees. It is for the Government of India to say whether for prospective advantages it is prepared to incur such an increase of cost. If they are not prepared to accept the Commission's proposals as a whole on this head, the Lieutenant-Governor certainly thinks that, at all events, a very strong case is made out for an increase in the number of sub-deputies employed in the Benares Agency, and with reference to this point I am to request attention to a letter from the Board, No. 398 B., dated 14th June 1884 (copy sent herewith), in which an application is made to raise the number at once by three. The Board point out that this can be done without any immediate expense; but the Lieutenant-Governor has preferred to postpone orders until the views of the Government of India on the whole question were expressed.

27. *Agency and District Establishments.*—The Lieutenant-Governor sees no reason why the recommendations in regard to the agents' establishments should not be accepted in their entirety. At present the cost of the Behar Agency establishment is Rs. 1,632; but the Commission think that there is no need for the treasurer, nazir, and poddar, while the Persian and English office can be amalgamated. These alterations would lead to a saving, as the maximum cost on the new scale would never exceed Rs. 1,558 per mensem, the minimum of the scale being Rs. 1,128. It is, however, impossible to say what the saving would be compared with the present cost, as the Commission do not say whether the present establishment approximates to the maximum or minimum cost.

In regard to the Benares Agent's establishment, the Commission, in the first place, object to the agent's practice of detaching one of the gazetted assistants from his proper duties and employing him as a private secretary and aide-de-camp. They properly deprecate this practice, and the Lieutenant-Governor will at once order its discontinuance. Owing to this practice of employing an officer away from his proper duties, to the indefiniteness of the line, separating the agent's establishment from that of the factory, and to the custom of entertaining a large number of clerks at the

busy season of the year, the Commission find a difficulty in understanding what the existing strength of the Benares Agent's establishment is. This difficulty prevents them from making more than conjectural recommendations; but they think that an establishment, consisting of an accountant and head assistant, 18 clerks and menial servants, at a cost rising from Rs. 1,441 to Rs. 1,951 per month, should suffice. They insist on the necessity of making the head assistant responsible for all branches of the office, and doing away with the separate staff of menial servants attached to the so-called branches into which the present agent has divided his office. On these points the Lieutenant-Governor would accept the Commission's recommendations as far as conjectural recommendations can be accepted. If the Government of India also approve, the recommendations will have to be examined and verified before final orders issue.

28. The sub-agency establishments are next considered under the heads of (a) *sudder offices* (b) *bothec* establishments. There are at present 23 *sudder* sub-agency offices, a number which, as we have seen, it is proposed to raise to 29. The establishments maintained at these sub-agency head offices vary greatly, being in some places redundant, while the clerks are, as a rule, under-paid. The Commission, therefore, recommend a standard strength for a sub-deputy agent's *sudder* office in both agencies consisting of five clerks, a duftry, four peons, and a sweeper, at a monthly cost of Rs. 330 rising to Rs. 400. As far as can be gathered from the imperfect statement of the cost of existing establishments in Behar and Benares, contained in paragraphs 223-236 of the report, the cost of this standard scale of establishment would exceed the present average by nearly one-half. On this point, however, further information is necessary, and all that can here be said, with an approach to certainty, is that if the Commission's proposals are accepted the standard cost of the (29) sub-agency *sudder* office establishments would vary from a minimum of Rs. 9,670 per mensem, or Rs. 1,16,040 per annum, to a maximum of Rs. 11,600 per mensem, or Rs. 1,39,200 per annum.

29. It has been already observed that the Commission's report is defective in its treatment of the financial aspects and results of the proposals made in it, and this fact places this Government at a disadvantage in criticising those proposals. Still the Lieutenant-Governor feels some confidence in saying that the scale of pay proposed for the sub-agency establishments is too lavish, while the inadequate recognition in it of the progressive principle is a blemish. Having regard to the pay drawn by the ordinary district executive establishments, Mr. Rivers Thompson is disposed to think that the following scale, if adopted, instead of that proposed in paragraph 636 of the report, would be considered liberal by those affected by it:—

	Rs.	Rs.
Head clerk	- 80 rising to 100	
2nd "	- 50 "	75
3rd "	- 40 "	50
4th "	- 30 "	40
5th "	- 20 "	30
Duftry	- 5 "	5
2 Peons	- 12 "	12
2 "	- 10 "	10
Sweeper	- 3 "	3
Monthly	- 250	325

This gives for 29 sub-agencies a minimum of Rs. 87,000 and a maximum of Rs. 1,13,100 per annum and shows a yearly saving of Rs. 29,000 at the lower end of the scale and of Rs. 26,100 at the higher end of the scale compared with the Commission's recommendations. It must be confessed, however, that in all these calculations there is a good deal of guess-work. It is desirable that a portion of the question actual figures be referred to the Board and local officers should be asked to make any well-considered recommendations to the Government of India. All that can be safely said is that a standard scale of establishment is desirable, if only to remove the variations which now exist (apparently for no cause), and to admit of the easy comparison between one agency and another where the service require it. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to submit this suggestion to the Government of India, and to state the general idea, the details of which will be forwarded.

APP. I.

30. I am now to offer some remarks in connexion with the *kothee* establishments. It will be observed from Chapter III., Part II. of the report, that the unit of opium administration in the Behar Agency is called the *kothee*, and in the Benares Agency the *sub-division*. In Behar there are 42 *kothees*, each sub-agency containing from three to six *kothees* according to its size; while in Benares the 12 sub-agencies now in existence are sub-divided into 53 sub-divisions and two minor outposts. In Behar the usual *kothee* establishment consists of a gomasta, a mohurir, two mutsudis, and a staff of from 10 to 25 zilladars. The total pay drawn by these officers is about Rs. 75,000 per annum (paragraph 226); but all except the zilladars receive commission which, in good years, gives them about Rs. 60,000 more. The authorised pay and allowances of the *kothee* establishments in Behar, therefore, amount in the aggregate to about Rs. 1,35,000 yearly. Of course in such a bad year as 1883 the establishments suffer heavily in commission.

In Benares the sub-divisional staff consists of one gomasta, three mohurirs, and about 18 zilladars. The total cost of the sub-divisional establishments in Benares would therefore seem (from paragraph 229 of the report) to be Rs. 12,055 per mensem, or Rs. 1,44,660 per annum. The Benares staff receive no commission, and, as the figures show, are worse off than the Behar staff in good years. In bad years, however, their position is better, as they do not in any way depend on commission.

31. It is on the question of the *kothee* and sub-divisional establishments' pay that the Commission seem to the Lieutenant-Governor to make their strongest point. They very reasonably express the reconvinction that these establishments are under-paid, and they declare their belief that, owing to this under-payment, "every seer of opium which a cultivator delivers pays toll to the amlah, and from every rupee which a cultivator receives a percentage is deducted for their benefit." They declare that it is equally the duty and the interest of the Government to see that its promise of Rs. 5 per seer of opium to the cultivator is well kept, and they point out that the only way of securing the fulfilment of the promise is by paying the amlah adequate salaries and by abolishing the practice of taking commission. The salaries which they consider adequate are stated in paragraph 642; and applying the scale therein given to the number of *kothees* and sub-divisions, and assuming that of the 1,595 zilladars (paragraph 645) employed, one-half would get the lower and the other half the higher scale of pay, we get Rs. 5,63,040 and Rs. 6,42,840 as the minimum and maximum cost respectively of the Commission's proposals on this head for both agencies. When it is remembered that, as shown above, the present authorised scale of pay and allowances for the *kothee* and sub-divisional establishments in both agencies comes (as far as can be made out from the report) to Rs. 2,79,660, the bold character of the Commission's proposal on this head will be apparent. Yet Mr. Rivers Thompson believes that the case is one which calls for liberal measures, and he is not at all prepared to say that the Commission's proposals would not be, in the long run, found prudent. As will appear later on, he does not, indeed, think that in Behar we are ready for introducing the reforms into the *khattadari* system which the Commission (paragraph 674 *et seq.*) recommend, until we are ready the introduction of the proposed changes there must perforce be postponed. But it is a postponement, not an abandonment. As far as the Benares Agency is concerned, the Lieutenant-Governor can estimate the gross cost of the proposals in connexion with superior establishments, a sum of 6 lakhs yearly would be required, and we get six lakhs of rupees for 500 zilladars. One way of looking at the question would be by a wise liberality, by suppressing the commissions of the amlahs, and by prohibiting all irregular impositions on the cultivators—in fact, by doing all we can to secure to the cultivator the full profits of his cultivation. The Commission's proposals, speaking broadly, cover our six lakhs of rupees, and should pay the cultivators for the 700 zilladars. The Commission's proposals would avoid all loss and and go far to increase the vitality of the opium industry in this Agency. Mr. Rivers Thompson is strongly disposed to believe that the chance of success is worth the price to be paid.

cess, and Remissions.—From the point of view of the organisation of the opium industry, some improvements in its administration, and its settlements, and it is desirable that a few brief words should be

said describing the existing state of things in this regard. The wording of the Opium Act (XIII. of 1857) seems to imply that settlements for cultivating the poppy should be entered into between the Government officer and the cultivator in person; but in practice this is never done, the settlements being in fact made with a sort of village foreman called a *khattadar* in Behar and a *lambardar* in Benares. The *khattadar* or *lambardar* is a substantial cultivator himself who possesses the confidence of the other ryots in his village, and represents them in Benares on all occasions except at the final settlement of the year's account, and in Behar on this occasion also. In return he gets the scrapings (*khurchan*) of the cultivators' opium pots at weighment time, and a fee varying from 12 annas to Rs. 2-8 per bigha of poppy cultivation, the receipt of which, though illegal, is overlooked by the Department. It is, then, with the *khattadar* or *lambardar* that the agreement to cultivate is made by the opium officer, and it is to him that the advance is given for distribution among the cultivators whom he represents. In the Benares Division the *lambardar's* application to engage for so much land is tested by an excellent system of maps and records of land fit for opium in the particular village; but in Behar no such test is available, inquiries by the zilladars, and comparison by the gomastas of the results of these inquiries with the records past years, insufficiently supplying its place. When the *lambardar's* application for leave to cultivate so much land is approved in Benares, and when the zilladar's lists are passed in Behar, a license is given to the *lambardar* or *khattadar*, as the case may be; a *kabuliyat* and security bond taken from him; and the advance given. In many Benares districts only one advance of Rs. 6 is given; but in some districts of that agency, and usually in Behar, Rs. 4 are advanced in September and Rs. 2 in the following January. A third advance on the ripening of the crops is also occasionally made in March. The practice is not invariable, and the Commission see no good in giving advances twice. The settlements are completed in September.

Advances for wells are made on a different system, and at no special time, but a bond pledging property for the repayment of the advance is always taken. On these well advances no interest is charged.

33. Such being the system already in force in this matter, it remains to be seen what modifications the Commission would introduce. In the first place, it is clear that at the present time there is no binding engagement at all entered into with the opium cultivator. The agreement with the *khattadar* or *lambardar* may bind him, but it cannot bind the ryot, whom the opium officer at settlement time never sees. The present rough-and-ready system has worked fairly well hitherto; but for obvious reasons we ought not to presume too much upon freedom from loss in the past. An effort should now be made to place the system on a legal footing, while preserving, as far as possible, the advantages of the *lambardari* and *khattadari* system. This the Commission hope to do by taking engagements in writing from the actual cultivators who may wish to attend, while enabling those who prefer staying away to engage through the *lambardar* duly authorised by a power of attorney in that behalf. There can be no doubt in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion that if this were practicable it would be a great improvement, for it would at once exempt the industry of a careful ryot from being taxed, as it now is, for the sloth of his careless neighbour. Each man's responsibility would be defined, and thus a stimulus to individual industry supplied. To the success of this plan, however, the possession by the opium officer of such a knowledge of the villages as the Benares opium maps and records (paragraph 251) give is, if not essential, at all events most desirable and necessary, and it may well be doubted whether without such maps the plan is really practicable. The Commission, however, seem undeterred by the ill-success which attended the experimental introduction of the system into Behar (paragraph 262), and they propose to make another effort in that direction. The Lieutenant-Governor has heard something of the effort which was made to introduce maps, &c. into the Sewan Sub-Agency in Behar in 1880, and it would appear that the ill-success of the scheme was in a measure due to that want of local information, village maps, *patwari's* papers, &c., which meets us at every turn of administration in Bengal. If there is to be a cadastral survey of Behar under the Tenancy Bill all this will disappear, and it will become as easy to work in Behar on the system in question as in Benares. Until, however, our opium officers can be furnished

with cadastral village maps, the Lieutenant-Governor is doubtful of the use of trying an experiment which, from the beginning, seems exposed to failure in Behar from causes which seem to have escaped the Commission's notice. The case furnishes an addition to the multitude of arguments which support the claims of this Government for an Agricultural Department.

34. In regard to advances, the Commission see in the practice of giving more than one advance, "no advance commensurate with the inconvenience to Government in having to arrange for it, and to the cultivators in having to receive it." They accordingly recommend that ordinarily only one advance of Rs. 8 per bigha be given, besides Rs. 4 per maund for leaves, and Rs. 16 per 100 maunds of trash when contracts for these are given. This advance should, the Commission think, be made at time of settlements in August or September, a discretion being allowed to the deputy agent to make a further advance of Rs. 4 per bigha on special grounds. Settlements and advances should be made at each *kothee*, and not, as now, at the sub-agencies; and opium officers should be relieved of all treasury responsibilities by having the requisite funds disbursed by the collector at the *kothee* under special arrangements made for the purpose.

35. The proposals to relieve the opium officers of treasury responsibilities, and to hold settlements at the *kothees* within easy reach of the cultivators' villages, seem good; but the proposal to make only one advance runs counter to present practice or prejudice, and seems insufficiently supported by the Commission. No doubt the mere opinion of such a Commission is entitled to great weight, but it must not be forgotten that the opportuneness of the opium advances (which, be it remembered, bear no interest) has always been alleged as one of the reasons why the cultivation of the poppy is popular, and that this idea of opportuneness implied that advances were made at successive rent-paying seasons, thus saving the ryots from the mahajan, who charges heavy interest on his loans. It may, however, be that too much stress has been laid in local reports on this frequency of advances, and the fact that in Benares, where it seems only one advance is usually given, opium cultivation is no less popular than in Behar, would seem to show that there is no magic in giving several advances. The truth may lie between the extremes, and it may be unwise to lay down any general rule. In those districts where the *khareef*, being the chief crop, has to pay the largest rent kist, no doubt one payment in September would be convenient; but where, as in Behar, the largest kist is usually the *arughani*, it may be doubted whether, among an improvident people, one advance in September would be best calculated to preserve the popularity of the opium cultivation. After all the labour of making advances is not great, and as the *lambardars* take and distribute the money, the cultivators are not harassed. The Lieutenant-Governor understands that in this matter of distributing advance, it is not proposed to change the existing *khattadari* or *lambardari* system, the change to *assameewar* payments noted below being proposed in connexion with the payments on delivery of the drug only. In the matter of advances, then, it may be a wise policy to let well alone, or, at all events, to improve by degrees.

Weights and Payment for the Drug.—In Chapter IX., Part II., the existing state of things is described, and attention called to the fact that cultivators have to travel sometimes enormous distances to have their opium weighed and their accounts adjusted. In the Behar Agency there are only 20 weighment centres, and in Benares 48; but though the proportion of weighment centres to sub-agencies or *kothees* is larger in the latter than in the former agency, the Benares cultivator, owing to the scattered nature of the cultivation in this agency, has a far longer distance to travel than his Behar neighbour. When he gets to the weighment centre, the Benares man is delayed longer than the Behar man, for in Behar weighments are conducted wholesale, from 12 to 20 scales being at work at one time, while in Benares only two sets of scales are used at a time. The reason of this difference is twofold—*first*, in Benares payments are made *assameewar*, each cultivator receiving the sum due to him under the direct supervision of the gazetted officer in charge, while in Behar payment is made *khattawar*, the total amount due to the ryots on a *khatta* being made over to the *khattadar* for distribution among them; *secondly*, that as a rule each set of two scales in Benares is placed in charge of a special European officer, whose duty it is to keep a "check register" in English of the weighments

of each plate, as a safeguard against fraud by the vernacular register writers, while in Behar no check of the kind is in force. In the *puruk*, too, or system of testing the opium and recording its character, the Benares system is more elaborate and careful than that in force in Behar; for while in the former agency the class of opium is, on being declared, entered on the *lambardar's* license, on the cultivator's miniature license, and on a "classification sheet" kept in English by the opium officer, in Behar no entry is made in the licenses, nor is the "classification sheet" written up till the day's *puruk* is done. The more careful and elaborate system in force in Benares on the points noted, regarding weighment and *puruk*, is due to the fact that in the Benares Agency payment is made to each cultivator in person for the opium he delivers. The Commission attach the greatest importance to the maintenance of this principle, and they strongly recommend its introduction into the Behar Agency. The recommendation, if carried into effect, would be tantamount to a revolution in the practice which has always obtained in Behar; but there cannot be any doubt that, if it can be effected, the change would be beneficial. The question is—can it be at once effected?

37. It will be remembered that in the Benares Agency the settlements are made on the basis of village maps and village records, which render the opium officer independent of his circle or village subordinates. On the other hand, in Behar the opium officer is entirely dependent on such subordinates, the settlements being made on the information supplied by the *khattadars* and *zilladars*. Without the *khattadars* or *zilladars* it would be, in the present state of our village agency in Behar, impossible to make any opium settlements at all. But as the proposal to make payments *assameewar* in Behar means depriving the *khattadar* of his perquisites, it is highly probable that the *khattadar* will be against us if we strive to change the existing system. If he be against us our settlements run a very great risk of breaking down so long as we are unable to supply from other sources the information he now supplies. Thus, as has been already observed, even in this question of opium administration, we come round to the necessity, which in Bengal so repeatedly arises, of having a general cadastral survey and record of holdings. In other words, until the Tenancy Bill is passed, and our survey so far completed that we can place in the hands of our opium sub-agents copies of village maps, with relevant information as to classification and proprietorship of fields, we cannot afford to break down the *khattadari* system in Behar, or make any general effort to introduce payments *assameewar*. The Lieutenant-Governor does not doubt the desirability of the change on principle; he only thinks the present circumstances inopportune for introducing it. In any case, it would have a better chance of success if gradually and tentatively introduced by a Director-General in personal communication with the agent and his subordinates.

38. On the question of providing greater facilities for weighments, and more careful supervision over the scales, the Commission recognise the propriety of delay, and of collecting exact knowledge as to the best sites for the *kothees*. This question of more numerous and more conveniently-placed weighment centres has already come before the Lieutenant-Governor, who has sanctioned the experimental establishment of some. The question, however, has a financial aspect, as additional weighment centres cost money, and increased establishments. This is a matter, however, on which the Commission themselves (parag. 67) make no definite suggestions, and all the Lieutenant-Governor need do is to approve the leaving to the future its application in practice (the Government of India accept it) as opportunity and funds are available.

39. There are some other points in this chapter which may also be briefly mentioned, although, if the Lieutenant-Governor is of the opinion that the impracticability of at once abolishing the system of payments in Behar, no change can be taken on some of them. The proposal in paragraph 67, regarding *leaves and trash*, is a good one, but these, like the preceding proposals, have not been worked out by local officers. The establishment of more weighment centres are conveniently placed would be a boon to the cultivators, but the proposal seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be more a luxury than a necessity; and in his mind, it need not be given as a subject of miniature licenses.

APP. I.

Thompson's opinion, be again taken up, for it is an essential part of the scheme at which we should aim, and it can be pushed on, under present circumstances, in Behar as well as in Benares. On the abolition of *khurchan* and *khurcha* (paragraph 683), the Commission make urgent recommendations, and the Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt that the subject should receive immediate attention. The system, as described by the Commission, cannot be defended, and our efforts should, in Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion, be directed to its abolition. With the increase of pay and recognised commission, the abolition of the system might be enforced in Behar as well as in Benares (paragraph 684). Finally, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the recommendations in paragraphs 687-689 of the Report deserve favourable consideration.

40. *The Sudder Factories.*—In Chapter X., Part II., the Commission give a detailed description of the factories at Ghazeepur and Patna, and in Chapter VI., Part III., they sum up their recommendations for improving them in various ways. It would be useless to criticise these recommendations here, for no action can, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, possibly be taken on any suggestion or proposal made in the chapter without subjecting it to careful discussion and examination at the hands of local officers and the Public Works Department. If the Government of India think the Commission's views worth following up, and are ready to incur the cost, of which no estimate is given, it will then be time for this Government to discuss them, or refer them to local officers in detail.

41. *Factory Establishments.*—Recent events having clearly shown the urgent necessity for reorganising the factory establishments, and defining the responsibility of the agents and principal assistants, the Commission were especially directed to take these questions into their consideration. The result is a chapter very carefully worked out, in which the Lieutenant-Governor finds nothing to dissent from. In the first place, the principle is correctly laid down that "with the agent" ought to rest the responsibility for the careful and "efficient management of the factory," and as corollaries to that principle it is stated that communication between the agents and principal assistants (factory superintendents as the Commission would, to better define their *status*, call them), should be free from official formality, and, if not conducted orally, should be by half-margin letters or memoranda. While thus entirely subordinate to the agent, the factory superintendent should be supreme within the factory; should, subject to the agent's *veto*, have the appointment of all officers employed in it at a pay of Rs. 150 and under; and should be consulted on the appointment of others. In all this the Lieutenant-Governor sees nothing to object to.

42. The next point discussed is the appointment of the principal assistant or superintendent himself, and on it the Commission's remarks seem to the Lieutenant-Governor convincing, and the scheme they propose well calculated to secure efficient men for the important post in question. Briefly, they point out, what experience has repeatedly shown, that we cannot rely on getting efficient principal assistants from the medical department, and they propose, therefore, to train up men for the post by announcing that it will be open to opium officers who qualify themselves at the Royal School of Chemistry, South Kensington, and who have passed through a workshop course. Men so qualified should be appointed assistant factory superintendents, and would become, in course of time, superintendents. The scheme seems in every way excellent, calculated to secure the class of men we want, as well as to afford a sufficient inducement and incentive to the work in members of the class. Everything, in Mr. Rivers Thompson's opinion, seems to be in accordance with the necessity of having scientific men for the post, and the Board's suggestion in their letter of the 2nd January 1884) to have the chemist to attend to both agencies does not seem to itself to his acceptance. Even with the proposed communication, he might be away when the superintendent would give rise to disputes and difficulties between the agencies. Each agency in this system is self-contained. Besides, as factory superintendents (in the Commission's lines) the chemist's duties at each agency would be continuously performed. The Commission's proposal has, indeed, the effect of placing individual responsibility for the management of the factory, which, now shared between the agent and his subordinates, leads to

43. Next, the Commission deal with the superior and inferior factory staff. At present the pay of the permanent staff at Ghazeepur seems to range from a minimum of Rs. 2,486-8 to Rs. 2536-8 per month, while at Patna it is Rs. 1,719 per month. It is proposed to raise it at Ghazeepur to Rs. 2,763-3,063, and at Patna to Rs. 2,686-8-2,938-8 per mensem, at the same time doing away with the allowances and commission now received, and effecting minor savings. This cost, however, does not include the cost of police guards, which it is rightly proposed to introduce at Ghazeepur as at Patna, nor the cost of temporary establishments. If the Government of India sanction the general idea, the details will have to be worked out in more detail by means of proposition statements. The general scheme, however, seems to be good, and might be approved.

44. *Operations subsequent to Weighment.*—It was an instruction to the Commission to prepare a code of rules for the factory. This they have done, printing it in a separate volume, both for the sake of handiness and because it was not desirable to publish abroad the process of manufacture. It is, of course, impossible for the Lieutenant-Governor to criticise this code. Time and experience only can show how far it serves its purpose. Meanwhile it reduces to a concise and handy form the practice most approved in both factories, and as such may be accepted. Some of its provisions, however, contemplate the adoption of proposals made in the report, and therefore, until orders are passed on the report, it will be hardly possible to sanction the code.

45. One matter, however, which is dealt with in the code is also referred to in this chapter, namely, the method of clearing up the cultivators' accounts after assay of the drug in the factory, and it seems to the Lieutenant-Governor that a provisional approval may be accorded to the proposals on this head contained in paragraphs 765-768 of the report. The matter is technical, and the question of working it out in practice will have to be considered by the local officers.

46. In paragraph 770 an important point is raised in the proposal to impose on the Behar agent the duty of providing chests for both factories. The Commission treat the point rather briefly, and all that can be said on it here is that fuller discussion is needed before a decision is possible. When it is remembered that in the discussions connected with the recent damage to the Ghazeepur provision opium it was alleged that sal chests were unfit for Benares opium, the necessity for further consideration will be evident. It is indeed probable that sal wood is no more unfitted for Benares than for Patna opium; but apart from this consideration, if the supply of mango wood in Behar is decreasing, it seems very questionable whether the duty of providing Ghazeepur with chests should be imposed on Patna. The question needs, however, a more thorough examination than the Commission give it.

47. The only portion of the report which now remains for consideration is the last, opium laws and their administration; but before discussing that subject the Lieutenant-Governor wishes to call attention to the chapters of Part II., which have not indirectly come under notice in connexion with the Commission's recommendations. These are Chapters 23 (competition of other crops with opium poppy) and 24 (consumption of excise opium). It will be seen that the Commission are strongly of the opinion that opium has nothing to fear from the competition of other crops, and that, although handicapped by a bad system of administration, it even now more than holds its own. It seems clear enough that poppy need not fear competition with cereals; and from the estimates of comparative profits which are given, the advantage of poppy over tobacco, sugar-cane, and potatoes would appear to be established. With due deference, however, for the opinion of the Commission (paragraph 572), Mr. Rivers Thompson does not place entire faith in their estimates; that for sugar-cane (paragraph 571), for instance, is defective in making no allowance for the fibre which the crushed stem yields, nor for the sugar-cane leaves and refuse or uncrystallizable extract of the cane, both of which make excellent food for cattle. The items of expenditure also are open to question. It is, however, unnecessary to enter at length on these points, for it is sufficient to know, and this knowledge is confirmed by district experience, that opium cultivation is popular. If the improvements recommended by the Commission be introduced, there is no doubt that its popularity will be increased, and that it will continue to compete on more than even terms with other crops.

48. The question of *consumption of excise opium* is mainly the question of illicit retention and sale of the drug. The Commission are strongly of opinion that the drug is very largely kept back, consumed, and exported by cultivators and others in the producing districts; and looking, as they do, on the question as one of paramount importance, the Commission recommend that an energetic policy should be announced by Government and resolutely maintained in regard to it. Their figures, and the conclusions they draw from them regarding illicit sale in the producing districts, may be open to criticism in detail; but, on the whole, they establish the probability that illicit sale and export does go on to a very great extent. The question of illicit consumption of the drug in the producing districts is not so free from doubt; and the Lieutenant-Governor understands that the inquiries of the Excise Commission, now sitting, tend to suggest the conclusion that in these opium-producing districts it is country spirits, and not opium, which is favoured by the people. In other words, those inquiries, instead of confirming, weaken the Opium Commission's conclusion. The point is one of great interest, and the Lieutenant-Governor has accordingly instructed the President of the Excise Commission to consider how far the results of his inquiries coincide with, or differ from, those of the Opium Commission on this matter of illicit consumption in the opium-growing districts.

49. The measures which the Commission propose for the suppression of illicit practices form, with the necessary modifications in the law, the subject of the last chapter.

In paragraphs 774 and 779 the Commission express a strong opinion that Act I. of 1878 need not be touched at all. Sections 14 and 15 (search and seizure) have, they say, been abused in some districts of Behar; but this can be met by executive order or by amendment of the rules.

Act XIII. of 1857 the Commission propose to "recast" rather than revise. Their proposals in respect of this Act fall into two classes:—

- (i.) Those alterations which would be necessitated by the reorganisation of the Department which the Commission advocate.
- (ii.) Alterations suggested by administrative experience of the working of the Act and independent of the departmental changes proposed by the Commission.

Paragraphs 254 to 259 and 647 to 650 point out the legal defects in the present system of giving advances, and to these reference has already been made with sufficient fulness. Section 8 of Act XIII. contemplates engagements *direct* with the cultivators, and only such direct engagements can be legally enforced by penalty under section 10. The Commission suggest arrangements for dealing direct with the cultivators, and they propose to amend section 10 so as to provide for—

- (a.) Complaint by sub-agent with written consent of agent.
- (b.) Trial by a magistrate, as in section 3 of the Opium Act of 1878.
- (c.) Maximum penalty of Rs. 50, or three times the advance, whichever might be the larger.
- (d.) Payment of costs of prosecution and unliquidated advance out of the fine.
- (e.) Double maximum punishment in case of second offence.
- (f.) Recovery of the penalty for which section 10 does not provide.

The Lieutenant-Governor can find no specific recommendation on this last point, but it would seem reasonable to prescribe simple imprisonment for the terms set forth in section 67 of the Penal Code, *i.e.* :—

Up to Rs. 50	-	-	2 months	} Maximum.
" 100	-	-	4 "	
Any other case	-	-	6 "	

Section 11 the Commission do not propose to alter.

In section 16 they would introduce the modern system of recovery as arrears of land revenue, but would allow no process to issue without the authority of the agent.

In section 18 the Commission would raise the penalty for illegal exactions of rent from three times to ten times the amount of the illegal cess or excess rent exacted, and would provide a "cheap and speedy" method of adjudication." Their recommendation in regard to illegal exaction of rent has been sufficiently met by section 86 of the revised Tenancy Bill. The question of providing a "cheap and easy method of adjudication" is a difficulty which is still unsolved. It

may well be doubted whether it is wise to cherish a belief in the possibility of devising a "cheap and speedy adjudication" of any *disputed* question relating to rent, and these questions would necessarily be disputed.

It is proposed to strike out entirely sections 24 and 25 as being liable to abuse. The proposal is in accordance with the general lines of policy laid down by the Commission for dealing with the cultivators. If those lines are approved, the repeal of these sections would follow.

In respect of section 29, the Commission propose that the provisions regarding imprisonment in the civil gaol should not extend to persons convicted of the illegal purchase of opium from a cultivator. It would be necessary then to insert in section 20 a provision corresponding to that suggested above for section 10.

50. The preceding are the points upon which the Lieutenant-Governor has thought it right to express his views to the Government of India. In conclusion he would again express his appreciation of the report as a whole, and his sense of the obligation under which the members of the Commission have placed the Government by their zealous and exhaustive inquiry into the condition of a very important department of the public service.

No. 3 B., dated 2nd January 1884.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge receipt of Mr. Bolton's letter, No. 2501-187 O., dated 28th November, forwarding, for an expression of the views of the Board, a copy of the report on the working of the Opium Department, drawn up by the Commission, appointed by the Government of India, and to reply as follows.

2. It is not, the Board presume, the intention of the Government of Bengal, when asking whether the Board would wish to make any remarks in regard to the report, that they should enter on any detailed examination and discussion of the numerous proposals submitted by the Commission. The time, moreover, within which it has been directed that the Board's views should be expressed would preclude the possibility of their so doing. They will therefore only offer a few observations on some of the more important changes proposed by the Commission in Part III. under the heading of "Recommendations."

3. It would be unbecoming on the part of the Board to criticise minutely the reasons on which the Commission have based their proposal to remove the control of the Opium Department from the Board of Revenue, in whom it is now vested by law, and to place it under a Director-General, who would act immediately under the orders of the Government of India. But they perhaps be permitted to make the following observations on this recommendation for the consideration of Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. In the first place, with reference to the appointment of a Director-General, I am to remark that it is evidently intended that the appointment should be a highly paid one it is for the Government to decide whether the means for creating such an office are sufficiently cogent to warrant a large increase of expenditure in the administration of the Department at a time when the revenue is falling. The Board are inclined to think, whether, unless he virtually supersedes the duties, the Director-General will have to occupy his time throughout the year. It is as essential to shorten the chain of communication between the agents and the Government, and to place the administration of the Department immediately under the control of the Lieutenant-General in Council, this object might, perhaps, be effected by a re-arrangement of their duties in connection with the present system of direct subordination to the Government of India. The Board do not think it would be wise to present any administrative proposal which would involve the loss of touch, in any way, with the local officers and agents, and which would certainly result from placing

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of a Director-General, would, so far at least, as the province of Behar is concerned, be avoided.

4. In the next place, if the duties of the Board are as proposed by the Commission, to be confined to the functions of auctioneer and godown-keeper, and their connexion with the general control and direction of this important branch of the revenue is to be completely severed, the ill-effects of such a measure will, the Board are inclined to think, be felt in the complete cessation of the friendly unofficial communications which at present constantly take place between the Board and the leading opium purchasers and shippers in Calcutta in all matters connected with this Department. On questions concerning the manufacture and packing of the drug these gentlemen have hitherto been in frequent communication with the Board; they are at all times most courteous in placing at the Board's* disposal any information which they may receive from their friends and correspondents in China, and at any time when unfounded rumours are spread abroad regarding the intentions of Government, they are able, in personal interview with the member or secretary, to ascertain at once what the intentions of Government are. With a Director-General stationed at Lucknow, or on tour within the limits of the opium districts, any such free intercommunication will be impossible, and the Board are of opinion that, looking to the special characteristics of the opium trade—for instance, our want of knowledge of the demand in China, or the speculative nature of the operation in this drug—the interests of Government are liable to suffer from disconnexion with the gentlemen engaged in the trade.

5. With reference to the scheme sketched by the Commission in paragraph 615 of their report, the Board desire to be allowed to point out that there is nothing very novel in the arrangement indicated of one of the members of the Board proceeding on tour to the agencies. For, with the exception of the appeals which it devolves upon the Board to hear, it is open to either member to arrange that all business requiring his orders be submitted to him while absent from the Presidency (as, in parallel case, official business follows the Lieutenant-Governor while on tour). There would indeed be no need for an acting officer to be appointed in Calcutta in the place of the temporarily absent member, who might without difficulty absent himself from the Presidency for a time sufficient to admit of his making a very complete inspection of both agencies. The Board do not quite understand what is meant by the visit degenerating into a mere cold-weather tour; or why this result should be more likely to occur in the case of a member of the Board proceeding on a tour of inspection than in the case of an inspector-general of goods, or police, or registration. It is well known that for some time past Government have attached much value to cold-weather tours; and it would be easy for the Government to ensure that the inspection, conducted by the members of the Board, should be of a complete and searching description.

6. The emoluments suggested for opium agents in the Commission's report are set out in paragraph 619, with the proposed conditions of tenure of the appointments. I am to be understood to serve that if the view propounded above in paragraph 3 be admitted, viz., that an energetic Director-General will virtually supersede the agents in many of their functions, and relieve them of much of their responsibility, then there seems to be no necessity to increase the salaries of the two agents on so high a scale as is indicated. These officers will in fact be nothing more than assistants to the Director-General. The Commission have not explained the grounds on which they propose to limit the term of their appointments to three years, and the Board see no object in prescribing a shorter term.

7. The proposal made in paragraph 618, to attach a covenanted civilian as personal assistant to the Director-General (should such an appointment be created), is, the Board are inclined to think, unnecessary, the number of covenanted civilians sent yearly to India is now, the Board apprehend, so small that one can ill be spared for such duties. Moreover, with the ample leisure which the Director-General will have at his disposal, the personal assistant should have no duties to perform which cannot well be carried out by an officer taken from the lower ranks of the subordinate executive service.

8. The subject of remissions and recovery of advances dealt with in Chapter IV. of Part III. of the Report, forms the subject of a separate correspondence. It is therefore not necessary to refer to it particularly in this letter.

9. The Board would venture with some diffidence to record their dissent from the proposals made by the Commission in paragraphs 720-729 of Chapter VII. of Part III. regarding the appointments of principal assistants at the factories. The Commission appear to recognise the necessity of having a thoroughly instructed chemist appointed to the post, which they would designate as that of "Superintendent of the—Factory;" but their recommendations seem to the Board quite inadequate to secure the services of an officer of even moderate scientific attainments. An army surgeon of some eight or ten years' service may not possess high attainments as a chemist, but his services are, it seems to the Board, preferable to those of an assistant agent of the Opium Department, who has after a nine months' course of study, obtained a certificate from the Royal School of Chemistry. Such an officer can, the Board venture to say, have but a smattering of the science of which he is presumed to have acquired a competent knowledge. It may be true, as stated by the Commissioner, that from the ranks of the medical service a highly scientific chemist is not ordinarily procurable; but the Board believe that among the members of that service will always be found some who have a natural inclination for that branch of science, and have devoted time and attention to its study. Such men, with the advantage that their medical training gives them, will, the Board are of opinion, discharge the scientific portion of the duties of principal assistant in a more efficient manner than a promoted assistant of the Opium Department. The Board are fully aware of the drawback which the want of experience of the working of an opium factory imposes on the medical officer; but this seems to be unavoidable, if scientific attainments are to be considered as an essential qualification. The Board would throw out the suggestion that perhaps it might be sufficient to have a medical officer possessed of scientific attainments as a chemist at only one of the factories, the similar post at the other factory being taken by a qualified assistant of the Opium Department. Communication between the factories by rail is now easy, and the medical officer could easily either pay frequent visits to the other factory, or cases requiring special inquiry could be sent to him.

10. In conclusion, I am to say the Board observe that the adoption of the recommendations made by the Commission will involve a very largely increased expenditure, but the report gives no estimate of the probable amount which their acceptance will entail. A large majority of them appear, if the Board may be allowed to express an opinion, to be well considered and worthy of introduction. The changes advocated in Chapter III., paragraph 632 *et seq.*, require, the Board think, a full and complete scrutiny. The salaries proposed for some at least of the establishments appear at first sight to be on a somewhat unusually liberal scale.

No. 398 B., dated 14th June 1884.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 150 T. R., dated 30th April, communicating the consent of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Board of Revenue taking into consideration and submitting suggestions for giving effect to the recommendations made by the late Opium Commission on certain minor matters connected with the administration of the Opium Department.

2. I am accordingly to submit, for the consideration and orders of Government, a proposal submitted by the opium agent, Benares, for the formation of three new sub-agencies in the Benares Opium Agency. The proposal in question was submitted by the opium agent some months ago, but was referred to the late Opium Commission, and kept in abeyance pending their report.

3. The Opium Commission, in paragraph 629 of their report, consider the proposals of the Benares agent, stated in their paragraph 627, insufficient to meet the requirements of the Benares Agency. They are of opinion that the scheme proposed by the agent for the Oudh districts may be adopted, though even then the charge of the Fyzabad sub-deputy agent will be inconveniently large. But in the North-Western Provinces they consider that, as a rule, not more than two revenue districts should be assigned to an opium sub-agency, and they recommend that the Benares Agency should be divided into 18 sub-agencies.

4. The large increase recommended by the Opium Commission must, the Board presume, await the orders of Government of their report. Mr. Carnac has, however, pointed out that three new sub-agencies can be formed at once without increase of expenditure, and it is for the formation of these new sub-agencies that the orders of Government are now requested.

5. The opium agent in submitting his proposal recommended that the three new sub-agencies should be formed as follows:—

- (1.) By severing the Etawah sub-division from the Cawnpore Sub-Agency and the Mainpuri sub-division from the Fatehgarh Sub-Agency, and forming them into a new sub-agency, to be called the Etawah Sub-Agency.
- (2.) By separating the Sitapur, Hardui, and Kheri sub-divisions from the Lucknow Sub-Agency, and forming them into a new sub-agency, to be called the Sitapur Sub-Agency.
- (3.) By separating the Rai Bareilly and the Saloun sub-divisions from the Sultanpur Sub-Agency, and forming them into a new sub-agency, to be called the Rai Bareilly Sub-Agency. The agent, in submitting his proposals, gives the following reasons for his selection of the sub-divisions which it is proposed to transfer to form the new divisions.

Etawah, the agent states, is an extensive and important district, with nearly 20,000 bighas under poppy cultivation, and an outturn of over 2,500 maunds of opium, and is in charge of an assistant subordinate to the sub-deputy agent at Cawnpore. In Etawah there is room for extension of cultivation, where an experienced officer could do much good. After the severance of the Etawah sub-division from the Cawnpore Sub-Agency, the sub-deputy agent of Cawnpore will still have charge of the sub-divisions of Humipur, Jaloun, and a portion of Jhansi, which is, the agent thinks, a charge of sufficient magnitude for one officer. The agent also states that Fatehgarh, which is a heavy district, should be relieved of Mainpuri; if the Lucknow division be relieved of Sitapur, Hardui, and Kheri, the agent thinks that the remaining portion will still be a charge of adequate extent for one officer.

Rai Bareilly and Saloun have a cultivation of 30,800 bighas, with an outturn of 5,142 maunds, and are under the charge of an assistant sub-deputy agent.

6. Maps showing the existing and proposed sub-agencies of the Benares Opium Agency are enclosed, together with a statement showing the area of cultivation and the outturn of opium in each sub-division. From this statement it will be seen that the total cultivation and outturn of the existing sub-agencies of

Cawnpore, Fatehgarh, Lucknow, and Sultanpur will be affected as follows by the formation of the three new sub-agencies of Etawah, Sitapur, and Rai Bareilly. The total cultivation of the Cawnpore Sub-Agency amounts to 34,369 B—9b, and of the Fatehgarh Sub-Agency to 45,972 B—16b, and the total outturn to 3,838 maunds 31 seers 3 chittacks, and 6,237 maunds 33 seers 8½ chittacks respectively. When, however, Etawah and Mainpuri have been separated from these sub-agencies, their cultivation and outturn will be reduced to 1,420 B—10b and 1,302 maunds 15 seers 3 chittacks and 32,411 B—3b and 4,193 maunds 12 seers 8 chittacks respectively, while the total cultivation of the new sub-agency of Etawah will be 33,510 B—12b, and the total outturn 4,580 maunds 36 seers 6½ chittacks. The total cultivation of the Lucknow Sub-Agency will be reduced from 52,245 B—17b to 28,946 B—7b, and the total outturn from 6,586 maunds 8 seers 11½ chittacks to 3,970 maunds 18 seers 2½ chittacks by the formation of the new sub-agency of Sitapur, which will have a total cultivation of 23,299 B—10b, and a total outturn of 2,615 maunds 30 seers 8½ chittacks.

The total cultivation and outturn of the Sultanpur Sub-Agency will be reduced from 51,596 B—12b to 20,774 B—14b, and from 8,225 maunds 7 seers 3 chittacks to 3,083 maunds 1 seer 6½ chittacks respectively, giving the new sub-agency of Rai Bareilly a total cultivation of 30,821 B—18 b, and a total outturn of 5,142 maunds 5 seers 12½ chittacks.

7. In respect of the establishments necessary for the working of the three new sub-agencies, the agent reports that they can be provided for without increased expenditure to the State by the redistribution and transfer of staff from the old to the new sub-agencies. He accordingly proposes (as will be seen from the proposition on statement which has been submitted through the Accountant-General, Bengal, for verification of the present scale of establishment) to transfer one mohurrir from Cawnpore and one mohurrir, one clerk, and one peon from Fatehgarh for the Etawah Sub-Agency; one clerk, two mohurrirs, and one peon from Lucknow for the Sitapur Sub-Agency; and two mohurrirs, two burkundzes, and one peon from Sultanpur for the Rai Bareilly Sub-Agency. The existing establishments of the sub-divisions of Etawah, Mainpuri, Satipur, Hardui, Kheri, Rai Bareilly, and Saloun are unaffected by the transfers above mentioned. These transfers, it will be seen, are to be used for the purpose of forming new sudder offices of the three new sub-agencies. The agent states, that though these establishments for the sudder offices are smaller than those usually sanctioned for large divisions, yet they will be sufficient for the present for the requirements of the new sub-agencies.

8. It will be observed that the increased expenditure on account of the cost of the sudder office establishments of the sub-deputy agents of the three new sub-agencies will amount to Rs. 312,* of which amount Rs. 232 will be met by a corresponding reduction in the other sub-agencies of the Benares Agency, which will be affected by the changes indicated in the proposition statement. The balance of Rs. 80 will, the agent reports, be met from the saving of the pay of treasurers of the Fyzabad, Lucknow, and Basti agencies. The agent states that the Fyzabad Lucknow sub-agencies have been without treasurer some time, and the treasurer of the Basti Sub-Agency who has attained the age of 55 years, will retire; that, as under the existing system no incony will be felt by the abolition of these appointments will not be filled up.

9. With regard to the appointments to be made by the formation of the three new sub-agencies the agent's proposal is that three of the deputy opium agencies of the first grade month should be transformed into sub-agencies of the fifth grade on Rs. 500 effect of this change would be to reduce the charge on the State, while the inconvenience would both conduce to the greater interest in their work and convenience. Instead of four sub-agencies of the fifth grade and four assistant agents of the first grade there will be four deputies of the fifth grade and four agents of the first grade, each in receipt of Rs. 500

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10. Under these circumstances I am to request that the sanction of Government may be given to the Benares agent's proposals for the formation of

three new sub-agencies being carried out on an early date.

Existing Divisions and Sub-Divisions.				Proposed Divisions and Sub-Divisions.			
Division.	Sub-Division.	Area under Cultivation in 1881-82.	Outturn.	Division.	Sub-Division.	Cultivation.	Outturn.
		B. B. D.	M. S. C.			B. B. D.	M. S. C.
GHAZIPUR	Ghazipur	7,845 4 0	799 12 6½	GHAZIPUR	Ghazipur	7,845 4 0	799 12 6½
	Ballia	6,859 1 0	786 39 9½		Ballia	6,859 1 0	786 39 9½
	Zamaneah	7,091 0 0	1,077 8 5½		Zamaneah	7,091 0 0	1,077 8 5½
	Benares	900 5 0	86 22 11½		Benares	900 5 0	86 22 11½
	Sayyedpur	5,880 15 0	595 26 4½		Sayyedpur	5,880 15 0	595 26 4½
	Chandauli	4,930 19 0	749 22 4½		Chandauli	4,930 19 0	749 22 4½
	Mirzapur	6,088 12 0	672 12 4½		Mirzapur	6,088 12 0	672 12 4½
		39,395 16 0	4,767 23 14			39,395 16 0	4,767 23 14
AZAMGURH	Azamgurbh	4,073 0 0	550 34 1	AZAMGURH	Azamgurbh	4,073 0 0	550 34 1
	Ghosi	5,095 8 0	794 5 0½		Ghosi	5,095 8 0	794 5 0½
	Nagra	4,632 0 0	661 34 5½		Nagra	4,632 0 0	661 34 5½
	Jaunpur	2,492 3 0	232 23 2½		Jaunpur	2,492 3 0	232 23 2½
		16,292 11 0	2,239 16 9½			16,292 11 0	2,239 16 9½
GORUCKHPUR	Goruckhpur	6,881 0 0	767 5 1½	GORUCKHPUR	Goruckhpur	6,881 0 0	767 5 1½
	Patherwah	8,606 10 0	721 38 14½		Patherwah	8,606 10 0	721 38 14½
	Bhagulpur	9,329 16 0	1,295 10 0½		Bhagulpur	9,329 16 0	1,295 10 0½
	Golah	7,635 0 0	1,221 14 4½		Golah	7,635 0 0	1,221 14 4½
		32,452 6 0	4,005 28 5			32,452 6 0	4,005 28 5
BASTI	Basti	12,732 12 0	1,510 25 12½	BASTI	Basti	12,732 12 0	1,510 25 12½
	Amorah	10,192 6 0	1,291 33 4½		Almorah	10,192 6 0	1,291 33 4½
	Bansi	3,002 12 0	268 27 6½		Bansi	3,002 12 0	268 27 6½
	Domeriganj	5,206 2 0	446 31 15½		Domeriganj	5,206 2 0	446 31 15½
	Khalilabad	5,545 12 0	591 29 14½		Khalilabad	5,545 12 0	591 29 14½
		36,679 4 0	4,109 28 4½			36,679 4 0	4,109 28 4½
ALLAHABAD	Allahabad	4,265 12 0	675 5 0½	ALLAHABAD	Allahabad	4,265 12 0	675 5 0½
	Fatehpur	9,079 7 0	1,415 10 13½		Fatehpur	9,079 7 0	1,415 10 13½
	Sarsa	4,855 18 0	1,087 23 8½		Sarsa	4,855 18 0	1,087 23 8½
	Banda	1,561 18 0	181 11 0½		Banda	1,561 18 0	181 11 0½
		19,762 15 0	3,359 10 7½			19,762 15 0	3,359 10 7½
CAWNPORE	Cawnpore	3,524 10 0	337 31 8½	CAWNPORE	Cawnpore	3,524 10 0	337 31 8½
	Rura	6,478 1 0	617 7 14½		Rura	6,478 1 0	617 7 14½
	Hamirpur	1,109 0 0	66 26 4½		Hamirpur	1,109 0 0	66 26 4½
	Jaloun	3,218 19 0	280 30 1½		Jaloun	3,218 19 0	280 30 1½
	Etawah	19,948 19 0	2,536 15 6		Etawah	19,948 19 0	2,536 15 6
		34,269 9 0	3,838 31 3			34,269 9 0	3,838 31 3
FATEHGARH	Fatehgarh	7,843 15 0	937 15 11½	FATEHGARH	Fatehgarh	7,843 15 0	937 15 11½
	Bhojpur	10,140 10 0	1,394 32 3½		Bhojpur	10,140 10 0	1,394 32 3½
	Aukin	13,561 13 0	2,044 21 0½		Aukin	13,561 13 0	2,044 21 0½
			45,973 16 0		6,237 33 8½		
						33,411 3 0	4,193 12 8

Existing Divisions and Sub-Divisions.				Proposed Divisions and Sub-Divisions.			
Division.	Sub-Division.	Area under Cultivation in 1881-82.	Outturn.	Division.	Sub-Division.	Cultivation.	Outturn.
		B. B. D.	M. S. C.			B. B. D.	M. S. C.
BAREILLY	Bareilly	2,928 5 0	233 14 6½	BAREILLY	Bareilly	2,928 5 0	233 14 6½
	Shahjehanpur	12,706 5 0	1,509 0 1½		Shahjehanpur	12,706 5 0	1,509 0 1½
	Budaon	10,379 10 0	1,297 37 6¼		Budaon	10,379 0 0	1,297 37 6¼
	Moradabad	329 0 1	18 38 4¼		Moradabad	329 0 1	18 38 4¼
		26,342 0 1	3,109 10 2½			26,342 0 1	3,109 10 2½
ALIGURH	Aligurh	300 4 0	15 37 6½	ALIGURH	Aligurh	300 4 0	15 37 6½
	Agra	347 2 0	16 36 16¼		Agra	347 2 0	16 36 16¼
	Muthra	532 15 0	8 0 1½		Muthra	532 15 0	8 0 1½
	Etah	3,719 7 0	504 28 12		Etah	3,719 7 0	504 28 12
		4,899 8 0	545 23 3¼			4,899 8 0	545 23 3¼
LUCKNOW	Lucknow or Unao	14,097 8 0	1,904 32 11¼	LUCKNOW	Lucknow cum Unao.	14,097 8 0	1,904 32 11¼
	Sitapur	10,324 0 0	942 19 12¼		Barbanki	14,846 19 0	2,065 25 7¼
	Hardui	9,998 9 0	1,485 9 9¼		26,946 7 0	3,970 18 2½	
	Barbanki	14,846 19 0	2,065 25 7¼				
		3,977 1 0	188 1 4	SITAPUR	Sitapur	10,324 0 0	942 19 12¼
		52,245 17 0	6,586 8 11¼		Hardui	9,998 9 0	1,485 9 9¼
					Kheri	2,977 1 0	188 1 4
						23,299 10 0	2,615 30 8¼
FAIZABAD	Faizabad	12,298 3 0	1,961 3 14¼	FAIZABAD	Faizabad	12,298 3 0	1,961 3 14¼
	Gondah	17,627 3 0	1,774 17 10¼		Gondah	17,627 3 0	1,774 17 10¼
	Bahraich	8,544 0 0	689 4 0¼		Bahraich	8,544 0 0	689 4 0¼
			33,469 6 6	4,424 25 9¼			58,469 6 0
SULTANPUR	Sultanpur	8,211 15 0	1,185 34 2¼	SULTANPUR	Sultanpur	8,211 15 0	1,185 34 2¼
	Partabgarh	12,562 19 0	1,897 7 4¼		Partabgarh	12,562 19 0	1,897 7 4¼
	Rai Bareilly	20,195 18 0	3,329 21 4¼		20,774 14 0	3,083 1 6¼	
	Saloun	10,628 0 0	1,812 24 8¼	RAI BAREILLY	Rai Bareilly	20,195 18 0	3,329 21 4¼
		51,696 18 0	8,225 7 3		Saloun	10,628 0 0	1,812 24 8¼
						30,821 18 0	5,142 5 12¼

No. 51, dated 17th February 1885.

From the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

We have the honour to address your Lordship in regard to the proposals submitted by the Commission appointed in 1883 to inquire into the organisation of the Bengal Opium Department and into the working of the Patna and Ghazipur Opium Agencies.

2. The instructions given to the Commission are contained in our resolution in the Department of Finance and Commerce, No. 713, dated 4th May 1883, a copy of which was forwarded with our Despatch, No. 44, dated 27th June 1884. Your Lordship, in Despatch No. 81 (Revenue), dated 25th September 1884, referred with approval to our proceedings on the subject.

3. We now forward a copy of the report of the Commission, with copies of the letters containing the views of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, and the Government of Bengal on the proposals submitted by the Commission.

4. The report of the Commission is divided into four parts:—

Part I. explains the origin and progress of the Opium Department in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces;

Part II. reviews the existing condition of the Department;

Part III. contains the recommendations of the Commission; and

Part IV., which is separately printed as a code, lays down rules for the working of the Patna and Ghazipur opium factories.

The Commission have dealt in a careful and extensive manner with the various questions referred for consideration, and have submitted in Part III. report their suggestions for the improvement of organisation and working of the Opium Department.

5. The most important recommendation of the Commission is the proposal to withdraw the the Opium Department from the Board of Lower Provinces, and to place the Department under the control of a single officer directly to the Government of India.

It is to this proposal that we desire to confine ourselves in our present communication to your Lordship. The general revision of the matters recommended by the Commission are of such importance that they cannot be considered until the question of the control of the Department is decided.

6. Some of the minor measures suggested by the Commission may be advantageously perhaps introduced without waiting for the settlement of the general question of the future of the Department, and the Government have therefore been requested to

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considered in detail in view to the sanction and introduction of such of them as need not be postponed. The more important reforms recommended are of a nature to render it advisable that they should be gradually introduced after the appointment of the new head of the Department. A copy of our letter to the Government of Bengal is annexed. We do not at present ask for your Lordship's orders on any of these questions.

7. The recommendations of the Commission regarding the control of the Opium Department will be found in Chapter II. of Part III. of the Report. The Commission recommend that the Board of Revenue and the Government of Bengal should be relieved of the control of the Department so far as concerns the growth and manufacture of opium, and that this control should be entrusted to an officer to be styled the Director-General of the Opium Department, who will work directly under the Government of India in the Financial Department. Their reasons are fully set forth in paragraphs 605 to 617 of the report, and we need not repeat them. The Government of Bengal concurs in the conclusions of the Commission on this point. This change was also recommended by a Committee which considered the question in 1871. We are of opinion that the proposed transfer of control would result in increased efficiency, and we solicit your Lordship's sanction to the proposal.

8. The control of the Department is vested by law in the Board of Revenue, Bengal, and the Act XIII. of 1857 does not give Government any power to transfer that control to any other authority. It will therefore be necessary to amend Act XIII. of 1857 so as to give this power to the Government of India, and we request your Lordship's sanction to the necessary legislation on the subject.

9. The control of the operations connected with the growth and manufacture of opium need not necessarily, in our opinion, be in the same hands as the arrangements for the storage and sale of opium. As to the latter, the Commission recommend that the Board of Revenue should continue to discharge the duties connected with the custody and sale of opium in Calcutta. The Government of Bengal considers that these duties also might be transferred to the Director-General. We are of opinion that it is very desirable that these duties should be performed by some authority permanently located in Calcutta. The Board of Revenue has satisfactorily discharged this duty hitherto, and neither the new Director-General nor any other authority has such facilities as the Board of Revenue for the proper performance of the work. We do not consider that the withdrawal of the control of the totally distinct operations connected with the growth and manufacture of opium in any way gives ground for supposing that the Board will conduct the duties of the custody and sale of opium in Calcutta less satisfactorily than they have conducted them in the past. It is, moreover, of great importance that merchants concerned in the opium trade, who have no direct concern with the growth and manufacture of opium, but who are intimately and essentially concerned in the sale, should not be disturbed in their present relations with the local authorities.

10. We are therefore of opinion that the chests of opium when packed at the two agencies should be assigned, as at present, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, and that the Board should continue to discharge the custody and sale of the opium.

With regard to the office of the Director-General of the Opium Department, we are of opinion that his salary should be such as to place him on an equality with Commissioners of Revenue in Bengal and the Western Provinces. Accordingly we con- sider the proposals of the Bengal Government as to the allowances of the Director-General to be

The appointment of a Director-General will be an important change in the position of the two agencies at Ghazipur. These officers have now to discharge greater responsibilities than they have when the Director-General assumes charge of the Department. The Director-General will himself, to the extent of his powers, be in the performance of duties, such as the control of operations in the Provinces, the supervision of the agents, and which the Board of Revenue system undertake only under the supervision of the Director-General, and to such an extent as may be considered necessary. The work of the agents will be controlled by the Director-General, who will be responsible for all

that takes place in the two agencies. We accordingly propose to alter the designation of these two officers from "Agent" to "Deputy Director-General," and to assign to the junior officer a salary of Rs. 1,500, rising to Rs. 1,800, and to the senior a salary of Rs. 2,250. These officers would, when Government considered it desirable, or circumstances render it necessary, revert to the ordinary line of service in the Province to which they belong.

13. Our present reference to your Lordship is limited to the points above explained, the settlement of which we consider necessary before we can take up for disposal the many other important recommendations.

14. The several recommendations of the Commission will, undoubtedly, if adopted, involve an increase of expenditure. But till we have considered and come to a final decision on each of the recommendations, we cannot state what increased expenditure may be found necessary. The increased expenditure involved in the particular proposals which we now submit for sanction may be estimated as follows:—

<i>Present Cost.</i>		Rs.
Two Agents on Rs. 2,500 — 100 — 3,000		
= 2,800 × 12 × 2		67,200
<i>Proposed Cost.</i>		Rs.
One Director-General on Rs. 3,000		3,600
Travelling allowance, Rs. 300		3,600
Establishment		5,000
One Deputy Director-General on Rs. 2,250 × 12 =		27,000
One Deputy Director-General on Rs. 1,500 — 60 — 1,800 = 1,700 × 12 =		20,400
		<u>92,000</u>
Increase		24,800

But from this amount a deduction can no doubt be effected by reduction of the establishment of the Board of Revenue in consequence of the transfer of the control of the Opium Department from the Board. On the other hand, the salaries of the present agents will not be reduced at once, unless the present incumbents revert to the ordinary line on the introduction of the new organisation.

15. Finally, in asking your Lordship's sanction to the proposals now made, we would desire to guard against any possible misapprehension of the effect of our proposals by pointing out that they do not contemplate any change in the nature of the connexion between Government and the Opium Department, or involve any extension of the operations of the Department. Whatever the merits of the questions from time to time raised as to the monopoly of opium cultivation and sale by the Government of India, it is desirable that in this, as in other branches of administration, efficiency should be aimed at. The proposals we now lay before your Lordship have for their sole object the improvement of existing administrative machinery, and are not open to objection on any important ground of principle.

No. 843, dated 17th February 1885.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 980 T. R., dated 28th June 1884, containing the views of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the proposals submitted by the Commission appointed in 1883 to inquire into the organisation and system of working and administration of the Opium Department in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, and forwarding copies of two letters* from the Board of Revenue bearing on the report of the Commission.

2. In reply I am directed to enclose, for your information, a copy of a Despatch addressed to the Secretary of State, and with reference to paragraph 6 thereof I am to request that, with the permission of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, such of the minor recommendations of the Commission as have the approval of his Honour, and which his Honour considers may be

advantageously taken up without waiting for the introduction of the changes recommended in the Despatch, may be considered in detail in consultation with the Board of Revenue and the local officers. As each proposal is matured, the recommendations of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor should be separately submitted to the Government of India if the sanction of the Government of India is necessary.

3. The following are the matters which, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, it will be desirable to deal with as suggested in the preceding paragraph. References to the paragraphs of the report and of the letter under reply which deal with the matters included in the list are given:—

- (a.) The formation of additional sub-agencies and the grant of certain allowances to deputy and assistant agents:—
paragraphs 621–630 of the report;
paragraphs 24 and 26 of the letter under reply.
Letter from this Department No. 2620, dated 4th August 1884, sanctioning the formation of three new sub-agencies without increase of expense.
- (b.) The establishments of the agents—
paragraphs 633–635 of the report;
paragraph 27 of the letter under reply.
- (c.) The establishments of deputy agents and of assistants in charge of sub-divisions—
paragraphs 636–637 of the report;
paragraphs 28–29 of the letter under reply.
- (d.) The Mofussil or Kothee establishments—
paragraphs 638–641 of the report;
paragraphs 30 and 31 of the letter under reply.
- (e.) The provision of greater facilities for weighments and the establishment of new weighment centres—
paragraphs 668–670 of the report;
paragraph 38 of the letter.
- (f.) The delivery of and payment for leaves and trash—
paragraph 667 of the report;
paragraph 39 of the letter.
- (g.) Miniature licenses—
paragraph 679 of the report;
paragraph 39 of the letter.
- (h.) The abolition of kurchan and kurcha—
paragraphs 683–684 of the report;
paragraph 39 of the letter.
- (i.) Payment to cultivators at time of weighment—
paragraphs 687–689 of the report;
paragraph 39 of the letter.
- (j.) The factory buildings at Ghazipore and Patna—
paragraphs 690–715 of the report;
paragraph 40 of the letter.
- (k.) The factory establishments—
paragraphs 716–759 of the report;
paragraphs 41–43 of the letter.
- (l.) Supply of chests from Behar for both agencies—
paragraph 770 of the report;
paragraph 46 of the letter.

4. The measures which his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor may ultimately decide to introduce in connexion with some of the matters noted in the preceding paragraph will no doubt be within his competence without reference to the Government of India. In that event, and if his Honour does not consider a reference to the Government of India to be necessary or desirable, orders may, of course, be issued by the Government of Bengal without a previous reference to the Government of India.

5. I am also to say that the Governor-General in Council concurs with the Government of Bengal in thinking that the appointment of a personal assistant to the Director-General will not be necessary.

6. In conclusion, the Governor-General in Council desires me to express his high sense of the value of the report of the Commission, and to request that you will convey to the president and members of the Commission the thanks of the Government of India for the careful and exhaustive inquiry which they have made into the whole subject.

No. 47, dated 18th June 1885.

From the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I HAVE considered in Council the letter of your Excellency's Government in the Department of Finance and Commerce, No. 51, dated 17th February last, with accompanying report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the organisation of the Bengal Opium Department.

2. In this letter you confine yourself to the proposal of that Commission to withdraw the Department in question from the control of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, acting under the orders of the Local Government, and to substitute the supervision of a single officer directly subordinate to your Excellency's Government, a proposal which, with some modification, you recommend for my sanction.

3. Had it been shown that the present means of control is really inefficient, and that a more effective system can be devised, I should not have been prepared to deny that, having regard to the importance of the opium revenue, it would be desirable as well on administrative as economical grounds to re-organise the whole working of the Department, even should the measures introduced involve some additional expense in the first instance. I can find, however, no evidence that the system now in force has failed, at any rate to such an extent as to justify the radical change which is proposed in your despatch under review.

4. The administration of the Opium Department has been in the hands of the Board of Opium and Revenue ever since 1797, during which time the net receipts have increased from 25 lakhs a year to a sum considerably in excess of five crores of rupees. It is, indeed, admitted in the report of the Commission appointed by your Excellency's Government in 1883 to inquire into the circumstances under which a considerable loss had recently been incurred by the use of damp chests by the Benares agent, that the Department has yielded great financial results, and there are grounds for believing that it has been exceptionally popular with the agricultural community with which it has been brought into contact. It would be difficult in fact to find any large quasi-commercial undertaking which has been carried on for so long a time with more remarkable and uniform success, there having apparently been but five cases of loss, all arising from the same cause, viz., damping of cakes, in the period of nearly a century during which the Department has been on its present footing.

5. It must not, too, be overlooked that the Committee to which allusion has been made, while censuring the Benares agent for his neglect in not preventing the use of damp chests, attached no blame to the action of the Board of Revenue as a controlling authority, a decision which seems to have commended itself to your Excellency's Government, for I observe that in the course of the correspondence you have more than once acknowledged the ability with which the Department has been administered, and disavowed any intention of imputing want of efficiency to the system on which it is conducted. Experience, too, has shown that there is no department of the Government in India in which change of system is more dangerous, the most trivial alterations having at times produced great mischief.

6. The proposal to which your Excellency now asks my sanction is practically to substitute for the control of the Opium Department by the Local Government and Board of Revenue, which costs nothing, the supervision of a Director-General, under the immediate orders of the Government of India, at an annual charge of Rs. 44,000. It is true that it is contemplated that this large additional expenditure will, in part, be made up by a reduction in the salaries of the opium agents, who are the executive officers responsible for the working of the Department; but even allowing a saving by this means, the wisdom of which is of question, there would still remain a net sum of Rs. 24,800 per annum to be defrayed consequent on changes now contemplated.

7. After a careful consideration of all the circumstances of the case, I regret that I am unable to sanction the proposals of your Excellency's Government. It is scarcely necessary to remind you that the scheme was suggested in 1871, but, on the representation of Sir G. Campbell, was considered inexpedient. I am unable to find in the circumstances of the present time any reasons which would justify the weight of the arguments then employed.

8. Nor can I see any grounds for supposing that the system now in force has failed, or that the changes which are contemplated would be in any way effective, at any rate to a degree which would justify the cost which they would entail.

9. It is also, I think, a matter for consideration in the absence of the strong grounds, in the course of the inquiry, which have been put forward in the hands of your Excellency's Government, for the administration of a Department.

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considerable degree of minute and detailed supervision, as well as immediate contact with large commercial and agricultural interests.

10. It must not be overlooked that the proposed changes would necessarily tend to lower the position of the superior officers on whom the executive working of the agencies really depends, and would have the effect of substituting for the present class of agents younger officers of less general experience and shorter training.

11. In any case, I am of opinion that, before substituting untried measures, involving a considerable outlay of money, for the present system which has worked well and successfully, and with which so little fault has been found for nearly 100 years, a further trial should be made of the existing form of control. As suggested in the alternative proposal of the Commission, it might be advisable that the Member of the Board of Revenue in charge of the Opium Department should be instructed to visit each agency once in every half-year, for the purpose of conferring with the agent and with the principal subordinates of the establishment, but it will probably not be considered necessary that he should spend so much time in his visits as the Commission appear to contemplate. It is also worthy of consideration whether in future, on the occurrence of a vacancy, the Benares agent should not be selected by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in communication with the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, from the list of officers serving under the latter authority.

12. The disposal of the other recommendations of the Commission is in the hands of your Excellency's Government, but they will probably need some modification consequent on the orders now conveyed to you.

No. 2565, dated 20th August 1885.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Financial Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 843 of 17th February 1885, I am directed to forward a copy of the Despatch No. 47, dated 18th June 1885, received from the Secretary of State in reply to the despatch from the Government of India, of which a copy was forwarded with that letter.

2. In my letter of 17th February 1885, his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was requested to consider in detail such of the minor recommendations of the Opium Commission as his Honour thought might be advantageously taken up without waiting for the sanction to the changes recommended to the Secretary of State in the despatch of 17th February 1885, and to sanction, or recommend for the sanction of the Government of India, such measures as might appear to be desirable. A list of some of the matters, which it was thought might be appropriately considered without further delay, was given in my letter of 17th February.

3. It will be seen that the Secretary of State has refused to sanction the changes recommended by the Government of India. The control of the Department will therefore continue, as at present, in the hands of the Board of Revenue and the Government of Bengal, and the position and salary of the two opium agents will remain unchanged.

In reference to the remarks made in paragraph 11 of the despatch above quoted, I am directed to request the Member of the Board of Revenue in charge of the Department to be instructed to visit each agency at least once in every half-year, for such period as his Honour may consider desirable, in order that he may have an opportunity of conferring with the agents and the principal subordinates of the staff of the Department.

It is also to be said that the Government of India has declined in future the appointment of the Benares agent, and that the position of the Benares agent, except with the previous sanction of the Government of India, be filled by the Government of Bengal with the covenanted civilians serving in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. In selecting the agent for the Benares, his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will, of course, consult and act in communication with the Government of the North-Western Provinces. A copy of a letter addressed to the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh is enclosed.

The other recommendations of the Opium Commission are in the hands of the Government of Bengal for their consideration, and dealt with in due course.

In due course. In addition to the matters mentioned in paragraph 3 of my letter No. 843, dated 17th February 1885, the following appear to require attention:—

Settlement and advances (paragraphs 254 to 259, 647 to 656, and 665 of the Commission's Report; paragraphs 32 to 35 of the letter from the Government of Bengal, dated 28th June 1884).

Weights and payment for the drug (paragraphs 672 to 678 of the Report; paragraphs 36 and 37 of the letter).

Application of the iodine test (paragraphs 680 to 685 of the Report?)

[This matter has not been separately noticed in the letter.]

Adjustment of cultivators' accounts (paragraphs 765 to 768 of the Report; paragraph 45 of the letter).

Amendment of the opium laws, and remarks and suggestions as to their administration (paragraphs 621, 673, and 774 to 790 of the Report; paragraph 49 of the letter).

Code of rules for the working of the factories (paragraph 671 of the Report; paragraph 44 of the letter).

No. 2600—1,300, dated the 18th December 1886.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

THE views of the Lieutenant-Governor on the general proposals made by the Commission appointed in 1883 to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces were submitted for the consideration of the Government of India, in Mr. Mac Donnell's letter, No. 980 T. R., dated 28th June 1884. With Mr. Finlay's letter No. 843, dated 17th February 1885, the Government of India forwarded a copy of a despatch to the Secretary of State, supporting the Lieutenant-Governor's recommendation that a single officer, acting under the orders of the Government of India, should be appointed to administer the Opium Department. At the same time the Lieutenant-Governor was asked to consider in detail such of the minor suggestions of the Opium Commission as might be advantageously taken up without waiting for orders on the changes recommended to the Secretary of State, and to sanction, or recommend for the sanction of the Government of India, such measures as might appear to be desirable. A list of some of the matters recommended for immediate consideration was given in Mr. Finlay's letter of 17th February 1885. The Secretary of State in his Despatch No. 47, dated 18th June 1885, declined to sanction the change of organisation recommended by this Government and the Government of India; and in Mr. Finlay's letter No. 2565, dated 20th August 1885, it was stated that the control of the Department would, therefore, continue in the hands of the Board of Revenue and the Government of Bengal, the position and salary of the opium agents remaining unchanged.

The Government of India, however, desired that the other proposals made by the Opium Commission should be taken into consideration and dealt with in due course; and a supplementary list was given of matters which they considered to require attention. The subject was referred to the Board of Revenue, and copies of the reports received* are annexed. Some of the minor recommendations of the Commission have already been disposed of by this Government; but as regards the points on which the orders of the Government of India are required, the Lieutenant-Governor has preferred to take them up as a whole, rather than deal with them one by one, and he has therefore reserved his proposals for the present letter.

2. In the fourth paragraph of the letter of this Government, dated the 28th June 1884, it is stated that the recommendations of the Commission involve a very large additional expenditure, and, the charge

*Board's No. 385B., dated 10th May 1886.

Board's No. 37B., dated 12th January 1885, with enclosures.

Board's No. 395B., dated 1st May 1885, with enclosures.

Board's No. 78B., dated 31st January 1885, with enclosures.

Board's No. 653B., dated 23rd September 1884.

Board's No. 173B., dated 5th March 1885.

Board's No. 141B., dated 9th January 1886.

Board's No. 391B., dated 17th July 1886.

Board's No. 720B., dated 3rd November 1884.

Board's No. 955B., dated 24th November 1886.

being Imperial, it is for the Government of India to decide whether the increased outlay should be accepted. The financial pressure at present felt in all departments, and the steps which are being taken in some for the reduction of expenditure, render the time somewhat inopportune for the consideration of proposals which, though designed in the long run to improve the revenue, must have the immediate effect of increasing the cost of administration. A succession of good seasons has, moreover, changed the situation as it affects the cultivators, who are now fully prepared to supply opium on the present terms in a quantity even beyond the requirements of the Department. The following remarks are offered in the desire to complete the examination of the recommendations made by the Commission appointed by the Government of India, and on the supposition that the Governor-General in Council, is not unwilling to incur some initial expense in the hope of preserving and increasing the large receipts from this branch of the revenue. If it is considered that funds are not now available for the purpose, the proposed changes, which are almost all in the direction of increasing establishments, will have to be deferred to a more suitable season.

3. It is stated in paragraph 622 of the report of the Commission to be an open secret that the officers of the opium service are out of heart throughout on account of the slowness of promotion. While considering it unnecessary to re-open the question of salaries, which was discussed and determined in 1882, the Commissioners were of opinion that, at a comparatively small cost to Government, the condition of opium officers might be improved, and the head of the department placed in a position to reward merit, by equalising the house rent allowances of opium district officers, and permitting the award of a few bonus allowances yearly. In describing the existing state of things in the matter of house rent, the report explains that of 61 district officers employed under the two agencies, 16 have offices provided by Government, and live in private houses, of which they pay the entire rent; 45 live in houses belonging to or rented by Government, and of these latter, 28 pay rent, averaging Rs. 18-5 a month, and 17 pay no rent at all. The Commissioners recommended that, in order to remove those anomalies, officers for whom separate offices are provided by Government, but who are obliged to live in private houses, should be allowed Rs. 20 a month, if the officer is a sub-deputy opium agent, and Rs. 15 a month if he is an assistant; that to officers housed in buildings, which are the property of Government, no rent be charged; and that to officers for whom no separate office is given an allowance out of which they must provide sufficient office accommodation be made, to a sub-deputy agent of Rs. 30 per mensem; and to an assistant of Rs. 20 per mensem. These suggestions have been considered by the opium agents and the Board of Revenue, and I am to request a reference to their remarks on the subject contained in paragraphs 2 to 5 of the Board's letter No. 385B., dated 10th May 1886. The agents observe that the grant of fixed allowances for house-rent will not improve matters, as at some stations such charges are very high, while at others a good bungalow can be obtained at a low rate. They therefore suggest, as the only way to meet the difficulty, that houses should be provided by Government, and the officers charged rent at a uniform rate. The Board concur in this suggestion, and recommend that the rent payable by a sub-deputy agent should be fixed at Rs. 30, and that payable by an assistant at Rs. 10 per mensem. Neither the Opium Commission nor the Board have made any calculation of the cost of their respective proposals, but from an estimate made in this office from the best materials available it would appear that the whole annual cost to be incurred by Government in giving effect to the recommendation of the Commission would be about ten thousand rupees, which capitalised at 20 years' purchase would represent a sum of two lakhs, while the expense of building houses, as proposed by the Board, would be about one lakh, against which there would be a set-off in the form of an annual rent of Rs. 3,840. It will thus be seen that the Board's proposals, though involving an initial expenditure of Rs. 96,000, would in the end prove less costly than those of the Opium Commission; and as they are more likely to secure the desired result, viz., equalisation of house rent, the Lieutenant-Governor would recommend them for adoption to the Government of India, so far as they relate to the provision of houses where none are at present supplied, and the rates of rent to be charged to

the occupiers. As regards the Government houses now occupied by opium officers, it appears to the Lieutenant-Governor that to place matters on the same footing throughout, a rentcharge should be made. If the Government of India is not prepared at present to incur the expenditure involved in providing 16 additional houses, the Lieutenant-Governor would suggest the adoption of the Opium Commission's proposal to allow Rs. 20 a month to every sub-deputy opium agent, and Rs. 15 to every assistant at present unprovided with a house. These gentlemen are employed at the head-quarters of districts, where it is improbable that they can obtain accommodation for less than Rs. 50 and Rs. 25 a month respectively, and the grant of the allowances proposed would place them approximately on a level with their colleagues paying Rs. 26 and Rs. 10 as rent for the Government houses occupied by them. In some cases, no doubt, the allowance granted will not represent the whole difference between the rent paid and the rent they would have to pay for Government houses; but such inequalities can only be redressed by adoption of the Board's suggestion to build additional houses and charge uniform rates of rent.

4. As regards bonus allowances, the Opium Commission recommended that Rs. 13,500 should be annually distributed as follows:—

	Rs.
To five deputy agents, Rs. 1,000 each	5,000
To six assistant agents, Rs. 500 „	3,000
To ditto ditto Rs. 250 „	1,500
To deserving lumberdars and zilladars, Rs. 2,000 in each agency	4,000
Total	13,500

The Behar agent is not in favour of these proposals, and the Benares agent states that he apprehends great difficulty in giving satisfactory effect to the scheme, so far as the European officers of the Department are concerned. The Board concur in the views expressed by the agents on the proposal to grant bonuses to the superior officers of the Department, and support, in preference, Mr. Rivett-Carnac's alternative suggestion to add to the existing establishment a grade of sub-deputy agents on Rs. 1,000 a month. The Lieutenant-Governor's views on this point will be stated in the next paragraph of this letter in connexion with the recommendation to increase the number of sub-agencies. Sir Rivers Thompson agrees with the Board that bonus allowances would be undesirable in the case of sub-deputy or assistant sub-deputy opium agents. The grant of such allowances to the inferior executive officers, viz., lumberdars and zilladars, stands on a different footing. The Board and the Benares opium agent are in favour of the suggestion, to which there seems to be no objection in principle; and, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, a maximum outlay of Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000 a year for this purpose might be advantageously incurred.

5. The Opium Commissioners were not disposed to recommend the establishment of any new sub-agency in Behar. In Behar they proposed to increase the number of sub-agencies from 12 to 18 by a re-arrangement of the existing divisions, as shown in paragraph 629 of their report; and they considered a staff of less than 18 sub-deputy agents insufficient for the large extent of country which the Benares is required to superintend. They also recommend that the number of assistants should be raised from

to 50, and that of the reduced to 43 (vide paragraph 6 of this letter).

Benares agency at Behar. For the reasons given in paragraph Board's letter No. 385B., dated 10th May Benares agent does not consider the Opium Commission's scheme to be sufficient. He proposes the number of sub-agencies to 26, with 6 agents and 27 assistant sub-deputy agents and additional officer of the latter class assistant. Statements showing the division of sub-agencies and the area of cultivation as proposed by the Opium Commission are enclosed with the Board's letter of 10th May 1886. The Board support the Opium Commission for the Behar being that it may be assumed that gone carefully into the whole themselves as to the sufficiency

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They support also the Commission's proposals regarding the number of assistants to be employed in each agency. These conclusions have the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, subject to the qualification indicated in the second paragraph of this letter, and I am now to proceed to discuss the means by which they can best be carried out.

6. Of the six additional sub-agencies recommended, three have already been sanctioned by the Government of India in Mr. Finlay's letter No. 2620, dated 4th August 1884, and the Board now submit proposals for officering the remaining three, and for effecting the desired increase in the number of assistants. The grades of sub-deputy and assistant sub-deputy opium agents were re-arranged under the orders of the Secretary of State in 1882. According to this arrangement, the numbers and salaries were as follows:—

Sub-deputy Opium Agents (23).

	Rs.
Two 1st grade on - - - - -	900
Five 2nd " - - - - -	800
Six 3rd " - - - - -	700
Six 4th " - - - - -	600
Four 5th " - - - - -	500

Assistants (47).

Four 1st grade on - - - - -	500
Ten 2nd " - - - - -	400
Twelve 3rd " - - - - -	300
Fifteen 4th " - - - - -	250
Six probationary grade on - - - - -	200

Three out of the four assistant sub-deputy opium agents of the first grade on Rs. 500 a month were made sub-deputy agents of the fifth grade on the same pay under the orders of the Government of India in the Financial Department, No. 2620, dated 4th August 1884, in order to provide officers for the three new sub-agencies of Mainpuri (the name now assigned to the proposed Etawah Division), Sitapur, and Rai Bareilly. There are, therefore, seven instead of four sub-deputy agents of the fifth grade, and one assistant sub-deputy agent of the first grade, each on Rs. 500 a month. Under the orders of the Government of India in the Financial Department, No. 214, dated 14th April 1885, one appointment in the third grade of assistant sub-deputy opium agents was abolished, and in its place the appointment of an assistant opium examiner at the Ghazipur Factory on a salary of Rs. 250, rising to Rs. 350 a month, was sanctioned. Accordingly, there are at present 26 deputy agents and 43 assistant sub-deputy agents of various grades employed in the two agencies. To give effect to the Commissioners' proposal to increase the number of sub-agencies in Benares the Board of Revenue recommend—

- (a.) The creation of a grade of two sub-deputy agents, Rs. 1,000 a month.
- (b.) The addition of a sub-deputy agent in the grade of Rs. 900.
- (c.) The abolition of the single appointment in the first grade of assistant sub-deputy agent at Rs. 500.
- (d.) The addition of eight appointments of assistant sub-deputy agents—one in the grade of Rs. 400, four in the grade of Rs. 300, and three in the grade of Rs. 250.

The Lieutenant-Governor desires to support the recommendations of the Board, on the ground that if the number of assistants is raised, a corresponding increase should be made in the superior appointments. The special effects of these proposals will best be seen by being set side by side statements of the expenditure in the Board's scheme, and of that to be incurred by any alternative plan of increasing the number of appointments to the required extent. A reference to the enclosed proposition statement will show the number of officers now in each grade, and the number proposed under the revised scheme. It will be seen that the new appointments in the first grade of assistant sub-deputy agents could not be distributed without unduly swelling the number in the first grade, and if so, it is only necessary to increase the number of the three new sub-deputy agents to the required extent. The creation of the extra grade on Rs. 400, and the addition of three appointments might be dispensed with. One in the first grade on Rs. 900, one in the second grade on Rs. 600, and one in the fifth grade on Rs. 250. The number in each grade would be—Three in the first, five in the second, seven in the fourth, and eight

in the fifth; and the cost would compare thus with that proposed by the Board:—

As recommended by the Board.			According to the Alternative scheme.		
Number of Appointments.	Monthly Rate.	Annual Cost.	Number of Appointments.	Monthly Rate.	Annual Cost.
Two	Rs. 1,000	Rs. 24,000	One	Rs. 900	10,800
One	900	10,800	One	600	7,200
	Total -	34,800	One	500	6,000
			Total -		24,000

7. The cost involved in the changes now recommended amounts to Rs. 57,000 per annum. To this will have to be added the expense of the office establishments for the three sub-deputy agents and for two assistants to be placed in charge of two sub-divisions in the Benares Agency. As will be seen below the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to fix a scale of office establishment at a mean cost of Rs. 306-4 per mensem for a sub-deputy agent, and a scale costing Rs. 62 a month for an assistant. The total cost of office establishments for the three sub-deputy agents and two assistants will therefore amount to Rs. 1,042-12 per mensem, or Rs. 12,513 per annum.

8. The Commission suggested in paragraph 630 of the report that the number of assistants should be raised from 47 to 50, that 35 of these should be attached to Benares and 15 to Behar, that until he has passed his examinations an officer should be considered as a probationer only, and should not be placed in charge of a sub-division until he has passed and also been in the service for three years. The Board support these recommendations in paragraph 12 of their letter No. 385B., dated 10th May 1886, and the Lieutenant-Governor is disposed to concur.

9. The revision of the Behar agent's office establishment, resulting in a saving of Rs. 1,968 a year, was sanctioned by the Government of India in a letter from the Financial Department, No. 4390, dated the 6th November 1884. The present cost of the Benares Agent's office establishment amounts to Rs. 2,189-8 per month, inclusive of the pay of his personal assistant. The Opium Commission, in paragraphs 634 and 635 of their report, proposed to abolish the post of personal assistant, and to recast the office establishment on the scale of Rs. 1,441 rising to Rs. 1,951 a month. Their proposals, however, were admittedly tentative, owing, it was said, to the difficulty of obtaining data in consequence of the indefiniteness of the line which separates the establishment of the agent from that of the factory, and the practice of entertaining a large number of temporary clerks at busy seasons of the year. In his letter* No. 164-2,064, dated 23rd July 1884, Mr. Rivett-Carnac proposed a scale of establishment for his office, costing Rs. 2,325-8 per mensem, including Rs. 300, the pay of a personal assistant, whom he would retain. He also included in his scheme the Treasury staff shown by the Commission in the Factory establishment, but which has hitherto always been considered part of the agent's office. On the retirement recently of Mr. W. A. Byrne, Head Accountant, Benares Opium Agency, Mr. Rivett-Carnac has, with the approval of the Board of Revenue,† prepared a scheme for a further revision of his office establishment, resulting in a saving on the present scale of Rs. 19-8 per mensem, or Rs. 234 per annum, which saving will be increased to Rs. 69-8 per mensem, or to Rs. 834 per annum, on the retirement of one of the clerks to whom it is proposed to give a personal allowance of Rs. 50 per month. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to support these proposals, which have been included in the proposition statement submitted with this letter. In paragraph 27 of Mr. McDonnell's letter No. 980, dated 28th June 1884, the Lieutenant-Governor agreed with the Opium Commission in thinking that the employment of a personal assistant should be prohibited, but it now appears that this recommendation was made under a misapprehension as to the true nature of the duties entrusted to

* Enclosed in Board's letter No. 37B., dated 12th January 1885.

† Stated in their letter No. 955B., dated 24th November 1886. Copy with enclosure annexed.

officer, who has been employed since the year 1857, under the circumstances stated by Mr. Rivett in his letter of 23rd July 1884, Sir Rivers thinks that a good case is made out in support of the retention of a personal assistant. His Honour, however, concurs in the Board's suggestion that the agent be allowed the services of an officer as personal assistant only on the distinct understanding that the number of sanctioned assistants will not be increased on that account, and that no officer is to be appointed to that post who is in receipt of a salary of more than Rs. 300 per mensem.

10. In Behar the standard scale of a sub-deputy

Office establishments of sub-deputy opium agents and of assistants in charge of sub-divisions.

	Rs.
1 Native assistant on	- 40 plus commission.
1 Clerk on	- 40
1 Do. on	- 20
1 Moharir on	- 15
1 Ditto on	- 10
1 Ditto on	- 8
1 Naib nazir on	- 6
1 Poddar on	- 10
1 Chuprasi on	- 5
2 Chuprasis at Rs. 4 each	- 8
Sweeper	- 2-8
Total	164-8 per mensem.

His fixed salary is Rs. 40, but he also receives a commission on the opium produced in his sub-agency at a rate which the Commission estimated at ten annas per maund, with a maximum of Rs. 1,500 per annum. His maximum pay is therefore Rs. 165 per month, but the actual amount varies according to the yield of the season, and according to the productiveness of the sub-agency in which he is employed. None of the other officers receive any commission. The Opium Commissioners stated that it was unnecessary that the native assistant in Behar should be required to perform the duties of treasurer, and they remarked that he was properly the head clerk and sheristadar, and should be so designated. They also thought that the posts of naib nazir and poddar in Behar might be abolished. In the Benares Agency, the establishments are paid by

	Rs.
Head clerk	- 50
2nd do.	- 30
3rd do.	- 20
Sheristadar	- 60
1st Moharir	- 20
2nd ditto	- 16
3rd ditto	- 12
1 Treasurer	- 20
1 Duffry	- 5
1 Jemadar	- 8
4 Burkundazes, at Rs. 5 each	- 20
3 Peons on Rs. 5 each	- 15
1 Sweeper	- 3
Total	279

salaries alone. A sub-deputy opium agent in this agency has generally an office establishment on the scale noted of the margin. The treasurer has already been dispensed with in all the sub-agencies, except Ghazipore, Gorruckpore, and Fatehgarh; and the Commissioners considered that he was not wanted in those places. The Commissioners think also that the jemadar is not required; that the staff of peons and burkundazes is in excess of the real requirements of the offices; and that, while the staff of clerical employes is numerically more than sufficient, the salaries are inadequate to secure the services of competent and respectable men. The Commissioners recommended the following establishment as the standard strength of a sub-deputy opium agent's sudder office in both agencies:—

	Rs.	Rs.
Head clerk and sheristadar	- 100	rising to 150
Second "	- 70	
Third "	- 60	
Fourth "	- 50	
Fifth "	- 20	rising to 40
Duffry	- 5	
Two peons (each)	- 6	
Two "	- 5	
Sweeper	- 3	
Total	- 330	rising to 400

The mean cost of this establishment is Rs. 382-8 per mensem. For an assistant employed at the headquarters of the division, the Commissioners recommended no separate establishment beyond one peon on Rs. 6 a month. For an assistant in charge of a sub-division, a single clerk only is at present provided, who in Behar is paid Rs. 20; in Benares Rs. 12 only per

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mensem. The Commission would allow, in such cases, the establishment noted below:—

	Rs.	Rs.
1 Clerk on	- 50	
1 " "	- 20	rising to 40
1 Peon "	- 6	
1 " "	- 5	
Total	- 81	rising to 101

The mean cost of this establishment is Rs. 96 per mensem.

11. The views of the Benares Agent on these proposals are contained in his letter, No. 163-2063, dated 22nd July 1884, a copy of which is enclosed with the Board's letter No. 78B., dated 31st January 1885. Mr. Rivett-Carnac concurs generally in the opinions expressed by the Opium Commissioners on the subject. He admits that the scheme submitted by them entails a great increase of expenditure, and that it would not be difficult to suggest small reductions; but this would be with the certain prospect of reducing the results aimed at by the Commission. He adds that if Government is unwilling to give so much as the Commission have recommended, he will do his best to arrange his proposals accordingly, on being informed of the amount which Government may be disposed to sanction. The Board say that they were at first inclined to consider the proposed scale of salaries too high, but that, on a full consideration of the matter, they have accepted the Opium Commission's proposals.

The total cost of the sudder office and sub-divisional establishments in Benares and Behar amounts to Rs. 5,478 per mensem, or Rs. 65,736 per annum, as shown on the margin.* If the Opium Commission's proposals were accepted, the 26 sub-deputy agent's office establishments would cost Rs. 9,945 per mensem, and the establishments of the 28 assistants in charge of sub-divisions Rs. 2,688 per month. The total cost of both establishments would

therefore come to Rs. 12,633 per mensem, or Rs. 151,596 per annum. Adding the cost of the establishments required for the three additional sub-agencies, which it is proposed to establish in Benares, the total cost of office establishments for the 29 sub-deputy agents, and 30 assistants in charge of sub-divisions would, on the scales proposed by the Commission, be Rs. 13,972-8 per mensem, or Rs. 167,670 per annum. The Commission's proposals would therefore entail an increase of Rs. 8,494-8 per mensem, or Rs. 1,01,934 per annum.

12. In paragraph 29 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter No. 980 T. R., dated 25th June 1884, the Lieutenant-Governor observed that a standard scale of sub-agency establishment is desirable, if only to remove the variations now exist (apparently without sufficient cause), admit of the easy interchange of officers between agency and another when the interests of the require it. He thought, however, that the proposed by the Opium Commission was too high, and that the inadequate recognition in it of the principle was a blemish. He was of opinion following scale would be considered libe affected by it:—

	Rs.
Head clerk	- 80
Second "	- 50
Third "	- 40
Fourth "	- 30
Fifth "	- 20
Duffry	- 5
Two peons	- 6
Ditto	- 5
Sweeper	- 3

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The mean cost of this establishment is Rs. 306-4 per mensem. From the Benares agent's willingness to accept a smaller increase than that recommended by the Commission, and from the Board's doubts on the point, it seems to the Lieutenant-Governor that he was right in deprecating an unreserved acceptance of the Commission's full proposals. The scale noted above, which was drawn up with reference to the ordinary sub-divisional establishments in these provinces, seems to be fair, and I am desirous to recommend it for the favourable consideration and orders of the Government of India. With regard to the cost of the office establishment of assistants in independent charge of sub-divisions, I am to say that Sir Rivers Thompson thinks that the addition of an English clerk on Rs. 30, rising to Rs. 50, to the existing scale of one mohurir and one peon would be sufficient. The total cost of office establishments for the 29 sub-deputy agents and 30 assistants in charge of sub-divisions will, therefore, if the Lieutenant-Governor's views are accepted, amount to Rs. 10,741-4

Sub-deputy agent's establishments (Rs. 306-4 x 29) -	Rs. a.	per mensem, or Rs.
Assistant's establishments (Rs. 62 x 30) =	1,860 0	as shown on the margin. This gives a yearly saving of
Total -	10,741 4	Rs. 38,775 compared with the Commission's recommendations
Rs. 10,741-4 x 12 =	Rs. 128,895	per annum.

tions, and a yearly increase of Rs. 63,159 on the cost of the existing establishments. From this increase, however, must be deducted the amount of commission paid annually to the "native assistants" in Behar, which it is proposed to abolish.

3. The duties of the gomashtras and the system on

which they are remunerated are detailed in Part II., Chapter III. of the Opium Commission's Report; and the exact strength of the establishment now maintained at each kothee in the two agencies is shown in the proposition statements accompanying this letter. The total annual cost of the present establishments is in Behar about Rs. 1,41,300, of which Rs. 81,300 represent salaries, and about Rs. 60,000 commission, and in Benares Rs. 1,44,444, no part of which is commission. (These totals correct the totals shown in Mr. MacDonnell's letter of the 28th June 1884, paragraph 30.) The Behar gomashtra receives Rs. 30 as salary, but his commission brings up his average earnings from Rs. 70 to Rs. 100 a month, and the mohurir and mutsuddi receive in salary and commission from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a month, and from Rs. 12 to Rs. 18 a month respectively. In Benares the gomashtra receive from Rs. 50 to Rs. 80, and the mohurirs from Rs. 10 to Rs. 16 a month.

14. In the report of the Opium Commission a conviction is expressed that these establishments are underpaid, and that, owing to this underpayment, "every seer of opium which a cultivator delivers pays a toll to the amlah, and from every rupee which a cultivator receives a percentage is deducted for their benefit." The Commissioners considered that it was equally the duty and the interest of the Government to see that its promise of Rs. 5 per seer of opium to the cultivator was well kept, and they pointed out that the only way of securing the fulfilment of the promise was by paying the amlah adequate salaries, and by abolishing the practice of commission, which now obtains in Behar. They recommended that the strength and cost of a kothee establishment should be fixed upon the following

	Rs.
Gomashtra - - - -	150 or Rs. 200
Mohurir - - - -	70
" - - - -	60
" - - - -	50
" - - - -	20 rising to Rs. 40
" - - - -	7 or Rs. 8
Peon (each) - - - -	6

The Commissioners considered that there should be gomashtras, the lower grade of Rs. 150 and the upper grade of Rs. 200, and that the numbers should be about equal. They proposed that the salary required from a gomashtra should be from Rs. 1,250 to Rs. 2,000, and that the gomashtras should be from Rs. 1,500. They also recommended that the gomashtras who are now in charge of the kothees at Lucknow, and Hissampore should be replaced by mohurirs.

They were strongly of opinion that a staff of 44 mohurirs was required for each kothee, and that if the staff were given there would be less necessity for the engagement of temporary hands at the time of the annual assessments. As to the mohurirs' salaries, the Commissioners considered that Rs. 20 rising to Rs. 40 in five years should be the minimum pay. They did not propose increments of salary for any but the lowest grade, as higher pay would be obtainable by promotion. The Commissioners thought it unnecessary to require security from mohurirs, as in their opinion such officers ought not to be entrusted with public money. As regards zilladars, they recommended that there should be two grades, the lower on Rs. 7 and the higher grade on Rs. 8, and that the appointment of 44 sudder zilladars on Rs. 10 in the Benares Agency should be discontinued. The total cost of the kothee establishments in the two agencies, as recommended by the Opium Commission, would amount to Rs. 50,710 per mensem, or Rs. 6,08,520 per annum, against Rs. 2,25,744 which is the total annual cost of the establishments at present employed. The Board of Revenue support the Commission's proposals, and point out that the gomashtras in some good sub-agencies, such as Nowada, Gya, Tehta, Belkhana, and others in the Behar Agency, where the practice of part payment by commission still obtains, draw with commission on an average from Rs. 102 to Rs. 164 a month. The Board remark that as the object of the proposed increase of salaries is to improve the status of these officers generally, and to fix a scale of salaries adequate to the responsible duties which devolve on them, the proposed scale cannot be considered excessive. They add that should the scale of salaries proposed by the Commission receive the sanction of Government, the existing practice of payment by commission will be discontinued in all departments.

15. The proposal to raise the pay of the kothee staff is the most important in the Opium Commission's Report. In paragraph 31 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter No. 980 T. R., dated 28th June 1884, the Lieutenant-Governor stated his conviction that the case is one which calls for liberal measures; but having regard to the financial exigencies of the present time, he recognises that it would be inopportune to press for the immediate introduction of so large and expensive a reform. Impressed, however, with a sense of the desirability of abolishing the system of part remuneration by commission, and of placing the establishments in both agencies on a better footing, Sir Rivers Thompson suggests, for the consideration of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, the following modifications in the scale proposed by the Commission :-

(1.) That there should be three grades of gomashtras—

	Rs.	Rs.
1st grade, 150 rising to	200	
2nd " " 100 " "	150	
3rd " " 50 " "	100	

(2.) That of the 94 gomashtras in the two agencies—

25 should be in the 1st grade.	
30 " " 2nd "	
39 " " 3rd "	

(3.) That there should be four grades of mohurirs—

	Rs.	Rs.
1st grade, 50 rising to	75	
2nd " " 40 " "	50	
3rd " " 30 " "	40	
4th " " 20 " "	30	

the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th mohurirs in each kothee being in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th grades respectively.

(4.) That the pay of zilladars be re-arranged on the scales suggested by the Commission, i.e., two grades on Rs. 7 and Rs. 8, instead of four on Rs. 5, Rs. 6, Rs. 7, and (in the Benares Agency alone) Rs. 10.

The total cost on account of the salaries of gomashtras and mohurirs in all the kothees in the two agencies, in accordance with the Commission's and the Lieutenant-Governor's proposals, would amount respectively to

Gomashtras -	Rs. a. p.	16,400 0 0	Rs. 66,870
Mohurirs -		20,470 0 0	and Rs. 29,520-12†
Total -		36,870 0 0	per mensem. The proposal of the Lieutenant-Governor will, therefore, if accepted, result in a saving of Rs. 7,349-4 per mensem, or Rs. 88,191 per annum, compared with the Commission's recommendations, and the total increase
†Gomashtras -		12,225 0 0	
Mohurirs -		17,295 12 0	
Total -		29,520 12 0	

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Governor will always be ready to support the Opium Department by drawing the attention of the Government of the North-Western Provinces to any unreasonable objections raised by local officers. The Commissioners further recommended that some additional kothees should be provided on a standard plan, probably two or three in Behar, and a greater number in the Benares Agency, adding that this need not be done immediately. The opium agent of Benares, on being consulted by the Board of Revenue on the subject, has stated that the Commission's recommendations follow his own views, but has not specified how many kothees will be required, and where they should be located. The Behar agent lays much stress on the need of having more weighing sheds, and of thus lessening the great distances which some ryots have to travel over to get their opium weighed. He recommended the construction of 13 more weighing sheds. The Board, who generally approved the recommendations of the Commission, promised a further report as to the number of weighing sheds really required, and have stated in a more recent communication that they are still in correspondence with opium agents on these proposals. The Lieutenant-Governor has always been in favour of increasing the number of weightment sheds, particularly by opening a station at every existing kothee, and I am to say that on the receipt of the Board's further report definite proposals on the subject will be submitted to the Government of India.

27. In paragraph 672 the Commissioners stated that no arrangements can be made which would bring the weightments close to the home of every cultivator. They therefore proposed that the practice which prevails in some of the Benares districts, of granting an allowance of the ryots for travelling expenses when conveying opium to the weighing stations, should be made general throughout both agencies, and should be extended to all ryots living at a distance of more than 10 miles from the weighing stations. An allowance of one pice per seer of opium for every 5 miles or fraction thereof beyond the first 10 miles travelled by the ryots would, the Commission considered, be sufficient, and its grant would be a popular measure involving no great expense to the State. They also recommended that cultivators, when taking their opium to the weightment stations, should be deemed to be travelling on public duty, and should be exempted from the payment of tolls at public ferries and bridges. The Board have entered fully into this question in their letter of the 5th March 1885 (enclosed), to which I am to invite a reference. The Board's argument against the grant of travelling allowances to cultivators in the Behar Agency seem to the Lieutenant-Governor to be valid. Until the *assamiwar* system can be introduced into Behar (and its introduction is at present impossible) such small payments would no doubt be absorbed by the amlah, and khattadars and the cultivators would derive little or no benefit from the proposed concession. In regard to Benares, the extension of such allowances would no doubt be popular, but it is not urgently needed. The present season, moreover, is not opportune for introducing such changes, inasmuch as more opium than required can be obtained without increasing the cost to Government. The Lieutenant-Governor recommends upon these points, and also in regard to the suggested exemption from tolls, matters should remain as are at present in each agency.

The recommendation made in paragraph 673 of the report that the Benares rules regarding the summoning of *lumbars*, issue of attendance and the determination of the order of weighing, should be introduced in the Behar Agency if adopted, and the orders necessary for the giving effect to the suggestion have been approved by the Board.

In paragraph 674 the Commissioners recommended that the procedure to be adopted at opium weightments should be based entirely upon the principle that each is to be paid for the opium he weighed the greatest importance to the maintenance of this principle. "By the system of khattadar prevalent in Behar," they said, "the skilful and industrious culti-

vator is discouraged." "There is no reform," in their opinion, "more imperatively called for, and more likely to be beneficial, than the general introduction of a system of assamiwar payments." It is obvious that if the assistance of the middlemen is to be dispensed with, an increased establishment will be necessary for the classification and weightment of opium, and for paying the cultivators, and the Commissioners recommended that this should be sanctioned. The Benares agent has accepted the scheme as following the system introduced by himself, and has proposed to try it tentatively in one or two divisions during the current year, and to report the result of a practical trial. The Behar agent, as stated in paragraph 16 of the Board's letter of the 5th March 1885, has reported that both he himself and all the officers of his agency attach the greatest importance to the principle of *assamiwar* payment at the time of delivery of opium; but the *khattadari* system has become so firmly established in Behar that great caution is required in introducing the proposed reform. He proposes that, as a preliminary measure, khattadars should be compelled to settle their accounts with cultivators in the presence of the opium gomashtha. The Board are opposed to this suggestion, considering that the system recommended by the Commission should be introduced in its entirety, or not at all. This important question was discussed by the Lieutenant-Governor in paragraphs 36 and 37 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter of the 28th June 1884, and Sir Rivers Thompson still adheres to the views then recorded. The more exact and direct system of Benares is right, and of the desirability of introducing it into Behar there can be no doubt; but in the absence of village maps and records, and with the defective village agency available, it would be impossible to get rid of the khattadari arrangements of Behar in a day without serious risks. The proposals of the Commission include an increase in the cost of establishments, for which there would be no immediate return. There is also much force in the objection made by the Board to the tentative measures advocated by the Behar agent, that it would be impracticable to maintain the system of dealing through middlemen in the matter of advances, while abandoning it in regard to payments. The want of a proper cadastral survey of districts in the Lower Provinces of Bengal affects good administration in this, as in many other departments. If the cadastral survey of Behar is ever resumed it will then be advisable to make an attempt to assimilate the Behar system to that of the Benares Agency, but till then the Lieutenant-Governor is reluctantly compelled to recommend the postponement of the scheme. Meanwhile it is expedient to await the result of the experiment which is being tried in the Benares Agency, before deciding whether the proposed system is in its details the best which can be adopted, where circumstances permit, of direct dealings with the cultivators.

30. The Commissioners in paragraph 677 of their Report recommended that these establishments should be more judiciously selected and more adequately paid; that the native *purkha* (examiner), who has responsible duties, should be trained and nominated by the factory superintendent, appointed by the agent, and sent out from headquarters to each sub-agency at the beginning of the weightments. The Commissioners would raise the pay of the temporary *mojurirs* from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15, and of the *dandidars* from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7, and would give the head *karkhannius* three annas a day, and the other *karkhannius* two and a half annas each. The Benares agent has submitted to the Board a statement showing the increase of cost involved in these proposals to be Rs. 3,648-2-2 per annum, and, as this increase is small, the Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the Board in recommending the proposals of the Commission so far as they concern the Benares Agency. The Board have promised to submit a further report on the subject with regard to the Behar Agency.

31. The recommendation contained in paragraph 678 of the report, that only *tagaras* of uniform weight and size should be used has been accepted by the Board, and both agents have been requested to see that it is carried out.

32. With reference to the Commissioner's proposal (made in Chapter IV. and paragraph 679) to introduce into Behar the miniature licenses in use in Benares, the Behar agent has reported that previous attempts made in this direction have proved failures, and that

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The Board now recommend that the lumberdars and khattadars (the representatives of the ryots) should be exempted from the payment of stamp duty on receipts given by them. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to support this recommendation.

40. The recommendations of the Opium Commission in paragraphs 690 to 715 of their report, regarding the factory buildings at Ghazipore and Patna, have been considered by this Government in communication with the Board of Revenue and the agents. The work recommended by the Commission at the Patna Factory, with the exception of extension of the reservoir supply, as to which the Public Works Department of this Government have made further revised proposals, have been sanctioned, and most of them have already been carried out. With regard to the works recommended for the Ghazipore Factory, I am to say that administrative sanction has been accorded to them, and the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh have been requested to issue the necessary orders for their execution as soon as funds can be provided by the Government of India.

41. It is stated in the report that the responsibility for the careful and efficient management of the factory ought to rest with the agent, and as corollaries to this principle it is recommended that communication between the agents and principal assistants (factory superintendents as the Commissioners would call them) should be free from official formality, and if not conducted orally, should be by half-margin letters or memoranda. While thus entirely subordinate to the agent, the factory superintendent should be supreme within the factory; should, subject to the agent's *veto*, have the appointment of all officers employed in it at a pay of Rs. 150 and under, and should be consulted on the appointment of others. The Board of Revenue, after consulting the agents, recommend that the proposals of the Opium Commissioners in paragraphs 718 and 719 of their report may be sanctioned, "Board" being substituted for "Director-General." The Lieutenant-Governor, in paragraph 41 of the letter of the 28th June 1884, expressed his entire concurrence in these recommendations. The Board have already instructed the agents to desist from correspondence with the principal assistant by official letters, and to adopt the form of communication recommended by the Commission. The agents have also been told that in addressing the Board copies of notes or letters from the principal assistants should not be submitted, but the purport of all communications from these officers should be embodied in one complete report from the agents, except in cases in which the principal assistant reports in the capacity of opium examiner, and in such cases the Board have directed that the statements submitted and the views expressed by the principal assistant should be forwarded with any remarks the agent may have to offer.

42. In paragraphs 720 to 729 of their report, the Opium Commissioners express their views in regard to the qualifications that should be expected from the officer appointed to the post of factory superintendent, and the means to be adopted to secure qualified candidates for the appointment. The Lieutenant-Governor, in paragraph 42 of the letter of the 28th June 1884, given his entire support to the proposals made in his head by the Commission.

In paragraphs 730 and 731, the Commissioners recommended that the posts of assistant factory superintendent (as they would call them) at both factories should be filled from the junior ranks of the opium service, and that appointments should be Rs. 450 for the senior man; that candidates should be required to produce a certificate of a six months' workshop course, and that an examination in chemistry of a certain time to time laid down; that the factory superintendent being considered as the head, all communications between him and the assistant should be by word of mouth or by half-margin notes; and that the assistant should be from time to time subordinate to the other. The views

of the agents and the Board of Revenue on these proposals are detailed at length in the Board's letter of the 9th January 1886, to which a reference is solicited. The Board give a general support to the Commission's proposals. In the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion the changes proposed form a necessary corollary to the suggestions made in connexion with the appointment of factory superintendent. The appointment of assistant junior superintendent should be made by the Board, subject to the control of this Government, who should also determine the standard of chemical knowledge to be required.

44. At Ghazipore the office establishment of the principal assistant is at present divided into a correspondence branch and an audit department. The Commissioners, in paragraph 733 of the report, expressed their opinion that there are objections to drawing any definite line of this kind between departments of the same office, and they therefore proposed to abolish the distinction now maintained at Ghazipore, and to organise, at both factories, an establishment sufficient for the entire office work, which properly devolves upon the factory superintendent, including the audit of the cultivators' accounts. They considered that the salaries of several of the clerks and mohurrirs might be raised, especially those of the head auditor and the head mohurrir, who, they remarked, have important and responsible duties to perform. A statement showing the office establishment which they recommend for each of the factory superintendents is given in paragraph 734 of their report. There is at present no separate audit office in the Behar Agency, and the Board agree with the agent in holding that none is required. For the office establishment of the principal assistant at this agency the Board submit a proposition statement prepared by the agent, showing a total cost of Rs. 522 as compared with the Rs. 615 rising to Rs. 715 recommended by the Commission. The proposals are submitted for the orders of the Government of India, with the proposition statement annexed; but the Lieutenant-Governor cannot support them. There seems no special reason why the salaries of the officers specified should be raised, and an addition made to the ministerial staff, at a time when the tendency is to the reduction of the cost of administration.

45. The *assamiwar* system of payment for opium in force in the Benares Agency no doubt renders the audit of mofussil accounts a matter of greater importance and difficulty than it is in Behar, and the Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the Board and Mr. Rivett-Carnac in thinking it undesirable to amalgamate the audit office at Ghazipore with the principal assistant's office, and give the head auditor other duties of a general nature to perform. As to the other details of the proposed changes in office establishment, which resolve themselves into a general increase of salaries, Sir Rivers Thompson considers that the proposal of the opium agent (endorsed by the Board) to raise the cost of the establishment from Rs. 488 (not, as stated by the Commission in paragraph 734 of their report, Rs. 559) to Rs. 800 is not sustained by adequate reasons, and that no increase is required in the present scale.

46. At the Patna Factory there are an assistant opium examiner on Rs. 300 and a laboratory superintendent on Rs. 150. At Ghazipore the appointment of an assistant opium examiner on Rs. 250 rising to Rs. 350 a month was sanctioned by the Government of India in the Financial Department's orders, No. 214, dated 14th April 1885. The Commission recommended that the salary of the assistant opium examiner at each factory should be fixed at Rs. 250, rising by annual increments of Rs. 20 to Rs. 350; and that failing a competent candidate from the ranks of the Opium Department, the appointment should be thrown open to persons of good character and physique. In Benares there is no permanent officer to assist the assistant opium examiner in the laboratory work; and the Commission suggested that the number of permanent factory assistants should be increased by one, and that at both factories the assistant best qualified for the duty should be selected to act as laboratory superintendent, and should continue to do so until he attains the rank of second factory superintendent, on a pay of Rs. 175 a month. As regards the pay and position of the rest of the factory assistants, the Commission recommended the abolition of the house-rent allowances, and (at Patna) of the commission on the outturn of chests, by which the present salaries are

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Department letter, No. 3303, dated 26th September 1877. The Board now recommend that this salary may either be raised to Rs. 500 per mensem, or that a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month be granted to him. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that Mr. Girling's long and meritorious service in a responsible post justifies this increase. He approves the other proposals of the Behar agent regarding the increase of the saw-mill establishment.

53. With regard to the code of rules for the working of the factories referred to in paragraph 761 of the report, I am to say that the Lieutenant-Governor can only repeat the remark made in paragraph 44 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter of the 28th June 1884, that it may be provisionally accepted, but that until orders have been passed on the report, it will not be possible to formally sanction the code.

54. The question of purchasing Malwa opium for excise purpose (*vide* paragraph 762 of the report) has formed the subject of a separate correspondence with the Government of India, and the Lieutenant-Governor has, in my letter, No. 1433 T. R., dated 22nd October 1886, recommended the discontinuance of the scheme. The orders of the Government of India on this recommendation are now awaited.

55. After consulting the agents, the Board of Revenue have issued the necessary instructions for carrying out the following recommendations of the Commission:—

(1.) That the form of challan register in use in the Benares Agency should, in a modified form, be introduced in Behar.

* Prescribed in Part IV. of the Commission's report.

(2.) That in Behar the assay of the challan jars and the calculation of damdetta contents of each jar should, as in Benares, be based upon the re-classification of the jars at the factory.

(3.) That the Behar system of ascertaining the value of each cultivator's opium should be followed in Benares.

(4.) That the accounts of the cultivators should be audited at agency head-quarters, as is now done in the Benares Agency.

The Board have also directed the Behar agent to have a set of tables showing the value of different quantities of opium at different rates per seer drawn up for use in his agency, as recommended by the Commission, and to introduce the system of adjusting the accounts of each jar separately into the Behar Agency.

56. The Commission recommended in paragraph 770 of the report that the supply of chests for both agencies should be left in the hands of the Behar agent. In paragraph 46 of this Government letter of 28th June 1884, it was pointed out that the question needs a more thorough examination than the Commission gave it; but the Board of Revenue have treated the subject as briefly as the Opium Commission did. The Board have been asked to submit a full report on the subject after consulting the two agents, and a copy of the report, when received, will be submitted to the Government of India with an expression of the Lieutenant-Governor's views thereon. It may be said so far as the correspondence has been carried at present, no case has been made out for a change in the practice.

The Commission recommended that the reserve should never be raised to an amount greater than would supply the sales of six months, proper quantity would be represented by of chests required for the sales of three calculating according to the number of offered for sale in 1884, 12,000. The India in letter No. 1534, dated 30th with the Government of Bengal, prescribed six months' supply, or (60,000 in sold in the previous year) 30,000 number of provision chests to be and the question has not since been of Revenue have consistently of "a substantial reserve," of its amount to be decided reference to financial considera-

tions. The Lieutenant-Governor recognises the fact that it is impossible to prescribe any definite number of chests as the number to be kept in reserve. The quantity of opium available for sale must depend in great measure on the year's poppy crop, which varies with good and bad seasons; and further elements of uncertainty are introduced by fluctuations in the Chinese market, and, perhaps, by the conditions of the Imperial finances, which may render it desirable to put into the market a larger quantity of the drug in one year than in another. Sir Rivers Thompson, however, considers that both in order to avoid the necessary locking up of capital, and with a view to save the opium from the deterioration caused by storage for more than one rainy season in Calcutta, the principle laid down by the Opium Commission should be accepted, that the reserve should never be less than a three months' supply, or ordinarily exceed a six months' supply.

58. The Commission proposes that arrangement should, as in paragraph 771 of the report, be made with the French Government to render, on equitable terms, the right which it enjoys of requiring 300 chests of provision opium to be annually reserved for it. This recommendation has already been carried out, and a convention entered into for the payment to the French authorities at Chandernagore of Rs. 3,000 per annum for five years, commencing from the 1st January 1884.

59. The Commission's recommendations on this subject will be considered in detail as soon as the report which has been called for from the Board of Revenue is received.

60. With reference to paragraph 4 of Mr. Finlay's letter, No. 2565, dated 20th August 1885, on the subject of the member of the Board of Revenue in charge of the Opium Department visiting each agency at least once a year, in order that he may have an opportunity of conferring with the agents and the principal subordinates on the staff of the Department, I am to state that it does not seem to the Lieutenant-Governor desirable that a definite time should be fixed for the periodical visits of the members to the agencies. The Board, however, have been desired to give timely notice to Government on each occasion of the member's intended visit, in order that such communications and instructions may be addressed to him as circumstances may require.

61. I am to add a brief summary of the total cost of the changes suggested in the foregoing paragraphs:—

Summary.

- (a.) Building of houses for 16 sub-deputy and assistant sub-deputy opium agents (paragraph 3); initial expenditure Rs. 96,000; Rs. 3,840 recoverable annually as house-rent.
- (b.) Bonus to zilladars and lumberdars (paragraph 4), Rs. 4,000 a year.
- (c.) Appointment of additional sub-deputy and assistant sub-deputy opium agents (paragraphs 5, 6, and 7), annual cost Rs. 57,000.
- (d.) Establishment for five additional officers (paragraph 7), annual cost Rs. 12,513.
- (e.) Increase in establishments of sub-deputy opium agents and their assistants (paragraph 12), Rs. 63,159, subject to a deduction on account of withdrawal of the "native assistants" commission, the amount of which has not been precisely estimated.
- (f.) Revision of salaries of the kothee establishments (paragraph 15), increase of Rs. 2,94,331 per annum.
- (g.) Enhanced rates for trash (paragraph 25), annual cost Rs. 6,336-4.
- (h.) Increased pay to temporary native establishments at weighments (paragraph 30); in Benares Rs. 3,648-2-2 annually; in Behar not yet estimated.
- (i.) Employment of iodine testers (paragraph 33), annual cost Rs. 1,305.
- (j.) Factory buildings at Patna and Ghazipore (paragraph 49). Most of the additions and alterations required in the Patna factory have already been carried out, and administrative sanction has been accorded to all the changes recommended for Ghazipore, which are being proceeded with as funds are made available. The total cost involved is—

	Rs.		Rs.
Ghazipore	2,20,858		83,176

- ↑ Increase to fire-brigade establishment (paragraph 9), Rs. 986 annually.
- ↑ Increased rates for repair of cakes (paragraph 51), Rs. 1,252 per annum.
- m.) ↑ Increase in saw-mill establishment rendered necessary by the extension of the mill (paragraph 52), annual cost Rs. 4,236.

	Rs.
↑ (a)	86,000
(j)	2,20,858
	83,176
	4,00,034

Annually recurring increases.	
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
4,900 0 0 (b)	1,305 0 0 (i)
57,400 0 0 (c)	896 0 0 (k)
12,513 0 0 (d)	1,252 0 0 (l)
63,159 0 0 (e)	4,236 0 0 (m)
2,94,391 0 0 (f)	
6,391 4 0 (g)	
53,048 2 2 (h)	4,48,816 6 2

	Rs.
↑ Behar agent's office	1,908
Benares agent's office	234
Subordinate native staff at Ghazipore	858
Rents recoverable from officers occupying Government houses	3,840
	6,900

§ Something will have to be added for increased pay of temporary establishment in Behar.

establishments and the subordinate native staff at Ghazipore, and on account of rent recoverable from officers occupying Government houses

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. NOLAN,
Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Nc. 385 B., dated 10th May 1886.

From C. E. DUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

WITH reference to Government order No. 150 T. R., dated 30th April 1884, communicating the consent of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Board, taking into consideration and submitting suggestions for giving effect to the recommendations made by the Opium Commission on certain minor matters connected with the administration of the Opium Department, and in continuation of paragraph 3 of the Board's letter No. 25B, dated 13th January last, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to submit, for the orders of Government, the following suggestions in connexion with the Commission's proposals in paragraphs 622 to 624, 629, and 630 of their report.

2. In paragraph 622 of their report the Opium Commission recommend that—

- (1.) The house-rent allowances to opium district officers be equalised.
- (2.) The Director-General be permitted to award a few bonus allowances yearly.

With regard to (1), the Commission recommended in paragraph 623 of their report that to officers for whom separate offices are provided by Government, but who are obliged to live in private houses apart from their offices, should be allowed—

- Rs. 20 a month, if the officer is a deputy agent;
- Rs. 15 a month, if he is an assistant agent;

that to officers housed in buildings which are the property of Government no rent be charged; and that to officers for whom no separate office is provided, an allowance, out of which they must provide sufficient office accommodation, be made, to a deputy agent of Rs. 30 per mensem, and to an assistant agent of Rs. 20 per mensem. As regards bonus allowances the Commission recommended, in paragraph 624 of their report, that Rs. 13,500 should be placed annually at the disposal of

the Director-General, to be distributed by him with the advice and counsel of the agents as follows:—

	Rs.
To 5 deputy agents, Rs. 1,000 each	5,000
To 6 assistant agents, Rs. 500 each	3,000
To 6 ditto, Rs. 250 each	1,500
To deserving lumbar-dars and zilladars, Rs. 2,000 in each agency	4,000
Total	13,500

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Both opium agents were asked to consider these recommendations, and to furnish the Board with any remarks they might have to offer.

3. The Behar agent is strongly in favour of equalising the house-rent allowances for opium officers, both for sub-deputy agents and for assistants. He reports that in the Behar Agency no officer receives any house-rent allowance; officers living at the head-quarters of districts have, as a rule, to provide their own houses. At Arrah, and up to the present time at Mozafferpore, the sub-deputy agents living as single men have been allowed to reside in a portion of the opium building, paying about Rs. 30 per mensem as rent; but at other opium stations, which may be also the head-quarters of civil districts, no suitable accommodation is available in the opium buildings, and the opium officers, being married men, have to pay a high rent for their houses. At opium stations which are not head-quarters of civil districts, such as Alleegunge, Tehta, Burhurwa, and Hajepore, commodious bungalows are provided by Government at a rent of Rs. 30 per mensem. This distinction, the agent says, is invidious. If he wishes to move the sub-deputy agent from Alleegunge, where he occupies an excellent bungalow with commodious out-offices and a very large garden, the property of Government, at an almost nominal rent, to, say Bankipore, where he would have to pay at least Rs. 80 for a small ill-situated house, he naturally makes objections. The agent does not think that the proposal made by the Commission will improve matters. He is of opinion that the fairest and most liberal plan would be to have a bungalow for the sub-deputy and a smaller one for the assistant attached to the opium offices at every head-quarter; and where this cannot be done, he suggests that Government should hire a house in the station. In either case the sub-deputy should pay, as at present, a rent of Rs. 30, and the assistant of Rs. 10 per mensem.

4. The Benares agent is of opinion that any step to equalise house rent will be a move in the right direction, as the charge on this account is now very unequal at different places. He thinks, however, that the proposals of the Commission will hardly constitute an improvement, as at some stations house rent is very high, while at others a good bungalow can be obtained at a very low rate. He says that to give sub-deputies Rs. 20 a month all round towards house rent would suit an officer stationed at Sitapore, but would be no concession to a sub-deputy stationed at Allahabad. The best plan, Mr. Carnac thinks, would be to provide, as at present, a suitable house for office and residence, the rent being paid by the Opium Department, the sub-deputy being charged Rs. 25, and the assistant Rs. 10, per mensem towards the rent. Mr. Carnac adds that the accommodation available for assistants in some places is hardly worth the Rs. 10 now paid, and the room would have to be improved.

5. From the above it will be seen that the proposals of the Commission in paragraph 623 of their report do not meet the difficulty by equalising the house-rent allowances of opium offices. The only way that can be done appears to be that suggested by both agents, viz., that houses should be provided and the rent charged at an equal rate; and the Board may recommend that this suggestion be sanctioned in so far as the proposals of the Opium Commission of a house, payable by a sub-deputy they would fix, and the agent considers that such an arrangement is desirable for the improvement of the present state of affairs, and for the interests of the public service.

6. The Behar agent is not in favour of the Commission's proposals to grant bonus allowances. He reports that the distribution of bonus allowances to a few specially selected officers leads to general jealousy, heart-burning, and discontent, and that the service generally more out of the present. The agent thinks that the service will be well satisfied.

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work honestly, they will be duly advanced to the higher grades in their time, and that the controlling authorities will be able to secure discipline and get good enough work out of their subordinates by keeping back promotion from those who are lazy and inefficient. The agent does not think that the gift of a bonus yearly of a few hundred rupees will either strengthen the hands of the Board or the agent, secure better work from the sub-deputies, or put any heart into the Department generally. Much more satisfaction, he thinks, would be created by increasing the pay of the higher grades, so as to place the officers in the Opium Department more on an equality with those in the police. The agent adds that even the officer who is entrusted with the allotment of the bonus be ever so well-intentioned, he must be more or less influenced by favouritism. Possibly, if he was a personal friend of the man generally considered the best sub-deputy, he would hesitate to allot the bonus to him. Anyhow, the allotment of such a bonus would be a difficult and invidious duty.

7. The Benares agent states that he apprehends great difficulty in giving satisfactory effect to the scheme so far as the European officers of the Department are concerned. The money might, he thinks, be more profitably spent in creating a higher grade. He is in favour of providing one or two appointments in his agency of Rs. 1,000, or even Rs. 1,200 a month, the promotion to which would not depend upon seniority, but for which officers would be selected in recognition of real good work. He says that this would not only mean increased salary, but increased pension, and many officers in the Department would be induced to work steadily for this goal from an early period of their career. Mr. Carnac is in favour of granting rewards to lumbardars and zilladars. The Board, I am to state, agree in the objections urged by the agents against the Commission's proposal to grant bonuses to the superior officers of the Opium Department, but they advocate the proposal to grant rewards to lumbardars and zilladars. Whilst admitting the objections to again re-adjusting the salaries of the several grades of sub-deputy opium agents, the Board would ask Government to make a grade of two officers on Rs. 1,000 a month, to be divided between the two agencies. The proposition submitted with reference to the Commission's proposals to increase the number of sub-agencies has been prepared in accordance with this recommendation. The Board think it necessary at present to discuss the mode in which selections for promotion to the vacancies in this grade should be made. They leave this matter to the consideration of Government, should the proposal receive the sanction of the Secretary of State.

8. The Board also requested the Benares agent to report on the recommendations of the Opium Commission contained in paragraph 629 of their report, to increase the number of sub-agencies in the Benares Agency. The agent reports that, though the Commission's proposals, if adopted, would be an improvement in the position of the agency, as it at present exists, he does not think that their scheme, large as it is, is sufficient. Mr. Carnac remarks:—

"In laying the subject before the Commission, and reporting for the information of the Board and the Government, I have over and over again presented the advantages under which we labour in this agency compared with Behar. It appears necessary to state again here the position of the two agencies, noticing which the insufficiency of the present system would be hardly apparent.

The system obtaining in Behar, and in which I believe the agency was originally started, is somewhat as follows:—A sub-deputy opium agent is entrusted with the cultivation of such a size as can conveniently be managed. This officer settles with the cultivators, and weighs their opium, assisted by the native cultivators. The cultivation of a district is very considerable, and is divided among two officers. In Behar, however, a charge is conterminous with the settlement, and the sub-deputy agent is directly responsible for the work in his district, and the settlements and weighments are conterminous. The sub-deputy has an assistant attached to him, and his officer is an assistant properly so called. The sub-deputy, however, is entrusted with no independent charge, but the sub-deputy working under his eye, and he is entrusted with the opportunity of learning his work and settling with the cultivators, and he is placed in independent

charge. In the Benares Agency, however, the system is quite different. In the beginning, I understand, the sub-deputy had his circle and his assistant. By degrees, however, as the agents desired to increase the cultivation, and to obtain results as cheaply as possible, the assistants were pushed into out-districts, and by degrees became sub-deputies on their own account, with the salary and title of assistant. Matters have improved of late years, but when I first joined the agency the sub-deputy, besides having a circle of his own, conterminous with the revenue district, would also have four or five assistants under him, each in charge of the opium in a revenue district. Besides the pay and name already noticed, the only difference between the sub-deputy and assistant was that the assistant corresponded through the sub-deputy with the agent, and that the sub-deputy was supposed to exercise a general control over his semi-independent assistants. This control consisted, and still consists, in the sub-deputy opium agent marching during the cold weather through the assistant's charge, and inspecting his work. But as a sub-deputy has a circle of his own his hands are quite full during the weighments and the settlements, so that during these all-important times, when control is most necessary, the assistants are quite independent, and perform the work of sub-deputy opium agents.

"All this is bad enough, and the objection is fully recognised by the Commission. But a special disadvantage of the system has perhaps not been fully brought out. The staff of this agency is so strictly limited that even with the four probationers there is absolutely no margin to veer and haul upon. The assistants here do not pass through several years of apprenticeship, under the instruction of the sub-deputy opium agent as in Behar. If the season is sickly, and several officers have to go on leave, it may be necessary to place an inexperienced assistant in charge of the weighments, and to expect a young man, who has worked perhaps not six months in the Department, to undertake duties which in Behar would be entrusted to a full-blown sub-deputy, with an assistant to help him. The system in this agency, bad as it is, has more by good luck than anything else worked without any disaster. But the insufficiency of the staff in this agency, and the great risk at which the work is carried on, has necessarily impressed itself on the Commission. Their recommendations, though they go some way, do not, I would submit, go far enough. It sounds well enough to have two districts grouped together under a sub-deputy with the assistant to help him. If these two districts would be thoroughly worked by a sub-deputy, with an assistant in training under him, the proposal would be good enough; but the area of a district is quite as much, indeed a great deal more, than an officer can supervise. If two districts are joined together, it must then come to this, that as regards the supervision, the assistant will be nearly independent. As regards the settlement and the weighments, the Commission seem hopeful that the sub-deputy with one assistant will generally be able to supervise these, and by the increase in the rapidity of the weighments it is hoped that the sub-deputy and his assistant will be able to weigh first in one district, and then go into the other, and that the cultivators and every one will be satisfied.

"Regarding this, however, I am not so sanguine. In some of the smaller districts this would be possible, but in most of the others the difficulties would be very great. Take, for instance, the first in the list, Ghazipur and Ballia. If the sub-deputy and assistant were to commence to weigh at Ballia, and then go on to Ghazipur, or *vice-versa*, the cultivators in one or other of these districts would be kept waiting at least a fortnight, and the discontent would be very great, to say nothing of the risk of delay inducing the cultivators to part with the drug illicitly. If the districts weigh separately, the assistant is a sub-deputy in everything but name, and if the present system is retained, he will be pitch-forked into a semi-independent charge before he has had any training."

9. The agent states further that if full and satisfactory arrangements are to be made, and if the Benares Agency is to be placed on the same footing as the Behar Agency, the proper plan would be to place all the larger districts in charge of sub-deputy opium agents. To some of these an assistant would be given; others would not require a second officer; while in some cases, where the cultivation is small, two districts might be formed into one sub-agency. A statement is submitted herewith, showing the distribution of the sub-agencies as proposed by the agent,

be made for the construction of wells only, and that they should require the sanction of the agents; but that they would leave to the Director-General a discretion to make extraordinary advances for other purposes than wells, "the Board" being read for the Director-General. Extraordinary advances, the Behar agent reports, are never made for any other purpose than the construction of wells. The Benares agent also states that only in special cases, such as after a famine or bad cattle disease, would he authorise the sub-deputy agents to submit special applications, and would consider such cases, and sanction advances according to circumstances.

No. 173 B., dated Calcutta, the 5th March 1885.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

With reference to Government Order No. 150 T. R., dated 30th April last, communicating the consent of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Board taking into consideration and submitting suggestions for giving effect to the recommendations made by the late Opium Commission on certain minor matters connected with the administration of the Opium Department, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to submit, for the orders of Government, the following suggestions in connexion with the Commission's proposals in Chapter V. of their Report.

2. In paragraph 667 of their Report the Opium Commission recommended that trash should be paid for at the rate of 12 annas a maund in both agencies, and that an attempt should be made in Behar to obtain contracts for the delivery of trash at the factory. For trash delivered at the sub-agency head-quarters under the system which prevails at present in Behar, the Commission thought that six annas per maund would be a fair price, the conveyance charges from the village to the sub-agency being paid as now by Government. Both opium agents were asked to consider the Opium Commission's recommendations, and to furnish the Board with their opinion whether the increased rate is necessary.

3. The Benares agent has reported that his principal assistant does not consider the enhanced rate recommended by the Opium Commission necessary; the agent, however, looking to the fact that the trash contracts are no longer popular, and to the great importance of the trash supply, is in favour of the concession.

The Behar agent reports that everywhere it is admitted there is at present a difficulty in getting trash for the following reasons:—

- (a) because it forms a valuable manure for the fields, and the cultivators are loath to part with it;
- (b) because the cultivator is insufficiently paid for its cartage;
- (c) because deductions are made for impurities, which materially lessen the amount which is paid to the cultivators;
- (d) because some khattadars take the trash from the cultivators and regard it as their perquisite, appropriating all the payments; therefore the cultivator takes no interest in preserving it;
- (e) because payments are deferred, and such deferred payments seldom reach the cultivators;
- (f) because the cost of three pies per maund per koss allowed for carriage is too low.

The opinion of the majority of the sub-deputy opium agents is that if the cultivators were better paid they would supply the trash readily; the officers are unanimous against the employment of contractors, who, it is said, to protect themselves against deduction for impurities, would be led to pay low prices, and thus leave themselves a wider margin between the price paid to the cultivator and that received from Government. It is also said that contractors could only buy through khattadars, who would benefit as well as the contractors, but the cultivator would be in the same position as at present.

4. The agent states that at present difficulty is experienced in procuring trash, and that after a careful consideration of the matter, the best course seems to be that the sub-deputies nearest to the head-quarters should arrange for the largest quantities, that they should make advances to the khattadars for trash, and contract for the delivery of good trash at six annas a

maund for good, and four annas a maund for inferior quality, plus the charges of carriage to be fixed by each sub-deputy agent, the trash to be weighed and examined at the nearest weighing-shed and passed by the sub-deputy opium agent. The agent recommends that this course should be followed, and that it should be widely proclaimed that the khattadars are authorised to buy trash. I am to state that the average extra expenditure, if the increased price were given, would amount in Behar to Rs. 2,726-14, and in Benares to Rs. 3,609-6; and to recommend that the proposals of the Opium Commission to raise the price of trash may be sanctioned.

5. The suggestion in the latter part of paragraph 668 of the Commission's Report, that care should be taken at every step of the successive processes of weighing to guard against the possibility of fraud or mistake, to protect the assamee from illegal exaction, and to satisfy him that he is being fairly and equitably dealt with, is, I am happy to say, a matter that can be dealt with by the opium agents.

6. With regard to the Commission's proposals contained in paragraphs 669 to 671 of their Report, I am to state that the Benares agent reports that they follow his own views and recommendations. He does not, however, state how many kothees will be required, and where they should be located. The Behar agent reports that the want of weighing-sheds is the great want within the Behar Agency; that the distances which some of the cultivators have to travel to get their opium weighed is great, and the exertion required in their journeys renders the cultivation unpopular; and he recommends the construction of 13 new weighing-sheds. I am to state that the Board approve generally of the Commission's recommendations to provide additional weighing-sheds in both agencies, and have requested the Benares agent to state how many new sheds will be required, and where they should be erected; and as the suggestion made by the Behar agent for 13 more weighing-sheds appears to the Board extravagant and quite beyond the Commission's suggestions at the beginning of paragraph 671 of their Report, that officer has also been called upon to consider the point again, and to submit further recommendations as to the number of weighing-sheds required by him. A further report will be submitted on receipt of this information.

7. The Board would invite the attention of Government to the remarks of the Opium Commission in paragraph 669 of their Report regarding the treatment of the Opium Department in respect of the establishment of weighing stations by both the civil and the military authorities, and to the remedy proposed in paragraph 670 of their Report.

8. In paragraph 672 of their Report the Commission recommend (1) the payment of transit allowances under certain conditions to the opium cultivators, and (2) the exemption of cultivators, taking opium to weighing stations, from payment of tolls at public ferries and bridges. I am to state that both agents were consulted with regard to these proposals, and a report on the subject was called for. It was, however, at the same time pointed out to the agent that the Board were of opinion that if the second of the above proposals was carried out, it would be likely to cause considerable friction between district officers and the Opium Department. The measure, the Board thought, was certain from its very nature to be viewed with dislike by district magistrates, leading, as it must, to a reduction in the priers offered by contractors at the annual bids. Complaints from the contractors and the opium cultivators would, it was considered, be of constant occurrence, resulting in making the Opium Department extremely unpopular with district officers. It was suggested by the Board that it would be much simpler to let the charge in question be added to the transit allowance account. The bridges and ferries that cultivators travelling upon any of the main roads in a district would have to pass over must, the Board were of opinion, be well known to the local opium officers, and the mere addition of tolls to the payment to be made on account of transit allowance would cause no delay or difficulty. The agents were requested to consider the above remarks in furnishing the reports called for in connexion with the Commission's recommendations.

9. The Board have now received the reports called for from the agents. With regard to the payment of transit allowances to the cultivators, the Behar agent states that such a measure would lead to complications and disputes, and would only be popular with the amlah. The payments, Mr. Komble reports, r-

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in such infinitesimal sums that they would never reach the assamees. The exclusion of fractions of a seer in the accounts would, moreover, be misunderstood by the cultivators, and would lead to complications and jealousies, and would be a bar to a large number of small cultivators who stand most in need of assistance, receiving any allowance. The plunder by the amlah, already excessive, would, the agent thinks, be increased. To make the scheme of any practical use, he is of opinion that steps should be taken to see that an allowance, however small, proportionate to the distance travelled, was paid to each cultivator. This would, however, involve most minute calculations, and is not recommended by the agent. Mr. Kemble is also of opinion that the modified scheme proposed by the Commission will in no way tend to make the cultivation of poppy more popular with the ryots. The extra allowance, it is stated, might reach the hands of the khattadars, but it would never reach the individual cultivators. No change in this direction, the agent thinks, is necessary. Travelling allowances have never been asked for nor expected, and the want of them has never been considered a grievance. Mr. Kemble is of opinion that when the cultivation of poppy ceases to be popular, and falls off in consequence, there is only one remedy which can be of any use, and that is raising the price paid to the cultivators for the crude drug. Mr. Kemble also is not in favour of the Commission's recommendation to exempt cultivators from payment of tolls at public ferries and bridges. The concession, he states, though it would lead to fewer complications than the payment of transit allowances, would be very distasteful to the local committees, and might be considered illegal if the scheme for local self-government be fully carried out. The exemption, moreover, of all poppy cultivators from payment of tolls would no doubt very considerably reduce the receipts of the local funds.

10. The Benares agent states that the transit allowance will be very popular with the cultivators, and will equalise the position of men in all divisions. The cost of the scheme is estimated by the agent at Rs. 65,000, or an average of Re. 1-4 per maund of produce. This calculation is, however, only a rough one; a correct estimate cannot be arrived at unless the deliveries and distances for each single district are worked out. Mr. Carnac has also furnished the Board with figures, from which it appears that in the seven sub-agencies in which transit allowances are now paid the amount disbursed last year on this account amounted to Rs. 31,108-4-7, or an average of Re. 1-0-9 per maund, being 3 annas 3 pie less than the estimated rate according to the Commission's proposals. This proposed increase may, on the whole, the agent states, be considered sufficient to insure the object aimed at by the Commission, and would be popular among those cultivators to whom the grant of transit allowances has not hitherto been accorded. But if the rule is introduced limiting payments on this account to those who reside beyond a radius of 10 miles from the weighing-shed, a considerable number of cultivators in the Ghazipore Division will, the agent states, be deprived of the allowance. The Ghazipore cultivators, it is said, have from time immemorial drawn a small allowance, even when carrying their opium only a mile from their houses; and it would be, the agent thinks, undesirable to change a system that has so long prevailed, causing, as it must, much discontent among a valuable and influential class of cultivators. Mr. Carnac is also of opinion that even in the case of these cultivators who have not hitherto enjoyed this allowance, the strict adoption of the 10-mile rule would have its drawbacks, and that instead of the good effect of the Commission's recommendation being universal, the proposed change might cause no inconsiderable heartburning and discontent. The agent accordingly recommends that if the system of transit allowances is extended to all districts, it should also be extended to all cultivators; those living near the place of weighing receiving an allowance at a low rate, calculated in proportion to the rate proposed for those living at 10 and 15 miles from the opium centre. The rates proposed by the agent are as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.	Per maund
1 to 5 miles 1 pic per seer - - -	-	0	3	4
6 to 10 " 2 " " - - -	-	0	6	8
11 to 15 " 3 " " - - -	-	0	10	0
16 to 20 " 6 " " - - -	-	1	4	0
21 to 25 " 9 " " - - -	-	1	14	0
30 " 1 anna " " - - -	-	2	8	0
" 1 anna and 3 pic per seer - - -	-	3	2	0
" 1 " " 6 " " - - -	-	3	12	0
" " " 9 " " - - -	-	4	6	0

According to the above, the average rate would be Rs. 2 per maund, and the approximate cost, calculated on 52,000* maunds, Rs. 1,04,000. The actual increased cost would, however, amount to about Rs. 74,000, as about Rs. 30,000 are stated to be the annual amount now paid on account of transit allowances to the cultivators.

The Benares agent also states that the exemption of cultivators from tolls is desirable, and has his strong support. The scheme, he thinks, if introduced, will remove all difficulty.

11. It will be seen from the above that the two agents hold directly opposed views in regard to the desirability of carrying out the recommendations made in paragraph 672 of the Opium Commission's Report, and the Board, I am to say, can see no reason why one hard-and-fast rule should be made applicable to the cultivators in both provinces, considering what a marked distinction there is in the system of cultivation in the two agencies. In the Behar Agency, where opium is cultivated under the khattadari system, the agent is of opinion that the proposed allowance, amounting to 2 pice per seer, would not make any sensible addition to the actual profits of the cultivator. It is the kind of allowance from which the amlah would be certain to take their pickings, and the small balance would probably never get beyond the khattadar, who would consider it a legitimate addition to his perquisites. In the Benares Agency the circumstances are different. In some divisions a transit allowance is already given, and the system is found to work well. The cultivation is assameewar, and there is no difficulty experienced in giving each cultivator the amount he is entitled to according to the distance travelled by him. Taking into consideration the views expressed by the agents, and the difference of system in the two agencies, the Board are disposed to recommend that the system of granting transit allowances should be extended to the whole of the Benares Agency, but with the modification proposed by Mr. Carnac. The withdrawal of the allowance from those cultivators whose homes are within a radius of 10 miles from the weighing-shed in districts where a transit allowance has been drawn from time immemorial, without reference to the distance the cultivator might have had to travel, would, the Board have little doubt, be a cause of much discontent, and they would therefore recommend for the entire Benares Agency the adoption of the scale of rates proposed by the agent and quoted in paragraph 10 of this letter.

12. For the Behar Agency the Board would accept the agent's view, that no such allowance as that recommended by the Opium Commission is necessary. It may, the Board think, be fairly assumed that the allowance, if granted, would never reach the actual cultivator, and would therefore not affect any view he may entertain as to the profitable character of opium cultivation. Assuming that the allowance is not likely to go beyond the pocket of the khattadar, it seems unnecessary to add to his unrecognised profits, which, as stated by the Commission, already include a cess of 12 annas to Rs. 2-8 per bigah of cultivation.

13. As regards the exemption of cultivators taking opium to weighing stations from the payment of tolls at public ferries and bridges, I am to state that the Board are not prepared to recommend any concession of the kind. Such a measure could not, the Board think, be insisted on without an alteration in the existing Acts, which do not give the Government power to grant any such concession. The exemption would seriously affect the receipts at many ferries, and would be an exceedingly unpopular measure with local officers and with local committees. Its enforcement would moreover lead to constant disputes certain to produce friction between the district and departmental officers, which would be very undesirable. If it is considered desirable to make good to the opium cultivators the charges incurred as tolls at ferries, it should, the Board think, be arranged for by adding the charge to the transit allowance; but the Board are inclined to doubt whether the concession is one really called for or that would be much appreciated by the cultivator, and they do not therefore support the Commission's proposals on this point.

14. As the Behar agent is in favour of their introduction, he has been directed to introduce into the Behar Agency the rules in force in the Benares Agency for operations preliminary to weighments as recommended by the Opium Commission in paragraph 673 of their report.

15. In paragraph 674 of their report the Commission suggest that each individual cultivator should be paid for the opium he delivers, and in paragraph 676 they recommend that three European officers, two permanent and one temporary, should be employed at each place of weighment for the reasons stated by the Commission. They also recommend the temporary employment of three clerks on Rs. 50 each, and that the weighments and payments should be made kothee by kothee in succession. The opium agents were requested to furnish the Board with their remarks on the Commission's recommendations. The Benares agent states that the recommendations follow the system introduced by himself. The proposals, he says, include a considerable increase of establishment, to which he gladly subscribes, as the work at weighments at present is very heavy; and he proposes to try the new rules tentatively in one or two divisions next year, and to report further after giving them a practical trial.

16. The Behar agent reports that all the officers of the agency attach the greatest importance to the principle that each individual cultivator should at the time of delivery be paid for the opium which he delivers. The assameewar principle is acknowledged to be the best that can be devised, but the khattadari system has become so firmly established that he feels the need of great caution in proposing a procedure which in practice might break down. He states that a reform is imperatively called for, but the question is how it may best be effected. The proposal of the Commission, it is said, strikes at the root of the present system. The agent states that the proposal of the Commission to increase the rate of commission payable to khattadars will prevent a change in their relation to zemindars and to Government; but if payments are suddenly made assameewar, it is feared the khattadars will no longer have the power to realise balances that may become due to Government, or the money due to themselves. In certain cases, it is said, payment would have to be made to the khattadars; for many cultivators, such as the widows, the aged, and the indebted entrust their opium to the khattadar, who delivers it and receives payment on account. In the final settlements too the khattadar is the receiver of all balances due to the cultivator; he ascertains the result of the final purrukh at this godown, and conveys the information to the village, so that even if the payment were made separately to each assamee, yet practically some of the money would still pass through the khattadar's hands. Again, the assamees of the Behar Agency are said to have become so accustomed to trusting the khattadars in every matter of account that it is doubtful if they would all willingly receive payment independently of the khattadars, without some preliminary introduction to a new system. The Commission's proposals, the agent writes, might be introduced gradually in the following manner. As each pot passes the scales, and the quantity of opium weighed out and the amount due, less the previous advance, is entered in the register, a payment order might be given to each assamee delivering the opium; when the weighments of each khatta are completed, the mutsuddee would total the payments for the khatta and enter it in his register of totals. The account would also then be stamped "paid" by the European assistant, and taken to the treasurer, who would pay the amount to the khattadar. Each khattadar would be instructed to bring his account, together with all his cultivators and their pay order tickets, before the gomashtha of his kothee, who should be held responsible that the disbursement of separate payments is made by the khattadar in his presence to each assamee after settlement of account.

17. I am to state that the Board are of opinion that there will be considerable difficulty at first in introducing the assameewar system, but when introduced it will assuredly become popular, as the evils of the khattadari system are patent to everybody in Behar. The Board do not see how the payments can be made assameewar and the settlements and advances for cultivation khattadari at the same time. If this were done, the contingency of certain payments having still to be made through the khattadar would continue to exist, and a double system of the kind could not succeed. The proposal of the Behar agent for gradually introducing the Commission's proposals would not, the Board are afraid, secure the desired result. The khattadar and his assamees have probably innumerable debtor and creditor accounts to adjust, separate from the opium account, and it can scarcely be directed that all these should be gone into and adjusted in the presence, and on the responsibility of, the opium gomashtha; and the

khattadar with a personal demand on an assamee is not likely to let the latter secure the full amount of his due for opium, on the chance of future recovery of his own claims upon the man. The Board are therefore of opinion that if there is to be a change, that change will have to be in its entirety and immediate throughout the present system, and I am to request the orders of Government upon the subject.

18. With regard to the proposals of the opium Commission, contained in paragraph 676 of the report, the Behar agent states that it would not be possible for one treasurer to make separate payments so as to keep pace with the weighments, and he shows that it would occupy nearly three days to pay for the weighments of a single day. The agent also states that the agency officers unanimously express the opinion that the whole work of weighment will be delayed if the Commission's recommendation to work only six scales and confine the weighments to 1,500 pots a day is adopted. This delay, it is feared, will tempt the cultivators to sell their opium to smugglers, or they would lose it by theft; each day's delay would also raise the consistence, and thereby be a loss to Government, and retard the settlement of accounts. The agent would rather employ more supervising agency and facilitate the work. It is said that it is feared that any sudden change in the number of scales would lead to discontent among the cultivators, who have been accustomed to a more rapid system of working. The agent thinks that when more weighment sheds have been constructed, and each shed is placed in charge of a competent assistant, and all are working at the same time, it will be possible to reduce the number of pot weighments; till then he recommends that one European assistant be employed for every six scales, and that the weighments, instead of being held at each kothee in succession as recommended by the Commission, should be made simultaneously, each kothee being visited by the sub-deputy to determine doubtful cases of purrukh, and to decide all disputes. The agent also proposes to have a clerk on Rs. 25 for each scale, instead of a clerk on Rs. 50 for every two scales as proposed by the Opium Commission, for the following reasons:—

- (1.) The noise and hubbub at the weighments are distracting, and the mohurrir often becomes confused if his attention is occupied with two scales.
- (2.) If a mistake occurs at one scale, the work of both scales will be stopped till it is rectified, for the clerk must attend to the mistake.
- (3.) The work of a scale is often stopped because the assamee who has previously weighed his opium with a kutcha weight cannot understand why the weighment should be less with a pucca-weight, and it takes a few minutes to explain it to him.

19. With regard to the employment of European assistants to conduct the weighments, I am to state that the opium agent of Behar has been requested to report how many extra assistants would be required for weighments as compared with the present number. The Board are, however, of opinion that with more weighment-sheds there would be no difficulty whatever for the sub-deputy opium agent to make arrangements by notice beforehand for the dates on which weighments would be taken up at the several kothees and weighing-sheds separately in turn. The sub-deputy opium agent and his assistants could all attend each weighment-shed together. The agent has also been requested to report how many extra assistants will be required if this plan were adopted. With regard to the agent's proposal to employ a clerk on Rs. 25 per month for each scale instead of a clerk on Rs. 50 per month for every two scales as proposed by the Opium Commission, I am to state that the Board see no objection to this change; and I am to recommend that the proposals contained in paragraph 676 of the Commission's report may be introduced throughout both agencies at once before the ensuing weighments.

20. In paragraph 677 of their report the Opium Commission recommend that the pay of the native temporary establishment employed at weighments should be increased, and the members of the establishment more judiciously selected; also that the native purkha should be appointed by the agent. With reference to these recommendations, the agents were asked to submit a statement showing the number of temporary mohurrirs, dandidars, and karkhannias employed during the weighments at each place of weighment, and the period for which they are employed, together with the pay drawn by them, as well as the increased cost that would have to be incurred if the Commission's proposals were

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adopted. The Benares agent has submitted a statement which shows that the increased cost that would have to be incurred if the Commission's proposals were adopted is estimated to amount to Rs. 3,648-2-2 only per annum, and as the increase is small, the Board recommend that the proposals of the Commission, so far as they concern the Benares Agency, may be sanctioned. As the statement submitted by the Behar agent does not give the information required, he has been requested to submit a proper statement, and a further report on this point will be submitted to Government.

21. With reference to the recommendation contained in paragraph 678 of the Commission's report that the tagars should be of uniform size and weight, I am to state that both agents have been desired by the Board to have the Commission's recommendations carefully and strictly carried out during the next weighments. The Benares agent states that effect has already been given to the Opium Commission's views. In fact, it has been the rule in the agency to check and examine the tagars in use, and to return them to the Ghazipore factory when necessary. He adds that care will be taken that all are in thorough order by the next year. The Behar agent reports that steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Opium Commission.

22. The Commission recommend, in paragraph 679 of their report, that particulars of the opium should be entered in the miniature license at the time of weighments, and that the classification sheet in the Behar Agency should be written up in the manner now in use in the Benares Agency. The Board drew the Behar agent's attention to paragraph 649 of the Commissioner's report, and inquired whether there is any objection to the introduction into the Behar Agency of miniature licenses such as are in use in the Benares Agency, and if not, what steps are necessary to give effect to the Commission's recommendations. That officer reports that the system of miniature licenses was tried in the Behar Agency under two selected officers. The result of the experiment was that the ryots disliked the arrangement, left the license in the hands of the khattadars, and regarded it as a hardship that they should have to keep the licenses which they could neither read nor understand. He states that an attempt was made to measure the field and check the licenses, with the result that the cultivators could not be found when it was attempted to fill up the miniature licenses with the weight of the opium, and the delay was so great that the work fell rapidly into arrears. It was found that so long as the arrangements for cultivation were made khattadari, the proposed miniature license procedure would not answer. The agent states that under the khattadari system the proposal will not work. The khattadar is really the means of keeping up the cultivation, and many would not undertake the cultivation unless under the influence of the khattadar. The agent adds that the present system is one to which the cultivators cling; and as they have no care for the legal aspect and are quite indifferent to valid engagements, they will take readily to a paper procedure, which has no pecuniary value for them, but which necessitates some trouble and exertion. The agent points out that the miniature licenses were introduced into the Benares Agency to put a stop to unauthorised cultivation, as it was found that the total area under poppy cultivation was very often in excess of the area for which licenses had been granted, and fields were found under cultivation which were not even mentioned in the licenses; and he states that there is no evidence that illicit cultivation is carried on in Behar, but he admits that more direct relation with the cultivator is desirable.

23. Mr. Metcalf, while officiating as agent, reported that a valid contract might be entered into in the following manner:—

* *Form of Ticket.*
(Obverse.)
Season—
Number of license—
Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.
(Reverse.)
Name of cultivator
First advance
Second advance
Weight of opium delivered
Consistency
Value
Pay the sum of Rs.
Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.
Dated.

The khattadar shall present a petition (on a lithographed* form to be supplied by the agency free) from each cultivator, on whose behalf he is acting, asking for a license; the khattadar shall fill up the area to be cultivated, and the probable outturn of opium. The form of petition shall on the reverse contain a form of license which shall be ratified by the sub-deputy, and

may be filed in his office. This plan, he stated, will save clerical labour, and be intelligible to the cultivator. A ticket in the form given on the margin, bearing a serial number to correspond with the number on the license, shall be given to each cultivator, the ticket to be produced at the weighment, and the quantity of opium weighed and the price to be paid shall be entered on the back, which shall then be stamped "pay" by the assistant in charge of the weighments.

24. I am to state that it seems to the Board essential that there should be a valid engagement with the cultivator as required by law; it also seems necessary, if assameewar payments are to be introduced, that the system of miniature licenses should be simultaneously adopted. The Board would attach more weight to the views of the Opium Commission than to those of the officiating agent, and they accordingly propose, if the suggested assameewar system meets with the approval of the Government, to issue orders for the introduction of the system of miniature licenses into the Behar Agency.

25. In paragraph 680 of their report the Commission recommend that iodine test should be applied in all the sub-agencies, and that a tester on Rs. 15 a month should be annually appointed by the agent to each sub-agency during the weighment season. It will be seen from paragraph 301 of the Commission's report that this test is carried out as a general rule throughout the Benares Agency, but in Behar, in the Patna Sub-Agency only. There are now 26 sub-agencies; the cost of the testers would therefore amount to Rs. 390 a month, or, say, for about three months, Rs. 1,170. As this amount is not large, and as the Board can sanction the employment of temporary establishments, they propose, with the approval of Government, to direct the opium agents to carry out the recommendations made by the Commission.

26. The agents were also asked by the Board if they had any objection to the adoption of the Commission's proposal, contained in paragraph 681 of their report, that inferior opium should be separately chailaned. As the agents have no objection to the proposal, the Benares agent thinking it on the contrary a good one, the Board have directed them to adopt the Commission's recommendation.

27. The Board have also directed the agents to carry out the suggestion in paragraph 682 of the Commission's report, that the surface of the opium in the jar should be smoothed. The Benares agent has informed the Board that orders were issued before the past weighments on this subject, and the practice is observed in the agency; and the Behar agent has stated that steps have been taken to carry out these orders.

28. In paragraphs 683 and 684 of their report the Opium Commission recommend that the receipts of khurcha or of khurchan by the lumberdars should be entirely stopped, and the commission paid to them by Government should be raised from Rs. 1 to Rs. 4 per maund. With regard to this recommendation, I am to state that the maximum amount of khurchan allowed to lumberdars was fixed by the Board in 1875 at 14 chittacks per maund of opium. The levy of khurchan from the cultivators by the lumberdars is said to be distasteful to the former; and the cost to Government on account of the commission of Rs. 1 per maund is said to amount to Rs. 1,00,000 a year. The enhanced rate of commission now recommended will therefore entail an additional cost of Rs. 3,00,000 a year on Government. As this recommendation involves considerable increase of expenditure, the Board would await the orders of the Government of India on the Commission's report before making any recommendation on this matter.

29. From paragraph 856 of their report it will be seen that the Opium Commission are of opinion that if the recommendations in paragraph 680 of their report are carried out, there is no necessity for the second iodine test at the factory, and they recommended that it should be discontinued. The Board, however, doubt the advisability of this measure, and would not at present take any steps in the matter.

30. With reference to paragraph 686 of the Commission's report, I am to state that both opium agents were directed by the Board to take steps at once for giving effect to the Commission's recommendations on the subject of the jars and baskets used for conveying opium from the weighment stations to the sudder factory. The Benares agent states that the subject has received attention on various occasions; and specimen jars and baskets have been supplied to the divisions, and new sets will again be forwarded. He also states

that annually the condition of jars and baskets supplied by each sub-division is reported on by the principal assistant, and the subject is reviewed by the agent. The Behar agent reports that steps have been taken to carry out the Board's orders.

31. In paragraph 687 of their report the Commission recommend that payment in full at weighment time should not be made, but that whole rupees should be paid, the balance in annas and pies being kept in hand until the final adjustments. The question of paying

* Board to Government, No. 302 B., dated 9th August 1873.
Board to Government, No. 400 B., dated 12th August 1873.
Government order No. 2,234, dated 24th August 1873.

the cultivators in full for their opium at weighment time has, I am to point out, already formed the subject of correspondence* between the Government and the Board.

The Board approve the Commission's suggestion and would recommend its adoption.

32. The Opium Commission in paragraph 688 of their report recommend that payment for opium at weighment time should be made according to the purrucking officer's classification; and that opium of Class I. (awal) should be paid for at weighments at the rate of Rs. 5, and that 4 annas a seer should be added or deducted for each class above or below Class I. The Benares agent reports that after fully considering the matter and consulting some of the sub-deputy opium agents, he is of opinion that where the officers are experienced the proposal may be carried out without difficulty or anxiety; where, however, an officer is inexperienced, which under the present system of appointing comparatively inexperienced assistants to weigh opium is often the case, there might be a danger of his over-purrucking, and thus causing considerable balances within his charge; and the cultivator, once paid at high rate for his opium, would be very discontented at having to refund because it was found out at the factory that the assistant had over-estimated the consistence of the drug. Mr. Carnac states that if the Commission's suggestion regarding the increase of the European staff were adopted, this danger would be removed, as the purruck would then be done by the sub-deputy opium agent. The Behar agent reports the present practice is to pay Rs. 5 a seer at the weighing-shed for all consistencies above 69°, the more accurate test of consistency being determined at the sudder factory. He does not think it safe to make the sub-deputy agents purruck the final test; for instances are numerous where opium condemned at the weighments is found to be thoroughly good at the factory, and opium passed by the sub-deputy agents is found at the factory to be adulterated. It is also said that the ryots have greater faith in the factory purruck than in the classification of the weighing officer, and sometimes cultivators take their opium direct to the factory to be tested, and that there would be a universal feeling of dissatisfaction if the weighing-shed purruck were to be final. The agent shows that the rates proposed to be paid are higher than the rates sanctioned for the several degrees of consistency, and states that if opium paid for at Rs. 5-12 is found to be worth only Rs. 10-6, there must be a greater or less amount of balances to recover, and this could not be done easily. He states that calculations show it would be safer for the present to pay Rs. 5-2 instead of Rs. 5-4 recommended by the Commission for Class IXI. (73°, 74°, and 75°), Rs. 5-6 for Class IXI. (76°, 77°, and 78°) instead of Rs. 5-8; and Rs. 5-8 for Class IXI. (79°, 80°, and 81°) instead of Rs. 5-12, and recommends that these rates may be adopted. It has been pointed out to the agent that the object of the Commission is not to make the sub-deputy opium agent's purruck final, but to ensure the payment at weighments being closer than it now is to the real value of the opium. I am to state that the Board are of opinion that it would not do to have different systems of payment for opium at weighment time in different districts, and I am to suggest that no change should be made until the strength of the European establishment is materially increased. Then the question might be reconsidered.

33. In paragraph 689 of their report the Opium Commission state that it would be politic for the Government to pass an order under section 8, Act I. of 1879, remitting the stamp duty chargeable upon receipts given by opium cultivators, or their representatives, for money paid to them on account of

No. 129A, dated 17th Feb 1870.
No. 503, dated 22nd Jan. 1875.
No. 2,147, dated 29th March 1878.

Government. I am to request a reference to the Government of India notifications cited on the margin,

from which it will be seen that the following instruments have already been exempted from stamp duty:—

- (1) agreements made by ryots in opium-producing districts for the cultivation of the poppy for Government;
- (2) bonds executed by the sureties of middlemen (lumberdars and khattadars) taking advances for the cultivation of the poppy for Government within the limits of the Benares and Patna Agencies;
- (3) security bonds (hazir-zamini) executed to secure the personal attendance of gomashtras and other native employes of the Opium Department;

and I am to state that the Board would recommend that lumberdars and khattadars in the Benares and Behar Agencies should also be exempted from the payment of stamp duty on receipts given by them.

No. 14 B., dated 9th January 1886.

From C. A. SAMUELS, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

WITH reference to Government Order, No. 159 T. R., dated 30th April 1884, communicating the consent of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Board taking into consideration and submitting suggestions for giving effect to the recommendations made by the late Opium Commission on certain minor matters connected with the administration of the Opium Department, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to submit, for the orders of Government, the following suggestions in connexion with the Commission's proposals in Chapter VII. of their report.

2. In paragraph 718 of their report the Opium Commission recommend that the responsibility for the careful and efficient management of the opium factories should rest with the opium agents, and that the officer in charge of the factories and answerable for its efficient working should be answerable, not to the head of the Opium Department, but to the agent, and should in no sense be in independent charge of the factory. Both opium agents were asked to consider the Opium Commission's recommendations, and to furnish the Board with any remarks they have to offer.

3. The Behar agent states that the recommendations of the Opium Commission as to relations between the agent and principal assistant, as expressed in paragraph 718, are entirely in accordance with his own views. The only modification he would recommend is in the proposal (in paragraph 719) to vest the factory superintendent with power to appoint factory employes drawing salaries of Rs. 50 and upwards. The agent is of opinion that temporary assistants employed during the weighments should be appointed by the agent. At present, he states, the practice has been to appoint old pensioners and relations of the officers on the permanent staff. Such appointments, it is said, are in some ways objectionable, and the agent should be allowed a voice in the selection. He would limit the power of the factory superintendent to appoint employes drawing salaries up to Rs. 50. Beyond that the appointment should be made by the agent. The Board have pointed out to the agent that the recommendations of the Opium Commission have apparently been misunderstood. What they recommend is that the factory superintendent should appoint and have power of punishing departmentally and of dismissing all employes drawing less than Rs. 10 per mensem; and that as regards such men, his orders should be final. The Commission go on to say that—

“Subject to the concurrence of the agent, whose veto should be final, we would allow the factory superintendent to appoint all factory employes drawing Rs. 10 per mensem and upwards to Rs. 150.”

From this it will be seen that the agent will be “allowed a voice in the selection” of temporary and other assistants drawing salaries from Rs. 50 to 150, though they may, in the first instance, be appointed by the factory superintendent.

4. The Benares agent states that he has always admitted that inasmuch as the agent is in command he must accept the responsibility when things go wrong, in the same way as he receives credit when all goes right. He quite agrees that the principal assistant is responsible to the agent, and not to the Board. He sees no objection to the change in the style of his office, and he is quite in favour of the powers recommended in paragraph 719 of the Commission's report,

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by which the principal assistant will appoint, dismiss, and punish. The agent is also in favour of confining the duties of the principal assistant exclusively to factory work. But he says that if it is intended by the Commission in these proposals to make the responsibility of the agent for the management of the factory more direct than heretofore, he demurs. It appears to him that the Commission's recommendations have the opposite tendency. When it is considered that the agent has a territory extending over a length of 500 miles, and including 53 sub-divisions, with enormous native establishments to supervise, it is physically impossible for him to keep "daily touch" of a factory situated at the very end of his charge, and at the same time to superintend the work of extension of cultivation, &c., in the districts. That the agent is responsible for the proper working of the factory is admitted. He is equally responsible for the working of every one of the sub-divisions. But no one man can, he states, possibly undertake all the details himself. He must trust largely to the officers in immediate charge, and by constant inspection satisfy himself that all are working up to the mark. For the management of the factory, he says, it is necessary to obtain a really good man, and to assist him, supervise him, and trust him. If the agent, who must be continually absent from Ghazipore, is suddenly to come back, and is to attempt to take everything into his own hands, he will assuredly disgust the principal assistant, and throw out the whole of the work. For these reasons Mr. Carnac is of opinion that the principal assistant's position towards the agent should be the same, or nearly the same, as that of the sub-deputies to their chief; or to take another example, the officer in charge of the factory would stand in the same position to the agent as, say, the superintendent of the Cawnpore factory does to the Inspector-General of Ordnance.

5. I am to state that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the Board recommend that the recommendations of the Opium Commission in paragraphs 718 and 719 of their report may be sanctioned, "Board" being substituted for "Director-General."

6. With regard to the recommendation of the Commission in paragraph 719 of their report, that no communication between the agent and the chief factory officer by official letter should be permitted, that when the agent is at head-quarters all communications between him and the factory officer should be by word-of-mouth, or by half-margin order book, and that when the agent is absent from head-quarters they should be by half-margin notes, I am to state that the Board have requested the agents to desist from correspondence with the principal assistant by official letters and adopt the form of communication described in paragraph 719 of the Commission's report. They have also been told that in addressing the Board copies of notes or letters from the principal assistants should not be submitted, but the purport of all communications from these officers should be embodied in one complete report from the agents, except in cases in which the principal assistant reports in the capacity of opium examiner, and in such cases the Board have directed that the statements submitted and the views expressed by the principal assistant should be forwarded to the Board with any remarks the agent may have to offer.

7. In paragraphs 720 to 729 of their report the Opium Commission express their views in regard to the qualifications that should be expected from the officer appointed to the post of factory superintendent (principal assistant). On this subject I am to refer to paragraph 9 of the Board's letter, No. 3 B., dated 2nd January 1884, in which the Board have already recorded their opinion.

8. The agents were also requested to furnish the Board with their opinion on the recommendations made by the Commission in paragraphs 730 and 731 of their report in regard to the appointment of assistant factory superintendent, and the pay to be drawn by those officers. The Behar agent states that there is a feeling at present prevailing among the gazetted officers of the Behar Agency that the duties of the head assistant at the factory are below the position of a gentleman, and this feeling is shown by a disinclination on the part of assistant sub-deputy opium agents to accept the appointment on the occasion of any vacancy. He says that the appointment, owing to the absence of proper house accommodation and local circumstances, is no doubt attended with much inconvenience. The officer finds himself isolated and with no companions about him; the duties are irksome, and require

activity, good temper, and patience. The officer draws no travelling allowance, and has no cold-weather camping. All these disadvantages cause the post to be shunned. He recommends that every gazetted officer on joining the Department should go through a course in the laboratory and in the factory; that officers who have evinced during their early training the quality of good temper with their subordinates and skill in chemical manipulation should be selected when vacancies occur for the post of head assistant, receiving a salary above their graded pay, and on the completion of two years' service at the factory should revert to district work, receiving promotion to officiating sub-deputyships; that the officer should be selected, not by the test examination only, but for known characteristics, such as patience under irritation, forbearance with native stupidity and wickedness, power of dealing with large bodies of natives, considerable bodily activity and aptitude in investigating cases and detecting rascality, and that he should be entirely subordinate to the factory superintendent as at present. As regards the question of pay, the agent is of opinion that the head assistant should receive Rs. 500 the first year and Rs. 600 the second year, besides free quarters; and as there is no house available near the factory, he proposes to provide suitable house accommodation.

9. The Benares agent states that the question of the appointment of assistant factory superintendent somewhat hangs together with that of the appointment of medical officers to the post of principal assistants. Unless the appointment is reserved for officers of the Opium Department, he doubts whether any assistant would care for the drudgery of factory work, and he is by no means in favour of laying down a rule that no medical man, however well qualified, can be appointed to the management of the factory, should he be willing to undertake the duties. With respect to the pay of the first factory assistant, the agent states that he understands that Rs. 750 a month is reserved for a medical officer, who shall be placed in training for the post of superintendent (principal assistant).

10. I am to observe that the Board do not agree with the Behar agent on the following points:—

- I.—That the factory assistant superintendent appointed from the gazetted staff should hold the appointment for only two years.
- II.—That every gazetted officer on joining the Department should go through a course in the laboratory and in the factory.

With regard to the first point, the agent has accurately described the requisites for an assistant superintendent. So far as chemical knowledge is concerned, that which an opium officer has shown to possess by the test of the departmental examination should be sufficient to make him eligible for appointment to the post. Practical knowledge will be gained by him in the course of his duties under the further instruction of the superintendent, and it is this practical knowledge which will, with the other qualifications, render him an efficient assistant to the superintendent in the onerous duties the latter officer has to perform. By removing an assistant superintendent at the end of two years he will be taken away just at the time when he is becoming really useful and of service to the factory, and the burden of beginning over again the instruction of a new assistant will be thrown on the superintendent. An assistant superintendent to be of use should be conversant with all the routine of the factory administration and with the subordinates he has to deal with. Continual changes in the appointment will, the Board think, act very injuriously on the administration of the factory, for of necessity the superintendent, who is the hardest worked man in the place, must depend much upon and entrust much to his assistant. If a good man can be got as an assistant, there seems to be every reason why he should be retained as such as long as is conducive to efficiency. The Board do not see either that the training of the assistant superintendent at the factory will in itself alone secure an officer more efficient in his duties as district officer, and there seems no necessity why he should on that account be deputed to district work against his wish, merely on the face of the proposed two years' rule. One of the results of adopting the agent's proposals would also be to put the assistant after two years' service at the factory over the head of his contemporaries for the rest of his service. This the Board think would be unfair.

11. As regards the second point, I am to observe that the Board understand that some years ago the plan that

every gazetted officer on joining the Department should go through a factory course was in existence, and it was abandoned after a time, as it was found that the young officers merely idled their time and did no good. They were of no particular use at the factory, except perhaps during the weighments, but they gained no practical knowledge of their future duties in the mofussil. The Board were of opinion that if this plan were followed again, the sub-deputy opium agents would lose the services of these young officers in the district for the period they remained at the factory, and when the latter joined their appointments in the mofussil they would be not more useful to the district officers than if they had joined at once on first appointment; both agents were therefore consulted on this point. The Behar agent reports that on the institution of departmental examinations the system of keeping young officers at the factory on the supposition that they there gained a practical knowledge of chemistry was very properly given up. The Benares agent states that in former days young assistants were attached to the factory on first joining the Department, and spent part of their time there. The system had, however, altered considerably before Mr. Carnac joined the agency. He states that the extension of the work of the Department has long since absorbed the reserve of assistants which used to be available at the factory, and no assistants are now in training for semi-independent charges. The system has been to place as a rule the last comer in charge of a sub-division, which weighed at head-quarters, and thereby in some measure to reduce the young officers' responsibilities. It has been the practice, the agent states, to bring inexperienced officers down to Ghazipore after the weighments of their sub-divisions, and during that slack time to instruct them and to examine them in the *purruckh* of opium and

*The testing and classifying of opium.

in testing for impurities. Mr. Carnac proposes to adhere to the present system; and should the Department hereafter be increased as proposed by the Commission, and some spare assistants be available, he would attach them to the districts and not to the factory. These officers would as now come down to the factory for a short time after the payments, and go through a course of *purruckh*, &c., and Mr. Carnac proposes to add to this short course some instructions in the system of keeping the agency vernacular accounts.

12. I am to state that the Board would recommend no change from the present practice beyond those put forward by the Opium Commission in paragraphs 730 and 731 of their report. The Board, however, would observe that there are no workshops to grant certificates, and that there is no Director-General.

13. The Board also requested the agents to submit any remarks they may have to offer on the proposals contained in paragraphs 733 to 735 of the Opium Commission's report in regard to the revision of the factory office establishment.

The Behar agent (Mr. Metcalf) reported that there is no objection to the proposal made in paragraph 733 of the Opium Commission's report that the factory superintendent should be left entirely free to employ the members of his office establishment in any manner which he may think proper, but the proposal to place under him the establishment for the audit of the cultivators' accounts in the sudder factory is open to strong objections for the following reasons:—(a) the principal assistant has not the leisure to attend to this work; and (b) in practice it is found that the sudder factory and the sub-deputy opium agents are often at variance owing to mistakes arising out of the receipt of opium, which affect the cultivators' accounts and have eventually to be adjusted by the agent after personal inquiry into challans. Mr. Kemble, however, after visiting Ghazipore, and inquiring into the working of the audit officer there, reports that if such an office is to be employed at Bankipore it will be necessary to build a new bungalow and to engage a new staff of clerks, and he doubts if the benefits to be gained are worth the expenditure. He states that from what he heard and saw at Ghazipore he learnt that all that the audit office does is to ensure that the accounts of all the assamees are properly kept, and that the sub-deputy agent has testified to the final payments of each assamee. As far as Mr. Kemble can see, the first duty can be as efficiently carried out by a sub-deputy agent, who is a gazetted European officer, as by the head auditor; and if the sub-deputy cannot be trusted to sign his papers correctly he is not fit for the post. During the months of August, September, and October this examination and auditing of the *assamees'* papers is all that the sub-deputies have

to do. Mr. Kemble has looked into this part of the work of the officers subordinate to him, and has no reason to be dissatisfied with it, and he feels sure that if any sub-deputy agent for any reason failed to pay each *khattadar* his due, the agent would hear of his shortcomings long before the auditor detected them. Mr. Kemble remarks that if a clever sub-deputy were inclined to be dishonest, he doubts whether the audit office could detect him. So far as the sub-deputies' accounts go, Mr. Kemble is not convinced of the necessity for any further check than that already exercised in his office, and he is of opinion that an audit office in the Behar Agency would be a piece of useless extravagance. Looking to these objections, and the expense which, giving effect to the recommendations for an audit office in Behar would entail, the Board would not recommend its adoption. The Behar agent also dissented from the opinion of the Opium Commission as to the strength and cost of the establishment that would be necessary for the office of the principal assistant. The Board approved the agent's recommendation, and a proposition statement prepared accordingly (which has been forwarded to the Accountant-General for verification of the present scale of establishment) is submitted for the sanction of Government.

14. The Benares agent reports that he understands from the Commission's recommendations that it is proposed to amalgamate the existing audit department of the agency with the other offices of the factory under the principal assistants and organise an establishment sufficient for the entire office work, which properly devolves upon the factory superintendent, including the audit of the cultivators' accounts. This recommendation is, the agent believes, based on a misapprehension. The audit of the cultivators' accounts, he states, is not a part of the factory superintendent's duties, and in this view Dr. Weir agrees. He says that the audit office has never been a part of the factory establishment properly so called. It is true that the head auditor's office is at the factory, and that for a part of the year, *i.e.*, whilst opium is coming in from the districts, the calculations of *damdetta*, a work devolving on the principal assistant, are worked out by the audit office under the orders of the principal assistant. During the rest of the year, however, the duties of the audit office have no connexion with the factory whatsoever, save when the factory accounts are audited under the orders of the agent. The agent states that the head auditor's duties include the checking of outstanding balances, advances for wells, the vernacular accounts of the sub-deputies, and also the store accounts of the factory. He is, however, of opinion that the head auditor's duties should be confined to accounts and audit under the arrangements as they now exist, and that it is undesirable to entrust to him the superintendence of all the factory offices, and practically to impose upon the factory superintendent the responsibility for the audit of the whole of the cultivators' accounts. The agent says the proposal to place the audit office under the principal assistant is open to the following objections:—(a) If the offices are amalgamated, the present head auditor, instead of confining his attention to audit and accounts, which give him ample employment, may be required to assist in many duties connected with the factory; and (b) not only will his attention be diverted from his most important duties, but he might by degrees acquire an undue influence at the factory. The Benares agent also differed with the Opium Commission with regard to the details of the establishment to be employed in the office of the principal assistant and in the audit office. The Board having agreed with the agent and approved his proposals, a proposition statement (which has been forwarded to the Accountant-General for verification of the present scale of establishment) has been prepared accordingly, and is submitted for the sanction of Government.

15. With regard to the proposal contained in paragraphs 736 to 740 of the Commission's report in connexion with the revision of the factory assistants' establishments, the Behar agent states that no objection can be urged against the proposed salaries for factory assistants, and he has no objection to make to the proposal that the laboratory superintendent should be selected from the factory assistants, and considers the proposal a good one. The agent suggests that the post of assistant opium examiner should be held by a duly qualified assistant surgeon selected from amongst the candidates who may have distinguished himself in chemistry during his medical course, and he states that he has carefully considered if there would be any advantage in selecting an officer from the regular staff

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of assistant sub-deputy opium agents; but, after weighing the considerations he would support the Commission's proposals. The Benares agent, however, recommends that a thoroughly qualified European should be selected for this appointment as the duties of assay registrar, which will be performed by him, are very delicate, onerous, and responsible. The appointment of opium examiner at the Ghazipore factory has already been sanctioned by Government of India—*vide* enclosure to Government order No. 181 T. R., dated 23rd April 1885, and I am now to submit (through the Accountant-General for verification of the present establishment) proposition statement of the factory assistants' establishments at both the Goolzarbagha and the Ghazipore factories.

16. Paragraphs 741 to 744 of the Opium Commission's report contain their recommendations regarding the revision of the subordinate native establishment at the Patna factory. On this subject the agent reports that the only modifications he would propose to the Commission's recommendations are (1) that the first and second *purkha* and the head sirdar should receive progressive salaries of Rs. 25 to Rs. 50, Rs. 15 to Rs. 30, and Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 respectively, instead of the fixed salaries of Rs. 50 and Rs. 30 recommended by the Commission, as he is of opinion that a progressive salary will encourage the men to conduct themselves properly; (2) that in place of the compounder, recommended by the Commission, a selected assistant hospital compounder deputed from the regular medical staff be employed, as if this is done the place could easily be filled in case of sickness; and (3) that the salaries of the blacksmith and carpenter should be Rs. 15 rising to Rs. 20, instead of Rs. 10 and Rs. 8 respectively, as recommended by the Commission, as the demand for good workmen is said to be so great that there is a difficulty in securing, and a still greater difficulty in retaining, their services. The agent states that the Commission's recommendations regarding the re-organisation of the staff of factory sirdars are excellent, and he strongly recommends them for adoption. The Board agree with the agent that the pay of the first and second *purkha* and the head sirdar should be progressive instead of fixed. They also would support his recommendation with regard to the appointment of an assistant hospital compounder. The Board, however, doubt the necessity of raising the pay of the blacksmith and carpenter from Rs. 10 and Rs. 8 respectively to Rs. 15 rising to Rs. 20, and a proposition statement, prepared in accordance with these views, is submitted (through Accountant-General) for the sanction of Government.

17. The recommendations of the Opium Commission regarding the subordinate native establishment at the Ghazipore factory are contained in paragraphs 745 to 747 of their report. The Benares agent states that the recommendations of the Commission will, on the whole, be found to work well. He is of opinion, however, that the proposals regarding the staff of factory sirdars require some slight change. The pay proposed for the sirdars of the last two grades is, he thinks, inadequate for the following reasons:—(i) The sweeper is to receive Rs. 5, the cooly-mate Rs. 6; it will therefore hardly do to pay the sirdars, who have to assist in the godowns, and whose position in the factory is responsible, at the same rate as the sweeper and a lower rate than the cooly-mate, and (ii) the sirdars are selected from the cake-makers. Under the Commission's recommendations a cake-maker may now make as much as Rs. 12 a month; it will therefore be no promotion to a cake-maker to be appointed a sirdar, and there will be a difficulty in getting good men. He therefore recommends that the lowest pay of the sirdars should be fixed at Rs. 6 a month, and he would regrade the sirdars as shown below, at an extra cost of Rs. 17 per month, compared with the Commission's recommendations:—

	Rs. a.	Rs.
1 Head sirdar at	35 0 - - -	35
1 Sirdar "	15 0 - - -	15
8 Sirdars "	10 0 - - -	80
4 Ditto "	9 8 - - -	38
4 Ditto "	9 0 - - -	36
4 Ditto "	8 8 - - -	34
4 Ditto "	8 0 - - -	32
4 Ditto "	7 8 - - -	30
4 Ditto "	7 0 - - -	28
4 Ditto "	6 8 - - -	26
8 Ditto "	6 0 - - -	24
46	Total . . .	402

He also states that in the Commission's recommendations the laboratory stoker has been omitted. This man, it is said, is employed all the year round in clearing the factory boiler, and he considers that he should be brought on the permanent establishment on Rs. 7 per month. The modifications proposed by the agent were approved by the Board, and a proposition statement prepared accordingly is submitted (through the Accountant-General) for the sanction of Government.

18. The agents were also asked to report on the recommendations of the Opium Commission, contained in paragraph 748 of their report, regarding the fire-brigade establishments at the opium factories. The Behar agent recommends that the proposals of the Opium Commission may be carried out. He also recommends that the fire-brigade be placed in charge of the first factory assistant, and the monthly allowance of Rs. 30 be paid him to look after the manual engines and to drill the firemen. The steam fire-engines the agent states should remain in charge of the superintendent of the saw mills, who is the only person at present competent to keep the machinery in working order. He also recommends that a man may be employed on a salary of Rs. 12 to work the steam engines. With regard to the uniform recommended in paragraph 357 of the Commission's report, the agent states that the only uniform required will be a coloured topee and a badge to be worn on the arm, and he estimates the cost at Re. 1 per man, or Rs. 50 per annum. The Benares agent states that the increase in the fire-brigade establishment was urged during the sittings of the Commission at Ghazipore, and was warmly supported by both Dr. Weir and himself. The proposed increase in the fire-brigade establishment in both factories has been included in the proposition statement submitted, and the Board recommend that it may be sanctioned, as also the annual expenditure of Rs. 50 for the uniforms required for the fire-brigade at the Patna factory.

19. The Board also referred the Benares agent to paragraphs 749 to 752 of the Commission's report in which they recommend the substitution of a police guard for the burkandaz guard at the Ghazipore factory, and he was requested to submit any remarks he may have to offer on the proposal, and to report the strength and cost of the guard that would be necessary. The agent was also desired to ascertain from the Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces, whether that officer still has objections to the police searching the workpeople leaving the factory. Mr. Carnac states that the Commission have adopted his views. He is of opinion that a well-disciplined police guard ought to be preferable for the purposes of watch and ward to a permanent resident burkandaz guard. It is said that the burkandaz guard, under the orders of the principal assistant, is undoubtedly more easily managed and convenient, but these men are continuously employed on one duty, have greater opportunities of combining together and conniving or assisting at irregularities than a police guard could have. The agent says that if the number of sentries is sufficient, and the sentries are respectable, they should be able to check any irregularities. There may be, he says, some friction between the police guard and the factory native establishment, but this is not to be deplored if it tends to check irregularities. Mr. Carnac has submitted a proposition statement, which is forwarded (through the Accountant-General for verification of the present establishment) for the sanction of Government, showing the cost of the proposed police guard, the strength of which, he says, has been fixed by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, North-Western Provinces, on visiting the factory and seeing the number of sentries required. The statement shows that 77 men are to be employed at a total yearly cost of Rs. 7,338. The agent states that the guard will be on the same footing as those of central gaols, with the exception that the relief will be left to the discretion of the District Superintendent of Police. The relief will generally be one-third of the guard monthly, and this constant change will, it is said, be a check on the possible collusion of the guard and the factory employes. It is proposed to relieve the present burkandaz gradually, so that the police may learn the work from the burkandazes. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police was, it is said, much pleased with the physique and drill of the burkandaz guard, which he considered superior to that of the police; and in the event of the scheme being sanctioned, the present burkandaz guard will be transferred bodily to the police reserve.

20. With regard to the question of searching, the agent states that the Police Department hold that a police sentry armed with a musket cannot satisfactorily conduct the search of persons leaving the factory. He therefore recommends that a special establishment be employed for the purpose. This establishment will consist of one duffadar searcher and five searchers, and its total yearly cost, including clothing charges, will be Rs. 550. This establishment also has been included in the proposition statement submitted to Government for sanction. Besides the police guard and searchers, it will be necessary to employ temporary men at certain seasons of the year, such as the weighments, when the factory is crowded to overflowing. The agent says that the Police Department recommend that these men should be employed as required by the agent and the principal assistant, and should be placed under the orders of the sub-inspector of the guard at the factory. The agent concurs with this opinion, and states that the number of temporary men employed vary with the varying demands of the season. In 1875, from January to July the average number of posts supplied by temporary men was $5\frac{7}{10}$ ths, while during the same months in 1885 the average was $4\frac{7}{10}$ ths only.

21. The recommendations of the Opium Commission to increase the wages of the cake-makers at the factories are contained in paragraphs* 753 to 758 of their report. The attention of both

* Behar 753 to 756.
Benares 757 and 758.

agents was drawn to this subject, and they were requested to submit any remarks they may have to offer, together with an estimate of what the extra cost under the scale proposed by the Commission is likely to be. The Behar agent points out that in the Commission's report no distinction has been made between the cost of manufacture and of repairing. He states that at the present rates the cake-makers are very well paid, and he does not recommend the increased rate of one anna for six cakes, or 96 cakes per rupee, proposed by the Commission. He says that the caking rate now paid has only very recently been raised, and there seems no necessity for a further immediate increase. It is said that the workmen are quite satisfied with the present rate of 128 cakes per rupee, and ask for no increase. A cake-maker can earn Rs. 12 monthly, and this rate is found sufficient to secure the best workmen, and need not therefore be increased. With regard to the repairing of cakes, the agent states that at the present rate of 520 cakes per rupee the men can earn three annas a day only, and this is found insufficient to attract the best men, and only inferior men present themselves for employment, and he recommends that the rate be raised to five annas per 100 cakes (or 320 per rupee), which is the out-turn per day permitted.

The Benares agent reports that the arguments that higher salaries should be paid to cake-makers at Ghazipore than at Patna, since Patna is the school and home of cake-makers, cannot stand nowadays, as three only of the Ghazipore cake-makers are Patna men, all the rest being residents of Ghazipore. With the proposed increase of pay for cake-makers, the agent says it will be difficult to find cake-makers willing to be promoted downwards to the lower grades of sirdar, as a cake-maker of the lowest grade would earn in six months Rs. 60, while a sirdar of the lowest grade would have to work 12 months to earn the same amount. Under the circumstances represented by the agents, I am to state that the Board do not support the proposals of the Opium Commission to increase the wages of the cake-makers at the Patna and Ghazipore factories. They would, however, recommend an increased rate of five annas per 100 cakes being given for the repair of cakes at the Patna factory. At this rate the extra cost is estimated at Rs. 1,252 per annum.

22. With regard to the recommendations in paragraph 759 of the Opium Commission's report in connexion with the saw-mill establishments at the Patna factory, I am to state that the Behar agent has been requested to refer to these proposals when submitting any scheme for the revision of this portion of the factory establishment rendered necessary owing to the recent extension of the saw-mill. This matter will be dealt with separately by the Board on receipt of the agent's report.

No. 594 B., dated 17th July 1886.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

IN continuation of paragraph 22 of the Board's letter 14 B., dated 9th January last, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to submit for the orders of Government the following suggestions in connexion with the saw-mill establishment at the Patna factory, together with a proposition statement (which has been forwarded to the Accountant-General for verification of the present scale of establishment).

2. In paragraph 759 of their report the Opium Commission expressed their views with regard to the saw-mill establishment as follows:—

"The salaries of the saw-mill establishment have been stated in paragraph 501, and we have there remarked that we consider the pay to be insufficient. The present superintendent of the saw-mill has held the appointment for 14 years, and has received no increase of pay since 1878, when his salary was raised from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 on the amalgamation of the saw-mill and chest departments. As residence in the saw-mill compound is compulsory, we think that house-rent should not be charged to the superintendent; but we consider that a salary of Rs. 400 is sufficient for the appointment. Should it be thought desirable to recognise the good service which the present superintendent has rendered, such recognition should, in our opinion, be made in the form of a personal allowance. The salary of the store keeper should, in our opinion, be raised from Rs. 20 to Rs. 35. The pay of the sawyers appears to us to be inadequate; but when the arrangements now in progress for the extension of the mill are completed it will be necessary to revise the entire establishment, and we therefore refrain from submitting, in this report, any definite recommendations on the subject. We are not at present in a position to say what the strength of the establishment should be; but we have no doubt that such salaries as Rs. 7 and Rs. 6 are insufficient for skilled workmen, such as sawyers and saw-fitters."

3. The Behar agent has now submitted his scheme for increasing the strength of the saw-mill establishment at an additional cost of Rs. 353 per mensem, or Rs. 4,236 per annum. The proposition statement shows that it is proposed to raise the salary of Mr. Girling, the superintendent and engineer of the saw-mill, from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 per mensem. On this question Mr. Kemble submitted the following remarks:—

"Though I have given over charge of my office to Mr. D'Oyly, I take the liberty before leaving for England of bringing to the notice of the Board the very excellent work done by Mr. Girling, the superintendent of the saw-mill, in fitting up and bringing into work the new boilers, engines, and machinery which have arrived from England during the past year.

"The officers of the Public Works Department built for us the chimney, the engine-house, and the reservoirs; the stone beds for the machinery, which are sunk about 20 feet into the earth, and the masonry beds for the three enormous boilers, each weighing about 13 tons, were built up by Mr. Girling. These large masses of ironwork were carried from the railway station and placed in position, and all the complicated fittings of the most recent invention were put together by him with his own hands or under his immediate superintendence during the hottest and most trying months of the year.

"The general work done by him during the year has been also satisfactory; he has to carry out most responsible duties in examining and passing timber and chests to the value of many thousand rupees. The late Commission, in paragraph 759 of their report, and my predecessor have recommended that his salary should be increased, and I have waited till the new machinery was in working order for making a formal recommendation to the same effect. I trust that, Board will support my proposal that an addition of Rs. 100 be made to his salary from 1st January 1886."

4. Mr. Girling was appointed as engineer to the Patna factory on the 1st June 1869 on a salary of

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Rs. 300 per mensem. His salary was raised to 400 per month from 15th February 1878 under sanction of the Government of India in their Financial Department letter, No. 3303, dated 26th September 1877. Considering the strong recommendation made by the agent in favour of increasing Mr. Girling's salary, the Board would recommend that his salary may either be raised to Rs. 500 per mensem, or that a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month be granted to him; and on this point I am to request that early orders may be passed.

5. The proposition statement also shows that it is proposed to employ an assistant engineer on Rs. 125 in lieu of one assistant to engineer on Rs. 50, and one boiler-maker or second assistant to engineer on Rs. 40 per mensem, and to increase the number of circular sawyers, &c., to be employed. This is rendered necessary by the recent extension of the saw-mill.

6. In conclusion, I am to request that the pay of the duffries in the vernacular department of the Patna factory office shown under the proposed scale in the proposition statement submitted to Government with the Board's letter No. 14 B., dated 9th January last, may be corrected from Rs. 6 and Rs. 5, total Rs. 11, to Rs. 8 and Rs. 5, total Rs. 13, and that the necessary corrections may be made in the totals of the statement.

No. 720 B., dated 3rd November 1884.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

WITH reference to Government Order, No. 150 T. R., dated 30th April last, communicating the consent of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Board's taking into consideration, and submitting suggestions for giving effect to, the recommendations made by the late Opium Commission on certain minor matters connected with the administration of the Opium Department, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to submit, for the orders of Government, the following suggestions in connexion with the Commission's proposals in Chapter VIII. of their report.

2. In paragraph 762 of their report the Opium Commission consider that it would be advantageous to purchase a certain amount of Malwa opium for excise manufacture, but they are of opinion that no attempt to manufacture excise opium at Indore, Ajmere, or Jubbulpore should be made. The Commission also think that the supply of excise opium to Local Governments should be regulated by the terms of the contracts periodically made under the system of provincial finance, and that the quantity of excise opium to be supplied at cost price should be determined, and supplies in excess of those limits should be paid for at the market value of opium for provision purposes. As the question of the purchase of Malwa opium for excise manufacture has formed the subject of separate correspondence, it is hardly necessary to go over the same ground in connexion with the report of the Opium Commission. The question of manufacturing excise opium at Indore, Ajmere, or Jubbulpore has also been before Government and the Board, and it will be seen from paragraph 10 of their letter No. 38 B., dated 14th January 1884, that it was not supported by the Board. As the Opium Commission is not in favour of the scheme, no further allusion to it is required. The Commission's proposals regarding the supply of excise opium to local governments are, the Board consider, matters for Government to decide.

3. In paragraph 765 the Commission recommended, for reasons given in that paragraph, that the form of challan register in use in the Benares Agency should in a modified form be introduced in Behar. I am to state that the Behar agent was consulted in the matter, and as he states that the introduction of the register will be a decided improvement on the present practice followed in the Behar Agency, the Board have directed the agent to issue the necessary instructions for its introduction during the ensuing weighments.

4. The next proposals of the Commission are contained in paragraph 768 of their report. In it they

recommend (1) that the accounts of each cultivator should be separately adjusted; (2) that the Benares form of challan register should (with some modifications) be adopted; (3) that the assay of the challan jars and the calculation of the damdetta contents of each jar should be based upon the re-classification of the jars at the factory; (4) that the Behar system of ascertaining the value of each cultivator's opium should be followed; (5) that no compensation should be allowed for loss by dryage in transit; and (6) that the accounts of the cultivators should be audited at the agency head-quarters, as is now done in the Benares Agency. The first of these recommendations will be dealt with in connexion with Chapter V. of the Opium Commission's report. The second has been noticed in paragraph 3 above. The reasons for the third recommendation are given in paragraph 434 of the Commission's report, and from the footnote at page 295 of the report it will be seen that it has been provided for in the code of rules prepared by the Commission. As the Behar agent reports that he has no objection to the assay of the challan jars and the calculation of the damdetta contents of each jar being based upon the re-classification of the jars at the opium factory, he has been directed by the Board to introduce this system into the Behar Agency. The reasons for the fourth recommendation are given by the Opium Commission in paragraph 766 of their report, and as the Benares agent has no objection to the introduction of the Behar system of ascertaining the value of each cultivator's opium into the Benares Agency, he has been directed to introduce it during the ensuing weighments.

5. The fifth recommendation of the Commission is that no compensation should be allowed for loss by dryage in transit. The question of loss by dryage is, it will be seen, discussed in paragraph 767 of the Commission's report, and apparently no compensation is now given. The recommendation does not therefore appear to call for any notice.

6. With regard to the sixth recommendation, I am to state that the Behar agent was asked if he had any objection to the accounts of the cultivators being audited at the agency head-quarters, and as he reports that he has no objection, and that at present it is felt that there is no sufficient audit of such accounts, and that the introduction of the Commission's proposal will be a decided improvement on the present practice followed in the Behar Agency, he has been directed by the Board to introduce the system during the next weighments. The Behar agent has also been requested to have a set of tables showing the value of different quantities of opium at different rates per seer drawn up for use in his agency, as recommended by the Opium Commission, and to introduce the system of adjusting the accounts of each jar separately into the Behar Agency during the ensuing weighments. The suggestions which relate to the different forms of registers contained in paragraph 768 of the Opium Commission's report have apparently been adopted in the code of rules, and do not, the Board are of opinion, require further notice in this letter.

7. In paragraph 769 of their report the Opium Commission recommend that no change should be made in the form, size, or composition of the provision opium cake. Several experiments in the manner of manufacturing and packing provision opium have recently been made, and a report on the subject was submitted to Government in Board's letter No. 177 B., dated 21st March 1884, in the last paragraph of which it was said that the Board's opinion is in favour of keeping to the existing system of both manufacture and packing, and that the existing system is shown by all that has passed to be equal, if not superior, to any of the suggestions made by scientific experts. As the Board are still of the same opinion, they consider that no further action is necessary on this paragraph of the Commission's report.

8. The recommendation that the supply of chests for both agencies should be left in the hands of the Behar agent, made in paragraph 770 of the Opium Commission's report, has been in force for some years, and the Board consider that no further orders are at present called for. The Behar agent's attention has been drawn to this paragraph.

9. In paragraph 771 of their report the Commission express an opinion that it is expedient to maintain a reserve, but recommend that the reserve should never be raised to an amount greater than would supply the sales of six months, and the proper quantity would be

represented by the number of chests required for the sales of three months, or 12,000. The Government of India in their letter No. 1,534, dated 30th June 1880, prescribed 30,000 as the minimum number of provision opium chests to be kept in reserve, while it will be seen that the maximum reserve recommended by the Commission is six months' sale, or say 24,000 to 25,000 chests. The point was again put before Government in the Board's letter No. 463 B., dated 15th July last, when discussing the question of the number of chests to be sold in 1885, and the Government of India replied in their letter No. 2,446, dated 25th July 1884 (a copy of which was received with the Government order No. 1,506-65 O., dated 30th idem), that the addition of 15,000 chests to the reserve would be sufficient for one year. But as they did not deal with the question of the reserve, the Board consider it necessary to re-open it on this occasion.

10. The Commission also suggest that in storing the chests in the Calcutta godowns a narrow passage should be left through the centre of each godown so as to reduce the breadth of the stacks and facilitate the examination of the innermost chests. The Board have considered this suggestion, and have issued the necessary orders for stacking the provision chests for the season 1883-84 accordingly.

11. The recommendation in paragraph 773 of the Opium Commission's report that arrangements should be made with the French Government to surrender on equitable terms the right which it enjoys of requiring 300 chests of provision opium to be annually reserved for it has already been carried out, and a convention entered into for the payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum for five years, commencing from the 1st January 1884, to the French authorities at Chandernagore.

No. 955 B., dated 25th November 1886.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

On the retirement recently of Mr. W. A. Byrne, head accountant, Benares Opium Agency, the opium agent applied to the Board for sanction to the submission of a scheme for the revision of his office establishment. This was granted by the Board, and Mr. Carnac has now submitted the accompanying report,* together with a proposition statement showing the present scale and reorganisation of the agent's office establishment now proposed, which has been submitted through the Accountant-General.

2. It will be observed that the opium agent proposes to reduce the salary of the post of head accountant from Rs. 500 to Rs. 300 per mensem, rising by an annual increment of Rs. 20 to Rs. 400, and to improve the position of the superintendent of the correspondence branch of the agent's office by raising his salary to that to be drawn by the head accountant. It is also proposed to appoint the superintendent of the standard computing office to be head auditor, and to grant him a personal allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem, in order to bring up his pay to the amount drawn by him in the former appointment, viz., Rs. 200, until such time as the revised establishment for the Ghazipore factory, recommended to Government in the Board's letter No. 14 B., dated 9th January 1886, has been sanctioned, when the personal allowance will lapse. The standard computing office will, under the present scheme, be entirely abolished, as well as the post of treasurer, and that of ninth clerk in the head accountant's office. The net saving to Government which will be effected by the revision of establishment proposed will, as shown in the proposition statement, amount to Rs. 19-8 per mensem, or Rs. 234 per annum, and this saving will, in the event of the scheme for the revision of the factory establishment referred to above being sanctioned, be increased, as explained by the agent in paragraph 10 of his letter enclosed, to Rs. 69-8 per mensem, or Rs. 834 per annum.

3. The Board, I am to add, see no objection to the agent's proposals, and they would recommend that the early sanction of Government may be given to the revised scheme now submitted with effect from the date of Mr. Byrne's retirement.

4. As the proposals under consideration are intended to supersede those submitted in connexion with the Opium Commission's recommendation, I am to request that the proposition statement now submitted may be substituted for that furnished with the Board's letter No. 37 B., dated 12th January 1885.

No. 259-3005, dated 15th September 1886.

From J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., C.I.E., Opium Agent of Benares, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

As already reported in my letter No. 247-2899, dated 8th instant, I have, in accordance with the provisional sanction given by the Board of Revenue, made the following arrangement, subject to approval, on the retirement of Mr. Byrne.

2. For the charge of the accounts office I have selected Babu Gagan Chunder Rae, who for 11 years has been in charge of the audit branch of this agency. Babu Gagan Chunder was for four years in the Accountant-General's office, North-Western Provinces, where he earned a high character. He is well up in the orders and procedure of the Accounts Department. His good service has been frequently brought to the notice of the Board of Revenue, and the Commission have noticed the valuable assistance rendered by him. In my opinion he is thoroughly well fitted for the work.

3. The salary drawn by Mr. Byrne was Rs. 500. I would propose to reduce it to Rs. 300 per mensem, rising by annual increments of Rs. 20 to Rs. 400. The manner in which the savings from this reduction and others in the establishment will be utilised will be noticed in a later paragraph.

4. To the post of head auditor Babu Sidheshwar Chatterjee has been appointed. He has hitherto held the appointment of head of the standard computing office on Rs. 200 per mensem. This appointment I now propose to abolish, as the retirement of Mr. Byrne enables me to distribute the work hitherto performed by the Babu between the head accountant's and head auditor's offices.

5. I have appointed Babu Jugadishwar Chatterjee to be the superintendent of the agent's correspondence office. In this particular branch his knowledge and experience is invaluable. He is also a good accountant; and had it been determined to unite the two offices, his long and excellent service and knowledge would have entitled him to the highest post. But it is no disparagement to the Babu to say that his experience has been chiefly in the correspondence branch, as Babu Gagan Chunder has been in accounts, and that the offices being separate, offers an excellent opportunity for providing, with advantage to the public service, for two excellent men in the two departments for which they are especially fitted.

6. Having regard to the services rendered by Babu Jugadishwar Chatterjee, and the onerous and responsible duties of his office, it is right, I consider, that this opportunity should be taken of raising his salary to that to be drawn by the head accountant, viz., Rs. 300 per mensem with an annual increment of Rs. 20 up to Rs. 400 per mensem. Not only has the size and work of this agency increased, but owing to the necessity of the agent's personal assistant being continually deputed to assist in the districts, it is particularly necessary to retain in the correspondence branch of this office a really capable man with knowledge and experience of the work. Even though I have worked 12 years as agent, I find how necessary this is. And I have no hesitation in saying that next year, when I hope to take furlough, the officiating opium agent will be in real difficulty if he has not in hand Babu Jugadishwar Chatterjee in charge of the office. The men below him, whose salaries range from Rs. 80 to Rs. 35 are nothing but copyists, and are quite unable to supply his place. The services of the personal assistant are not, as the Board are aware, a constant quantity, and in the present state of the Department there seems little chance of improvement. But no personal assistant from the line could supply the knowledge possessed by the officer in question.

7. I may be permitted to state that I have little hope of retaining Babu Jugadishwar Chatterjee's services unless his position be improved. He is naturally enough desirous of earning something more than the average of about Rs. 150 he has drawn during the past 16 years

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and which is not, I consider, commensurate with the ability he possesses and the work he has to perform. Recently, just as Mr. Porter was appointed, I prevailed upon Babu Jugadishwar Chatterjee to decline the offer of a post of Rs. 400 in Cashmere, as it was most undesirable the office should be deprived of its head just as a new agent was expected.

8. A proposition statement in the prescribed form, showing the present scale and the re-organisation of the agent's office, as now proposed in consequence of Mr. Byrne's retirement, is submitted.

9. It will be seen from the statement that the re-organisation will cause a saving of Rs. 19-8 per month, or Rs. 234 per annum.

10. As stated in paragraph 4, the superintendent of the standard computing office has been appointed to the post of head auditor. The present maximum pay of the post is Rs. 150, and the pay now drawn by Babu Sidheshwar Chatterjee as superintendent of the standard computing office is Rs. 200. I would therefore propose that a personal allowance of Rs. 50 may be granted to him till the revised scheme for the factory, proposed by the Opium Commission, is sanctioned. In this scheme Rs. 250 has been recommended as the pay of the head auditor. In the event of the factory scheme being sanctioned, the personal allowance will lapse, and the actual saving by the re-organisation now proposed will amount to Rs. 69-8 per month, or Rs. 834 per annum, instead of Rs. 234 as shown in the accompanying statement.

11. Gabu Gagan Chunder Rae will, as directed in Board's letter No. 221 B., dated 6th ultimo, draw the minimum pay of the post of head accountant, viz., Rs. 300 only, from the date of Mr. Byrne's retirement, i.e., 6th September 1886.

12. As the revision causes no extra expenditure to Government, but, on the contrary, shows an actual saving, I trust the Board will allow Babu Jugadishwar Chatterjee to draw the minimum pay of his post as superintendent of the correspondence branch, viz., Rs. 300, with effect from the date of Mr. Byrne's retirement, i.e., 6th September 1886, the date from which he has held not only the post of superintendent of the office, but also had charge of the office of personal assistant.

No. 283 B., dated 15th April 1885.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government Order No. 1697-760, dated 8th November 1884, drawing attention to the practice which prevails in most sub-deputy opium agencies in Behar and Benares of keeping in hand large cash balances at the close of each month, particularly during the season when weighments are going on and advances are being made, and requesting a report from the Board on the practicability of carrying out a suggestion made by the Accountant-General, Bengal, that rules should be framed fixing the maximum balance to be kept at each sub-agency, the method by which the balances should be recouped, and the manner in which the money should be safeguarded.

2. I am to express the regret of the Board at the delay which has occurred in submitting a reply. The Behar agent thought it necessary to defer expressing an opinion on the subject until he had had an opportunity of discussing the subject with the most experienced officers in the agency during his cold weather tour, and his report was not received until the 10th March.

3. With reference to the allegation made by the Accountant-General that sufficient care is not taken to keep the balance down to the lowest figure compatible with efficient work, I am to state the Behar agent reports that at times the daily payments at the weighing sheds amount to as much as Rs. 16,000, and that where the weighing sheds are at a distance from a treasury, as they are, for instance, at Burharwah, Tohta, and Sewan, the head-quarters of the Bettiah, Tohta, and Allegrunge sub-agencies, it is absolutely impossible to keep the balances low. The amount, the agent states, is regulated by the quantity of opium expected to be brought in and paid for. When payments are being

made at the head-quarters of a district, it is possible, the agent states, to send daily for money that may be required; but even then, Mr. Kemble thinks, some balances must be shown. The agent adds:—

"I find that in two head-quarter weighing places on the last day of April last year the sub-deputy agents had in their possession Rs. 13,786 and Rs. 12,465 respectively, and on the morning of the 1st of May, before they could have had time to send to the treasury to cash their cheques, they had paid away all except Rs. 90 and Rs. 33-8, respectively. Weighments begin in the early morning, and money must be drawn the previous day."

Orders have been issued by the agent to the effect that where a postponement of the weighments will not occasion inconvenience to cultivators, or loss to Government, they shall not commence till the 2nd of April in each year; but, so far as has been ascertained, the Gya Sub-Agency is the only one in which this could be done.

4. The Benares agent states that the practice of officers retaining large balances for months after the weighments, and clearing them off by degrees in their monthly payments, has long since been put a stop to. Any excess at the end of the weighments is returned to the treasury, and is not, as formerly, kept by the opium officers. Moreover, as the responsibility and inconvenience attending the custody of large sums of money are great, officers are glad to reduce their balances as far as possible. The circumstances which render it necessary that large sums should be kept during the settlement and weighments are explained in the following extract from the agent's letter:—

"In the first place, the daily payment at these seasons are very large. Then it is now the rule rather than the exception to conduct these operations at a distance from the district head-quarters. Lastly, the whole of the opium staff is fully engaged during this period in the weighments of opium, payments to cultivators, and preparation of many accounts.

"It will be readily understood that where the work is carried on at a distance from a Government treasury, it is absolutely necessary that the opium officer should retain a considerable balance in hand sufficient for the payment of the cultivators, whilst the treasure party is moving between the treasury and the opium godown. At first sight it may appear that this does not apply to cases where the opium office is close to the civil station. But although this view is partly correct, there are strong objections to the procedure, which I myself at first proposed, and which I now see the Accountant-General has suggested, a system of obtaining each day or even every two or three days required amount from the collector's treasury. The fact is that owing to the objections to the presence of large bodies of cultivators in the civil station, the opium godowns are always situated at some distance from the cutcherry. The civil offices during the hot weather constantly close for holidays, whereas with us during the working season holidays are unknown. The treasury hours do not always run with our working hours, which during the weighments extend from 5 o'clock in the morning to 6 at night, and even later. The trouble and delay in sending for the money, counting it at the treasury, carrying it in carts, and then re-weighing it and placing it in safe custody at the opium treasury are not inconsiderable. But this is not the chief difficulty. The officers responsible for the money are the gomashta and the European sub-deputy or assistant. Even were each day's requirements to be drawn on the day of payment, or on the preceding day, the sums are so large that the gomashta himself attended by some of the staff must go to the treasury and take delivery of the money, and the European officer must on receipt personally count it, or weigh it and lock it up. During the weighments, when the gomashta is busy with his accounts, and with the management of a large staff and crowds of cultivators, he certainly could not be spared for the additional duty. The continual taking in and counting the treasure also would be a serious additional tax on the already over-worked European officer. Of this I was convinced when attempting to alter the system some years ago, and I was forced to abandon my original idea, and to return to the system which experience has shown to be necessary, and to draw large sums at a time, so as to save the gomashta being taken away from his duties at a most busy season."

5. As regards the arrangements made by the sub-deputy agents for the safe custody of the balances in their hands, I am to state that Mr. Kemble reports

that at every weighment kothee there are buildings for the storage of opium jars and treasure. The treasure rooms are not, however, as strong as the agent would like to see them and Mr. Kemble accordingly suggests that a strong iron safe with double locks be supplied to each, and that it may be embedded in the floor of the verandah of the building. By this arrangement the sentry on guard would have to walk up and down close by the chest, thereby rendering the treasure more secure than if it were kept in a dark room in the bungalow. On this point the Benares agent reports that all due precautions are taken for the safe custody of the treasure. The balances are kept in safes under double locks of which one key is with the gomasha and the other with the European assistant or sub-deputy agent. A sufficient armed police guard is, the agent states, always employed during the weighments and settlements, which seldom extend over five or six weeks. Any other system than that now in force would, Mr. Carnac thinks, delay the weighments and settlements, and cause great inconvenience to the cultivators. During the past season, the agent states, efforts were made to reduce the drawings on the treasuries until the May instalment of revenue had been collected. In more than one instance, however, the weighments were delayed by treasuries being unable to cash the sub-deputy's credit. Even when weighing near a civil station an opium officer, the agent reports, may be placed in great difficulties if he does not keep a considerable balance in hand. As an illustration in point, the agent cites the case referred to in the foot-note at page 115 of the Opium Commission's report, the circumstances connected with which are explained by the agent in the following words:—

"The case referred to in the report happened under my own observation the season before the last, at a station where the opium godown is not more than two miles from the collector's treasury. I arrived early on a Saturday morning to find that through a delay in the post the assistant had not received the necessary cheque on the treasury, and that he had not enough cash for the day's payment. On my proceeding to see the collector and obtain the necessary funds on my own order, I found that the day being a holiday the treasury was closed and the treasury officer absent."

"Before I left that evening the cheque had arrived and it was understood that the money would be paid out on Monday morning. But when the Commission arrived on the Monday, they found the assistant still without money, and the payments stopped. The treasury officer had been detained by the sudden death of a near relative. I do not mean to say that such *contretemps* are not exceptional, but where the importance of paying off the cultivators quickly and allowing them to return to their homes is so great, a good balance to guard against accidents is certainly desirable. So long as the sums required by the opium officer for his payments during the busy season are properly guarded, there is little objection, I think, to the balance being large, and to the staff being thus saved the loss of time which the constant sending for and taking in of treasure involves."

6. It will be observed that in paragraph 652 of their report the Opium Commission recommend (1) that the payments to the cultivators should ordinarily take place at stations where a treasury or sub-treasury exists, and that the amount drawn each day should be that which it was proposed to spend before evening; (2) that the amount should be recouped by drawing on the nearest treasury against a credit granted by the Accountant-General; and (3) that there should be no guard beyond that of the kothee peons, except where payments were made elsewhere than at places where treasuries existed, when a police guard should be supplied. When dealing with these proposals in paragraph 7 of their letter No. 653 B., dated 23rd September 1884, the Board were in favour of adopting the Commissioner's recommendations and abolishing the opium officer's treasuries. But the fuller and more detailed information now laid before them by the agents has convinced the Board that the adoption of any such change would seriously interfere with the working of the Department.

7. Pending a decision on the proposal of the Opium Commission that the opium treasuries should be abolished, the Board deem it unnecessary to frame general rules for the safeguarding of the balances, as any alteration in the existing arrangements would probably lead to considerable expense. No difficulty

has been found in recouping the balances when necessary, and, therefore, no orders are required on this subject. The Board propose to request the agents to pay special attention to keeping down the balances to the lowest point consistent with efficiency.

No. 284-13 O., dated 28th January 1887.

From W. C. MACPHERSON, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

In continuation of paragraph 30 of Mr. Nolan's letter No. 2,600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, I am directed to submit copy of a letter No. 54 B., dated 15th January 1887, from the Board of Revenue, and to say that, subject to the qualification stated in paragraph 2 of Mr. Nolan's letter of 18th December 1886, the Lieutenant-Governor recommends that the sanction of the Government of India may be accorded to the additional expenditure of Rs. 5,016 per annum on account of the remuneration of the native temporary establishment employed at weighments in the Behar Opium Agency at the increased rates proposed by the Opium Commission in paragraph 677 of their report.

No. 54 B., dated 15th January 1887.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

In continuation of paragraph 20 of this office letter No. 173 B., dated 5th March 1885, and with reference to Government Order No. 2,717-135 O., dated 31st December 1886, I am directed to report, for the information of Government, that the annual cost of the native temporary establishments employed at weighments in the Behar Opium Agency at the rates proposed by the Opium Commission will amount to Rs. 11,193, while the cost of the establishment at present employed in the agency amounts to Rs. 6,177 as reported by the agent. The extra cost will, therefore, be Rs. 5,016.

No. 630-31 O., dated 28th February 1887.

From W. C. MACPHERSON, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

In continuation of paragraph 52 of Mr. Nolan's letter No. 2,600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, I am directed to submit copy of a communication No. 140 B., dated 12th February 1887, from the Board of Revenue, and to say that under the circumstances therein stated the Lieutenant-Governor has, in anticipation of the approval of the Government of India, sanctioned the increase of establishment for the saw-mill and chest department at the Patna opium factory, which was recommended by the Board of Revenue, and which is shown on page 52 of the proposition statement enclosed with Mr. Nolan's letter above-mentioned, with the exceptions of the proposed increases—

- (1) to the pay of the superintendent and engineer;
- (2) to the pay of the storekeeper;
- (3) to the pay of the four chuprasis;
- (4) by appointment of an assistant engineer on Rs. 125 in place of an assistant to engineer on Rs. 50, and a boilermaker on Rs. 40.

With regard to these increases, the Lieutenant-Governor has informed the Board of Revenue that the orders of the Government of India must be awaited.

No. 140 B., dated 12th February 1887.

Memo. by C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

Copy submitted to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, in continuation of the correspondence ending with this office letter No. 594 B., dated 17th July 1886, with request that the Board may be favoured with the early orders of Government on the subject.

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No. 6 A., dated 9th February 1887.

From W. KEMBLE, Esq., Opium Agent of Behar, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

I HAVE the honour to call your attention to the correspondence ending with my No. 240, dated 15th June 1886, on the subject of revising the establishment at the opium factory, and beg earnestly that my proposals may be sanctioned without delay, in order that the new arrangements may be brought into working order before the commencement of the manufacturing season.

2. I have received a pressing letter from Dr. Whitwell, pointing out the difficulty of carrying on work underhanded as he is at present.

No. 1,485-85 O., dated 6th May 1887.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

IN continuation of paragraph 34 of my letter No.

1. Letter to the Board of Revenue, No. 2,134-105 O., dated the 15th November 1886.

2. Letter from the Board of Revenue, No. 76 B., dated the 22nd January 1887, and its enclosure.

3. Letter to the Board of Revenue, No. 425-18 O., dated the 9th February 1887.

4. Letter from the Board of Revenue, No. 298 B., dated the 14th April 1887, and its enclosure.

5. Letter to the Board of Revenue, No. 1,484-84 O., dated the 6th May 1887.

2,600-130 O., dated the 18th December 1886, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, copy of the correspondence noted in the margin, regarding the transmission of inferior opium to the factory in separate despatches, and regarding the continuance of the system of imposition of fines by the opium examiner on opium sent in as good by the district officers, but found at the factory to contain *pussewah*.

No. 2,134-105 O., dated 15th November 1886.

From G. K. LYON, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

WITH reference to paragraph 26 of your letter No. 173 B., dated 5th March 1885, stating that the Board have directed the opium agents to adopt the Opium Commission's recommendation contained in paragraph 681 of their report, that inferior opium should be separately challenged, I am directed to request that the Board will be good enough to submit a report on the working of the new plan after the expiry of a year from the date of its actual introduction.

No. 76 B., dated 22nd January 1887.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

WITH reference to Government Order No. 2,134-105 O., dated 15th November 1886, I am directed to submit herewith, for the information of Government, a copy of a report* from the opium agent, Benares, on the result of the introduction,

* No. 7-40, dated 10th January 1887.

during the opium weighments of season 1885-86, of the system recommended in paragraph 681 of the Opium Commission's report for the transmission of inferior opium to the factory in separate despatches, and to state that the Board are of opinion that, notwithstanding the difficulties that had to be contended with, owing to the very large quantity of *pussewah* in the opium of the season, the new system has worked satisfactorily.

2. The officiating opium agent, Behar, Mr. D'Oyly, has reported that it appears that the Board's orders directing the introduction of the change of practice in question in the Behar Agency were by an oversight not communicated to the district officers. The necessary instructions have now, he states, been issued, and a report will be furnished by the agent on the subject after the conclusion of next year's weighments.

No. 7-40, dated 10th January 1887.

From J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., C.F., C.I.E., Benares Opium Agent, Ghazipore, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

I HAVE the honour to submit the report called for by the Government of Bengal in their secretary's No. 2,134-105 O., dated 15th November 1886, received with your No. 310 B., dated 23rd ultimo, on the subject of the recommendation of the Opium Commission regarding the separate invoicing and despatch of inferior opium to the factory.

2. The system of transmitting inferior opium to the factory by itself in *challans* or despatches separate from those of good opium came into general practice in this agency during the opium weighments of season 1885-86. I was absent during the greater part of the season, but I find that on the whole the system has worked well.

3. The year was noticeable for the great quantity of *pussewah* found in the opium, and the officers of the Department had thus considerable difficulties to deal with. But out of 59,562 maunds despatched as good, but 0.246 per cent. was found to be below the mark, 0.240 of this being on account of *pussewah*. The results during the first year's working of the system, and that during a difficult season, may be regarded as satisfactory.

4. Great care, however, is necessary; and as I understand the orders of Government to be that fines considered necessary by the opium examiner will not be levied on the cultivators, there will be some loss to Government if the classification by district officers is not exact.

5. The officers of the Department have again had their attention drawn to the subject. At the present moment I am marching through the districts, (Pertagarh, Sultanpur, &c.) which are most noted for *pussewah*, and special measures are being taken this season to improve the out-turn in this respect.

No. 425-18 O., dated 9th February 1887.

From W. C. MACPHERSON, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

WITH reference to your letter No. 76 B., dated 22nd January 1887, and enclosure, reporting the result of the introduction in the Benares Opium Agency, during the opium weighments of season 1885-86, of the system recommended in paragraph 681 of the Opium Commission's report for the transmission of inferior opium to the factory in separate despatches, I am directed to inquire to what orders of Government the Benares agent alludes in paragraph 4 of his letter No. 7-40, dated 10th idem, to your address. I am also to ask whether, with reference to the remarks made in paragraphs 26 and 32 of your letter, No. 173 B., dated 5th March 1885, the Board approve of the district testing officer's classification being final in favour of the cultivator, so far as regards payment to him of the price of his opium.

No. 298 B., dated 14th April 1887.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government order No. 425-18 O., dated 9th February last, inquiring to what orders of Government the Benares agent alludes in paragraph 4 of his letter No. 7-40, dated 10th January 1887, and asking whether, with regard to the remarks made in paragraphs 26 and 32 of their letter No. 173 B., dated 5th March 1885, the Board approve of the district testing officer's classification being final in favour of the cultivator so far as regards payment to him of the price of his opium.

2. In reply, I am to submit copy of a letter No. 79-1074, dated 26th ultimo, from the opium agent of Benares, from which it will be seen that it was a mistake on his part to refer to any orders of Government, as he now finds that no such orders exist. It will also be observed that the agent raises the question of the imposition of fines on opium sent in as good by the district

officers, but found at the factory to contain *pussewah*. The agent states that the Opium Commission recommended that opium which had been passed as good by the district officers should not be liable to penalty; that in practice it has been found at the factory that owing to many circumstances, such as the rapidity with which weighments must be conducted in the districts, the difficulty in detecting *pussewah*, and in some cases the comparative inexperience of officers, opium which contains *pussewah* is often sent down as good. The opium examiner has continued to impose penalties in the cases in which they have appeared necessary; and the agent proposes that this procedure should be continued.

3. Under the circumstances represented by Mr. Rivett-Carnac in paragraphs 7 to 14 of his letter, the Board would recommend that the opium examiner at the sudder factory should continue the practice of imposing fines, with the sanction of the agent in each case for *pussewah*, on opium sent in as good by the district officers, but which is found at the factory to be inferior, and the agent has been instructed accordingly in anticipation of the approval of Government.

4. With regard to the latter part of the Government order under acknowledgment, I am to refer to paragraph 32 of the Board's letter No. 173 B., dated 5th March 1885, in which the Board expressed their opinion that the object of the Commission's recommendation in paragraph 688 of their report was not to make the sub-deputy opium agent's purruck final, but to ensure the payments at weighments being closure, than it now is, to the real value of the opium, and that no change should be made in the system of payment for opium at the weighment time until the strength of the European establishment is materially increased. Proposals to increase the European staff of the Opium Department were submitted to Government in the Board's letter No. 85 B., dated 10th May 1886, but no orders on the subject have as yet been received. I am to state that under these circumstances the Board would not now advocate the change of system suggested by Government, especially as it goes far beyond the recommendation of the Opium Commission.

No. 79-1074, dated 26th March 1887.

From J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., C.S., C.I.E., Benares
Opium Agent, Ghazipore, to the SECRETARY TO THE
BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

WITH reference to your letter No. 52 B., dated 24th February 1887, inquiring the number and date of the Government Order noticed in paragraph 4 of my letter of the 10th January, No. 7-40, on the subject of the chullaning of inferior opium, I find that the remark written by me in camp was made by inadvertence, and that no Government order should have been referred to, as none is found to exist.

2. I have since my return been into the whole question of the measures to be taken to limit the deliveries of *pussewah* opium and have consulted with Dr. Weir on the subject, and I now submit the following report based on his opinion and my own.

3. The Opium Commission in paragraph 681 of their report recommended that inferior opium should be separately chullaned, and remarking as what appeared to them to be the objections of levying fines for *pussewah*, on what had been passed as good opium by the district officer, recommended that such opium should not be liable to penalty.

4. Orders were duly issued to district officers, in accordance with the recommendation in this paragraph, in regard to the chullaning of opium mixed with *pussewah* as inferior opium.

5. This was duly carried out to the best of their ability by district officers. But in practice it has been found at the factory that owing to many circumstances the rapidity with which weighments must be conducted in the districts, the difficulty of detecting *pussewah*, and in some cases the comparative inexperience of officers, opium is often sent down as good which contains *pussewah*.

6. The opium examiner has continued to impose penalties in such cases as have appeared necessary, and it is proposed that, unless ruled by the Board to the contrary, this procedure should be continued for the following reasons.

7. The report submitted from time to time will have shown how seriously the admixture of *pussewah* with the opium of this agency affects the factory operations and the provision manufacture, and that special measures have had to be adopted to prevent this result. Extra officers have been employed during the collecting season in the districts which are the worst as regards *pussewah*, and every precaution has been enjoined on the local officers. Last season the results, owing to a very damp season, were unfavourable. This year there has been so little east wind that the opium is likely to be of much better quality, that is, with much less *pussewah*, and thanks chiefly to this, and partly to the precautions taken, there is small likelihood of the *pussewah* difficulty being so prominent this year.

8. Fines for *pussewah* imposed by the opium examiner have, in the opinion of Dr. Weir and myself, a salutary effect; and if imposed with care they are not open to objection, and are not unfair to the cultivators. On the contrary, unless an assami is fined for *pussewah* in proportion to its amount, he is in fact *overpaid* for his opium; he gets more than Rs. 5 per seer when it is estimated at standard pure opium. Opium mixed with *pussewah* is distinctly of less value to the Department than opium free from this admixture, and if the cultivator, through carelessness, omits to take proper precautions to prepare the drug, he should pay the penalty, and the penalty, if felt, will tend to make him more careful in the future, and will improve the quality of the out-turn.

9. On the other hand it may be held that the district officers should detect the admixture at once, and send all inferior opium down in the separate chullan ordered for that purpose. Practically it has been found that there is considerable difficulty in carrying this out efficiently. There might also be a danger of a timid officer going to the opposite extreme, and sending down as inferior opium opium not liable to fine. Any incorrect or even ill-judged action in this respect might cause great discontent and even alarm among the cultivators, and a serious hitch during the weighments.

10. Thus, then, if fines be not levied on opium mixed with *pussewah* and sent down as good by district officers, there is a risk of Government being a considerable loser. As regards the cultivator who on the factory purruck gets paid rather less for opium mixed with *pussewah* than opium free from this substance, his case, even although the opium has been passed by the district officer as good, is not harder than the case in which an officer at the weighments passes the opium as at 700 consistence which at the factory is declared to be, say, 680. And the cultivator who has been careless and who escaped the notice of the officer at the purruck will no longer have the reminder in the shape of a small fine that he must be more careful next year.

11. Dr. Weir in fact advises me that—

"I am apprehensive that in the course of a few years, if fines as heretofore are remitted, the quality of the opium of our agency will steadily deteriorate until at last the greater part of the produce will arrive largely charged with *pussewah*, and I can affirm that should this prove to be the case, it will be impossible to turn out at the factory, at our present caking standard, cakes equal in quality to those hitherto exported to China. In fact, I would have grave doubts as to the fitness of the cakes made of opium largely mixed with *pussewah* to stand storage in Calcutta for any length of time in hot weather as our cakes now have to do."

12. It may of course suggest itself that the district officer who makes the mistake should be held responsible. But unless they were paid partly by commission this could not be done. And any such rule would bear hardly on an officer with very heavy weighments in a district where the conditions are such that *pussewah* is more abundant and more subtle in the manner in which it mixes itself into the drug than in other parts of the agency. The principal assistant informs me that in some classes of opium from certain districts the difficulties of detecting *pussewah* are much more difficult than in others. The examination, it will be understood, is less difficult at the factory than in the districts where the weighing officer works under great disadvantages with a large and noisy crowd around him claiming to have their opium weighed off.

13. Being of opinion then, after consultation with Dr. Weir, that there are great difficulties in ensuring all opium mixed with *pussewah* being sent down

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separately; that the levy of a fine in cases in which the admixture escapes the notice of the district officers is not a real hardship, whereas the failure to levy such a fine will cause some loss to Government, and will remove a salutary means of reminding the cultivators of the necessity of careful preparation of the drug, I would continue the practice of fining in all cases in which the opium examiner considers the course necessary.

14. I am strengthened in this view by the consideration of the great difficulties which have to be encountered in this agency with *pussewah*, and which are not so much felt in Behar, where the conditions of soil and climate are different, and where the cultivators are nearly all old and experienced in the management of the crop.

15. I find that during my absence on leave Mr. Porter, officiating opium agent, ruled that the opium examiner should not, under any circumstances, levy fines on any opium sent down as good. Dr. Weir recently brought the subject to my notice in connexion with arrangements for the ensuing weighments, with a strong recommendation that the powers should be retained by the opium examiner, in view of the circumstances noticed above; and supporting this view I have now to invite the early orders of the Board on the subject.

No. 1484-84 O., dated 6th May 1887.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

With reference to the correspondence ending with the Board's letter No. 298 B., dated the 14th April 1887, I am directed to say that the Lieutenant-Governor accepts the views stated in that letter regarding the system of payment for opium at weighment time, and regarding the continuance of the system of the imposition of fines by the opium examiner at the sudder factory on opium sent in as good by the district officers, but found at the factory to contain *pussewa*.

2. I am to add, with reference to the last sentence of the Board's letter under acknowledgment, that the suggestion therein referred to was not made by Government, but by the opium agent of Benares in paragraph 4 of his letter No. 7-40, dated the 10th January 1887, enclosed in the Board's letter No. 76 B., dated the 22nd idem.

No. 1500-87 O., dated 7th May 1887.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

In paragraph 56 of my letter No. 2600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, in which the Lieutenant-Governor examined the proposals of the Opium Commission, it was stated that no case had been made out in the correspondence, so far as it had then gone, for introducing any change in the existing practice under which the supply of chests for the packing of opium in the two agencies is left in the hands of the Behar agent. I am now to submit copy of a letter No. 257 B., dated 25th March 1887, from the Board of Revenue, with enclosure, and to say that the more complete information therein furnished points to the same conclusion. The Board will be instructed to continue to give attention to the subject, which, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, would form a suitable matter for inquiry during the annual tour of the member of the Board in charge of the Opium Department. As, however, the Benares agent doubts the suitability of *sâl* wood chests for the packing of the Benares provision opium, and as *sâl* chests are more expensive than mango wood chests, it seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be unnecessary to press for introduction of *sâl* wood chests in the Benares Agency.

No. 257 B., dated 25th March 1887.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2728-139 O., dated 31st December 1886, calling for a report regarding the proposal of the Opium Commission to impose on the Behar agent the duty of providing chests for both agencies, and stating that, in view of the supply of mango wood in Behar decreasing, it seems very questionable whether the duty of providing the Ghazipore Agency with chests should be imposed on the Patna Agency; and in reply to report as follows.

2. In paragraph 44 of the Board's report on the administration of the Opium Department during the year 1880-81 it was stated that the despatches of provision opium of season 1880-81 from the Benares Agency were temporarily interrupted in consequence of the chest contractors having failed to supply a sufficient number of mango wood chests for packing the opium; that a very serious difficulty had only been avoided by the Behar agent being able to supply 10,000 chests at a short notice from the reserve of the Patna saw-mill; and that the whole question of the future supply of chests to both agencies was under the consideration of the Board. A full report on the subject was submitted to Government in the Board's letter No. 266½, dated 6th April 1882, and in it the Government was informed that it had been decided at a conference held by the agents that the Behar agent should alone go into the market for the mango wood chests required. Since 1882 the Behar agent alone has entered into contracts for the supply of mango wood chests required for both agencies, and the arrangement has been found to work well, no complaints having been received to the effect that the supply had been short during any year.

3. The Government order under acknowledgment was sent to both opium agents for any remarks they

might wish to offer, and copies of their reports were submitted herewith for the information of Government. From the Behar agent's report it will be seen that Mr. Kemble is of opinion that there is no reason to apprehend that the supply of mango wood in Behar is failing, but that for very many years yet there will be no difficulty in procuring an abundant supply of mango timber. On the other hand, the Benares agent reports (*vide* paragraph 10 of his letter) that it has been found impossible to obtain, in the North-Western Provinces, chests at the rate for which they can be procured in Behar, and that endeavours to obtain mango wood chests at a comparatively low rate have not been successful, it having been found that if the purchases of mango wood were limited to the North-Western Provinces, chests cannot be made at the same rate as they can be purchased at in Behar.

4. Under these circumstances the Board are of opinion that there is no advantage to be gained by altering the present arrangement under which the Behar agent undertakes the supply of the chests required for packing the Benares opium.

5. With regard to the proposal in paragraph 3 of Mr. Kemble's letter that in order to keep the saw-mills fully employed a certain number of *sâl* wood chests should be supplied to the Benares Agency, I am to observe that it will be seen that Mr. Rivett-Carnac is not in favour of packing the Benares provision opium in *sâl* wood chests. Should, however, the Government desire, the subject will be further considered, and the Benares agent directed to submit a full report on it.

No. 9 A., dated 16th February 1887.

From W. KEMBLE, Esq., Opium Agent of Behar, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

In reply to your No. 13 B., dated 10th January 1887, I have the honour to report that, in my opinion, and

of Dr. Whitwell, sál wood chests would not be found more unfitted for Benares than for Patna opium, or rather, I should say that, properly seasoned, they are equally well fitted for the produce of both agencies. Sál is a much less sappy wood than mango. Under present arrangements all sál timber is sawn into planks in our own yard, and there stacked till it is thoroughly well seasoned; whereas the mango trees are cut down, sawn up and made into chests at once by contractors in their own villages in the damp North Ganges districts. Dr. Whitwell finds from his experience in both agencies that mango wood chests lose far more weight in drying than those made of sál wood; it is probable, therefore, that, if exposed to a damp atmosphere, they would imbibe more moisture and would be in all respects inferior to sál.

2. It has often been reported that the supply of mango wood is failing to a serious extent in Behar. This, though the opinion of many officers of experience, is one in which I am unable to concur. No doubt it is scarce near the Ganges opposite Bankipore, in parts near Mozufferpore, and in a few other places; but speaking from what I have seen and heard from Europeans and natives during extended tours in these districts, I think that generally it is as good as ever—perhaps contractors may have to go further for their requirements; but in Chuprah Chumparun, in North Tirhoot, in Durbhunghah, North Bhugulpore, Monghyr, and Purneah, there will be for very many years yet no difficulty in procuring abundant supply of mango timber. New plantations are being made, not in such numbers as I could wish, but still they are made; and I think no fears need be entertained of a failure of supply to the Opium Department. A few years ago this cry of scarcity of wood was raised, and the contractors increased their prices; they have now fallen again, and Dr. Whitwell reports that there is far greater fear of the sál wood supply running short than that of mango wood.

3. In determining our future policy we must remember that new and expensive machinery has now been erected capable of turning out in nine months enough sál wood boxes for one year's use of the Patna factory; to keep this machinery fully employed we ought to send a certain number of sál wood chests to Benares, unless it be considered advisable to use the saw-mills for other work. The use of both mango and sál wood chests is advantageous to us in keeping down prices. Were sál wood only used, the price of that timber would go up immediately on the ground that the supply was failing, or that the Nepal Government had prohibited export, or "closed their forests," as it is called.

4. Provided that the Benares Agency undertake to use as many sál wood chests as our mills can send them, I see no objection whatever to the agent making his own contract for the delivery at Ghazipore for so many mango wood chests as he may require. There is nothing whatever to be gained by having these chests landed and examined at the Patna factory, when the same work might be done once for all at Ghazipore. This is a matter for the Benares agent to decide. If it is thought that the present arrangement should continue, I have nothing to urge against it, except that it gives much extra trouble to Dr. Whitwell and the factory establishment, who have all for the last four years done this work excellently.

No. 56-604, dated 3rd March 1887.

From J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., C.S., C.I.E., Benares Opium Agent, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement, forwarding for report copy of a letter No. 2728-139 O., dated the 31st December last, and calling for report on chest supply of this agency.

2. The letter from the Government of Bengal raises, I understand, two chief questions, (1) whether sál wood chests should be used for the packing of the provision of this agency; (2) assuming that the mango chests be adhered to for Benares opium, whether the arrangements to supply those chests be imposed on the Patna Agency.

3. In respect to the first question, the use of sál wood chests in this agency, I understand this depends on (a)

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whether this class of wood is suited to our provisions and (b) whether the Patna Agency could supply our demand for such chests.

4. Benares opium has hitherto, save on exceptional occasions, been packed in mango wood, and this class of chest has been found to suit the Benares provision excellently. Without desiring to re-open the controversy, as to whether the damage to Benares opium arose from the use of sál wood, it is undoubted that the opium packed in sál did not fare so well as that packed in mango wood. And it is not impossible that as Benares opium contains more than 5 per cent. more of moisture than Patna opium, that special precautions in respect to the wood used for the chests of this agency may be necessary here, which are not essential for the comparatively dry Patna opium.

5. Mango wood chests are much cheaper than those made from sál at the Patna Agency. Thus it is undesirable to use sál wood chests here, unless some special reason exists, of which I have no information.

6. I am equally without information as to the capabilities of the Patna saw-mills. If it would be an advantage to them to supply this agency with sál chests, a change in the class used here might be worthy of consideration. But the objections already noticed will have to be surmounted. My impression is that Patna cannot conveniently do much more than supply its own wants. But the saw-mills are a distinct advantage to this agency, as they leave the mango wood chests market free for our supply.

7. Next as regards the manner in which the contract for mango wood chests for this agency should be made. The Behar agent being close to the source of supply, and he and his people having great experience of the wood market, have great advantages, which the officers of this agency do not possess, and it was for this reason that, in the interests of Government, the arrangements which now exist, by which the Behar agent provides for the mango wood chest supply of this agency, were sanctioned.

8. The arrangement has worked well, and the interests of Government and of this agency have been well cared for and advanced under the supervision of the Behar authorities. If the burden imposed by this arrangement is found too heavy by the Behar agent, it would be only fair to reconsider it. But I gather from Mr. Kemble that this is not the case and that he does not object to the continuance of the plan by which the contracts are made at Patna.

9. I am altogether without detailed information, save that contained in the Behar agent's annual reports regarding the mango wood supply of Behar, and whether that province is being denuded of trees, so that it may be necessary to adopt some other wood for provision chests. On this subject the Behar agent, who marches through the Behar districts, must have full information. And for this reason, as already indicated, it is desirable that the mango chests supply should remain in his hands. The price paid does not suggest any greatly increased difficulty during past years in obtaining this class of chest in Behar.

10. On the other hand, it has been found impossible to obtain in these provinces chests at the same rate as obtainable in Behar. This is doubtless partly owing to the industry in Behar being of long standing, and having taken firm root; but the comparatively plentiful supply of both wood and of labour must, I think, have much to do with it. In these provinces endeavours have been made by me to obtain a supply of mango chests at a comparatively low rate, but the attempt has not been successful. Messrs. Burn & Co. put up steam machinery at Ghazipore, but found that if their purchases of mango wood were limited to the North-Western Provinces, they could not make chests at the rate at which they can be purchased in Behar. The superintendent at the Central Gaol at Naini undertook an experimental contract with this agency, but after making 400 chests has written that he cannot supply any more under Rs. 3 each. Efforts in other directions have hardly been more successful, and it suggests itself that, if the superintendent of the Great Central Gaol at Naini, with all the advantages possessed by that institution, cannot manufacture chests at a lower rate than Rs. 3 each, that private contractors cannot afford to do the work at a lower rate. It is thus, as matters now stand, cheaper and better to obtain our supply from

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Patna, unless the supply of wood is decreasing there, and there is danger of the supply of mango wood being exhausted.

11. In that case, and as already indicated, the Behar authorities are in the best position to report on the subject. It would be necessary, I apprehend, to pay at least R 3 per chest in the North-Western Provinces, the condition being that the wood should be the produce of these provinces. Not only is the industry comparatively new, and the wood supply inferior as compared with Behar, but there have been very heavy drains on it from the railways and great public works, which have been carried out and are being carried out in these provinces.

12. The price of mango wood has risen considerably of late years, and indigo planters and the manufacturers of shellac, whose requirements are infinitesimal, as compared with those of this factory, have assured me that the difficulty of obtaining chests for their produce has much increased of late years. My inquiries have been confined to the districts comparatively near Ghazipore, as to bring chests from any great distance would not be remunerative. The building of the Ganges Bridge, the great junction station at Mogul Sarai, near Benares, and the new lines of railway opened out in these districts, have undoubtedly affected the mango wood supply.

13. It seems to me, therefore, that it must depend on the information at the disposal of the Behar agent whether it is desirable that the arrangements that have worked so well in Behar for the supply of our chests should undergo any alteration.

No. 2166-120 O., dated 21st July 1887.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

In continuation of paragraph 16 of my letter No. 2600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, copy of the correspondence noted on the margin,

Letter from the Board of Revenue, No. 479 B., dated 27th June 1887, with enclosures.

Letter to the Board of Revenue, No. 265-119 O., dated 21st July 1887.

from which it will be seen that the Lieutenant-Governor has approved the suggestion of the Board of Revenue that a conference should be held either at Patna or Ghazipore, at which the member of the Board in charge of the Opium Department should preside, and both the agents, with any experienced officer of the Department whom they may select, should attend, to discuss the question of placing on a legal footing the present practice of granting licenses for the cultivation of the poppy in the Behar and Benares Opium Agencies.

No. 479 B., dated 27th June 1887.

From K. G. GUPTA, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM desired by the Board of Revenue to refer for the orders of Government the following questions regarding the practice at present prevailing both in the Behar and Benares Opium Agencies of granting licenses for the cultivation of the poppy, not to the actual cultivators, but to middlemen or representative ryots.

2. The facts of the cases which give rise to this reference are stated in detail in the Board's No. 638 B., dated 17th May 1887, to the Solicitor to Government, copy of which is annexed. Briefly stated, the point at issue is this. Section 8 of the Opium Act (XIII. of 1857) provides that licenses shall be issued to cultivators who may choose to cultivate the poppy, and that counterpart engagements shall be taken from them. It is, however, the practice in both agencies not to issue licenses to individual cultivators direct or to take counterpart agreements from them. The licenses are issued to, and engagements taken, from one man, called in Benares a *lumberdar*, in Behar *khattadar*, who engages to cultivate a certain area, and subsequently divides this area between a number of actual cultivators or *shikmi ryots*. The advances also are made to the

middlemen, and by them distributed among the cultivators. The systems are fully explained in Part II., Chapter V. (sections 248-265) of the Opium Commission's Report.

3. Cases occurred in the Behar Agency in which cultivators failed to grow poppy after receiving (through the *khattadars*) advances from Government for that purpose, and on their being sent up for trial under section 10 of the Act the Collector of Mozufferpore refused to punish them on the ground that engagements had not been entered into directly with them or counterparts taken from them as contemplated by section 8 of the Act. They could not therefore be held to be regarded as being under engagements to Government.

4. Similarly in the Benares Agency a cultivator was prosecuted before the Magistrate of Basti, under section 19, for illegally disposing of the opium supposed to have been produced by him. The Magistrate refused to convict on the same grounds as those taken by the Collector of Mozufferpore, viz., that no engagement had been executed by the cultivator. The Collector and the Legal Remembrancer of the North-Western Provinces held the same view.

5. On these facts being reported, the Board consulted the Advocate-General, whose opinion is appended to this letter. Although, as will be seen from paragraph 8 of the Board's letter to the Government Solicitor, the actual systems differ in some particulars in the two agencies, yet the principle in both is the same, namely, that the engagements are not made with the actual cultivators but with a middleman or representative, and the systems are, in the opinion of the Advocate-General, with whom the Board entirely agree, not in accordance with the provisions of the law.

6. Anticipating that this would be the opinion of the Advocate-General the Board in paragraph 9 of their letter reproduced the suggestion originally made by the magistrate of Basti, that perhaps lumberdars and khattadars might be brought within the scope of section 8 by being regarded as "other officers entrusted with the superintendence of the cultivation." The suggestion was not very clearly put in the Board's letter, and the Advocate-General merely states his opinion that the lumberdars and khattadars are not included within the expression quoted from section 8. Whether it is in the power of Government to invest them with powers under that section is quite another question, regarding which no opinion is given.

7. It may perhaps be thought that cases in which it is necessary to prosecute under the penal sections of the Act are of such rare occurrence that no great harm is likely to result from leaving matters as they stand, and that it is not desirable to open up so important a question at the present time. Apart, however, from the obvious impropriety of continuing a system, the illegality of which has been so prominently brought to notice, there is the risk that the failure of the prosecutions in the cases mentioned may become generally known, and cultivators may be emboldened to disregard the engagements made on their behalf from the knowledge that they can do so with impunity. The difficulty in the way of the sub-deputy agents and their assistant personally issuing licenses direct to each cultivator consists in the immense number of men each officer would have to deal with. It would be impossible to carry out such a system without very largely increasing the staff of officers. This step would probably be impracticable, not only for general financial reasons, but for the special reason that the selling price of opium shows a tendency steadily to decline, in consequence of the increase in the growth of the poppy in China, and the unfavourable effect on the trade in the Indian drug, resulting from the new opium agreement with the Chinese Government. On this point a reference is requested to Board's No. 794 B., dated 16th September 1886.

8. On the other hand it is very doubtful whether the lumberdars or khattadars could be safely trusted to issue licenses under section 8, even if it should be held to be legal to invest them with such powers. They are not men of any social standing or respectability, being in many cases mere ordinary ryots like the rest of the cultivators. To entrust to them such extensive powers as are conveyed by sections 8 and 9 would probably lead to serious complications. It would also in most cases be difficult to assemble all the cultivators of one khatta or of one village in order that they might sign their names or make their mark upon a joint license in which all

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No. 638 B., dated 17th May 1887.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SOLICITOR TO GOVERNMENT.

I AM directed by the Board of Revenue to request that you will be good enough to obtain the opinion of the Advocate-General on the following cases which were instituted in the Behar and Benares Opium Agencies, respectively, under sections 10 and 19 of Act XIII. of 1857, in which questions have been raised respecting the legality of the engagements made on behalf of Government with the opium cultivators.

2. In certain cases in which cultivators in the Behar Agency had been sent up for punishment under section 10, Act XIII. of 1857, for failure to cultivate poppy after receipt of advances from Government for that purpose, the collector, in trying the cases recorded an order that, unless counter-part engagements (kabulyats) executed by the cultivators were produced, they could not be punished.

Kemble, the Behar opium agent, directed the sub-deputy opium agent to see the officer "trying the cases," and to "explain to him the procedure in the Opium Department of taking written agreements from the khattadars or middlemen only." He added that "to show that the cultivators were parties to the contract, it may be necessary to call the khattadars to prove that they gave advances to them." Thereupon the sub-deputy opium agent wrote to the collector, explaining the procedure under which cultivators arrange to cultivate poppy. Mr. Norman, the collector, replied, that the cultivators who had been prosecuted under section 10, Act XIII. of 1857, had not been licensed under that Act, and he entertained grave doubts of the legality of convicting them under the circumstances. He added:—"It seems to me that it is clear that the provisions of section 10 apply only to cultivators licensed under the provisions of the two preceding sections, but you admit that the requirements of section 8 have not been carried out, inasmuch as no counter-part engagements were taken from the cultivators in question. Moreover, there is nothing before me to show that these cultivators in any way agreed to or authorised the khattadars signing a counterpart on their behalf." When a copy of the collector's letter reached the agent, he wrote to Mr. Norman and inquired whether he meant that the licenses granted to khattadars, in which are included the names of cultivators licensed thereby to grow poppy, and the khattadars' agreements or counterparts of the licenses are not in themselves sufficient proof that the cultivators named in the license agreed to cultivate poppy, or whether he meant that even when the Opium Department proves that a cultivator has cultivated poppy in previous years and that such cultivator has again for the current year accepted advances to cultivate poppy, he, the collector, would still decline to punish the cultivator if he failed to cultivate, simply because such cultivator had not received a separate license and executed a separate agreement. In reply, Mr. Norman wrote as follows:—"Section 10 of Act XIII. of 1857 appears to authorise the imposition of penalties upon cultivators licensed in accordance with the provisions of the Act, who have received advances from Government. Section 8 appears to contemplate the issue of a license to each cultivator and the taking of a counterpart from him. In the cases in question it seems that the cultivators had not received licenses, nor given counterpart engagements. All that was shown was that licenses were granted to middlemen known as khattadars, and that counterpart engagements were taken from such middlemen; it was not even shown that the cultivators had authorised or agreed to the middlemen entering into contracts on their behalf."

3. The opium agent of Behar was of opinion that the general license given to several cultivators, in which the name of each and the area of land to be cultivated by each are mentioned, is sufficient, and that the fact that a cultivator has not given a separate agreement should not be held to be a bar to his punishment under section 10. All the deputy agent (collector) has to do, in the agent's opinion, is to satisfy himself that the cultivator sent up for punishment has actually accepted an advance of a certain sum; and as the advance is always cultivated on the area to be cultivated, it is easy to see for what area the advance has been given. If the deputy agent is not satisfied that the cultivator in question has received an advance, he should either send back the papers to the sub-deputy opium agent for further inquiry, or he should call for further evidence himself.

The agent stated that it is the practice for khattadars when distributing the advances to the several cultivators, to draw out what is called a butwara paper (copy sent herewith), which shows the names of the several cultivators in his khatta, the area of land they agree to cultivate with poppy, and the amount of advance given; and each cultivator signs or puts his marks to the entries opposite his name, and such marks or signatures are attested. The production of these papers, and if necessary, of witnesses, should, the agent was of opinion, suffice to satisfy a deputy opium agent, if he does not accept the report alone of his sub-deputy opium agent. When the case came before them, the Board observed that it was desirable that Mr. Norman should remember that he was dealing with these cases as deputy opium agent and that it was for him to support the action of the opium officers unless they are manifestly wrong; as the action of the sub-deputy opium agent in sending up the cases for punishment of the defaulting cultivators was, it seemed to the Board, in accordance with the law, it was not open to Mr. Norman, in his position as deputy opium agent, determining the penalty in the cases to raise, as if he were a judicial officer, a question affecting the long-established system of the opium cultivation. The Board said that in raising the objections Mr. Norman had overlooked the provision made in section VIII. of Act XIII. of 1857 that the license "shall be in such form as the agent, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, may direct," and that the counterpart engagement shall be "in conformity with the tenor of the license." It was pointed out that the form of the engagements on both sides has for years been determined under the approval of the Board for carrying on the special system of cultivation of opium obtaining in the Behar Opium Agency; and the collector and agent were informed that, in the opinion of the Board, it is sufficient for the deputy opium agent to see that the cultivator's name was duly entered in the khatta with the area to be cultivated by him, and that the advance was duly made to the khattadar. The butwara papers, it was said, should be filed in each case and the mark of each cultivator, attested by witnesses, should be produced before the deputy opium agent, and that there is no occasion whatever for a judicial trial in each case, but if a trial is held it must be by the collector himself as deputy opium agent.

4. The above correspondence took place six months ago, and nothing more has been heard of the question in the Behar Agency. But a very similar reference has now come up from the Benares Agency, necessitating a further examination of the point. The facts are as follows. One Badal Chamar of Basti engaged through his lumberdar in the usual way took an advance of Rs. 1 and sowed eight biswas of land with poppy. No portion of the produce was, however, delivered to Government, and the man was consequently prosecuted, under section 19 of the Opium Act for illegally disposing of the drug.

5. The "usual way" referred to above is as follows:—A license is given to the lumberdar only, and he alone executes a "kabulyat." The names of the cultivators engaging are not entered until the measurements. The cultivators receive at the measurements what is called a miniature license. This procedure (since amended by the miniature license) has been in vogue in both agencies for a long period, and has not been called into question until recently.

6. The joint magistrate who tried the case held, and the collector agreed with him, that the present system of issuing licenses is only binding on the lumberdar, and that the sub-cultivators cannot be prosecuted for its breach as the Opium Department hold no counterpart agreement. He accordingly acquitted the accused. Considering the great importance of the case, the decision was referred to the Legal Remembrancer, North-Western Provinces, for his opinion.

That officer, whilst allowing that the law does not require that the defendant should have filed an agreement in the Opium Department, proceeded to say that no person can be punished under section 19, Act XIII., until the Department can prove that he has entered into an engagement for the cultivation of poppy on account of Government. This he thought, cannot be done under the existing system. The only persons who can be touched he held are the lumberdars.

The law only enacts that licenses should be given to cultivators and counterparts taken from them. No form is prescribed in it, this matter being left in the hands of the Board of Revenue, *vide* section 8, Act XIII. of 1857;

and in accordance with the powers so vested in them, the Board directed the issue of a general license to "khattadars" or "lumberdars," covering a certain area which they, and their sub-ryots through them, agree to cultivate. The Board have also issued rules directing sub-deputy agents and gomashas to make such engagements and to pay over the advances to such middlemen, *vide* sections 14 to 16, pages 21 and 22 (sub-deputy agent's duties), and 11 to 15, pages 32 and 33 (gomasha's duties) of the manual sent herewith. This procedure, moreover, has been in force for very many years, and it was not unfairly assumed that custom had given it nearly the force of law. It may therefore be fairly assumed that the onus of proving ignorance of his liabilities should rest on the cultivator and not on the Department. It cannot fairly be contended that any cultivator nowadays can possibly be ignorant of the fact that he is by law required to deliver to the Opium Department the produce of his field. It may also fairly be contended that the lumberdar is only a channel of communication between the Department and his ryots, and receives money from the Department on trust for the latter. The fact of the ryot taking an advance from a lumberdar should therefore be *prima facie* proof that he has engaged to cultivate for the Department, and that it is the cultivator's duty to acquaint himself with the terms on which he is to cultivate, and that the fact of his ignorance should not bar his liability.

7. The opium agent subsequently instituted proceedings under section 9, clause (g) of Act I. of 1878, against Badal Chamar; but in this instance also the case was dismissed, the following judgment being given by the magistrate of Basti, who tried the case:—

"Badal Chamar was prosecuted last year under section 19 of Act XIII. of 1857 for making away with the produce of eight biswas of poppy crop, and was discharged by Mr. Reynolds, officiating joint magistrate, on 13th September 1886, because the inquiry showed that the accused was not a cultivator under agreement with the Opium Department, and that consequently Act XIII. of 1857 did not apply to the case.

"I submitted the papers in the case to the opium agent with my letter No. 1856—V-58, dated 17th September 1886. The opium agent consulted the Legal Remembrancer, who agreed with the interpretation put on the law by Mr. Reynolds and myself, and by memorandum, dated 11th February 1887, the opium agent requested the sub-deputy opium agent to prosecute Badal Chamar a second time under clause (g) of section 9 of Act I. of 1878. The Legal Remembrancer's opinion is not on the file, but I understand that this second prosecution has been undertaken on his advice.

"It is unfortunate that it should be, for clause (g) of section 9, Act I. of 1878, utterly inapplicable to the case. That clause renders penal an omission to warehouse opium, and it is desirable to obtain a conviction against Badal for not warehousing his opium, because he did not bring it or cause it to be brought to the Basti opium godown.

"But the warehouse referred to in clause (g) of section 9, Act I. of 1878, is not the Basti opium godown, nor any such place. It is the warehouse referred to in sections 7 and 8 of the same Act, and means a frontier warehouse established under orders of Government for the receipt of opium from foreign territory.

"Badal Chamar must therefore be again discharged, and the court hereby orders his discharge.

"These observations dispose of the case before me, and there can be no doubt that the law is as I have interpreted it. It seems, however, desirable to add a few remarks in order to invite the attention of the Opium Department to the urgent need for reform in its procedure.

"The opium agent is mistaken in saying that Badal escaped in the first instance, owing to a flaw in the law. There is no flaw in the law; the flaw is in the procedure of the Opium Department which ignores the law. Act XIII. of 1857 amply provides for the due delivery of opium by licensed cultivators but the cultivators must first be licensed. The practice of the Opium Department is not to license the cultivators but to grant licenses to certain headmen who sublet the lands included in the license. Thus in this case the headman (lumberdar) Dalthuman Lal has consented to cultivate 63 bighas of poppy and to deliver its produce to the Opium Department. Inasmuch as he failed to deliver the produce of Badal's eight biswas, he might probably have been legally, though not equitably, convicted under section 19 of Act XIII. of 1857.

"Badal was under no contract whatever with Government and was under no obligation whatever to deliver the opium produced by his crop. His legal position was that of a person cultivating without a license, and the opium produced in his field was legally though not equitably liable to confiscation, except the very small area given in by lumberdars themselves, the entire opium cultivation in this district illicit. I believe the case is the same throughout the provinces.

"Act XIII. of 1857 is drawn on the supposition that the cultivators enter into engagements with the Opium Department, that is to say, that each cultivator receives a written license, and accepts its terms by a written kabulyat or counterpart. No formal license is given at present to any cultivator but a miniature license is given at present to any cultivator by the lumberdar.

"The so-called miniature license recently introduced is a memorandum, not a license, and no counterpart of any sort is taken from the cultivators.

"It is perfectly easy for the Opium Department to make its procedure accord with the law. An obvious method of doing so is to empower lumberdars as 'officers entrusted with the superintendence of the cultivations' to issue licenses under section 8 of Act XIII. of 1857.

"Act XIII. of 1857 is the law applicable to cases like Badal's, and there is no use in attempting to strain Act I. of 1878, so as to cover them, which it cannot do."

8. The systems under which settlements and advances are made in the Behar and Benares Agencies differ slightly. In Behar the advances are given to the khattadar, but the license is not a license to the khattadar alone. It gives permission to him and the assamees of his khatta to sow poppy, and produce opium over a certain defined area, and the names of all the assamees, and the area to be cultivated by each of them, are entered in both the license and the kabulyat. The documents are, however, executed by the khattadar alone, and the assamees are not even present. In Benares the license is granted to the lumberdar, the column which shows the cultivator's names and the area cultivated by each being left blank. This information is filled in at the time of measurements by the measuring officer, and the document known as the miniature license is given to each cultivator. The first advances are made in September each year, and the measurements take place in November and December. A list of the enclosures forwarded is appended to this letter. Their return with your reply is requested.

9. The question on which the Board wish to be favoured with the opinion of the Advocate-General is whether these licenses are sufficient to enable the departmental officers to secure the punishment of the cultivators of the poppy in the event of their committing the offences described in sections 10 and 19 of Act XIII. of 1857, and, if not, whether the lumberdars and khattadars can be held to be included in the expression in section 8, "other officers entrusted with the superintendence of the cultivation?"

No. 2165-119 O., dated 1st July 1878.

From P. NOLAN, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 479 B., dated 27th June 1887, with enclosures, and in reply to refer the Board to the enclosed extract (paragraph 16) from letter, No. 2600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, addressed by this Government to the Government of India in which an opinion was expressed identical with that now communicated by the Board, that an effort should be made to place on a legal footing the present system of granting licenses for the cultivation of the poppy, but that any radical change would be inexpedient. The Lieutenant-Governor approves the Board's suggestion that a conference should be held either at Patna or Ghazipore, at which the member of the Board in charge of the Opium Department should preside, and both the agents, with any experienced officer of the Department whom they may select, should attend to discuss the matter. Sir Stewart Bayley thinks that it may not be impossible to bring the present practice into accordance with the law, and he would be glad to receive advice from the conference in this direction.

APP. I.

No. 2793-153 O., dated 8th September 1887.

From W. C. MACPHERSON, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

IN continuation of paragraph 59 of Mr. Nolan's letter No. 2600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, on the subject of the recommendations of the Opium Commission contained in Chapter IX., Part III. of their report, regarding the opium laws and their administration.

To facilitate reference, the correspondence with the Government of India on the subjects named in paragraphs 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 of my letter to the Board of Revenue of this date is indicated below.

Paragraph 3.—*Vide* correspondence submitted with my endorsement No. 713-36 O., dated 5th March 1887.

Paragraph 4.—*Vide* paragraph 32 of Mr. Nolan's letter No. 2600-130 O., dated 18th December 1886, and Mr. Nolan's letter No. 2166-120 O., dated 21st July 1887.

Paragraph 6.—*Vide* correspondence submitted with Mr. Risley's endorsement No. 1449-114 O., dated 27th July 1885, and Mr. Harbour's demi-official note dated 27th August 1885.

Paragraph 7.—*Vide* paragraph 31 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter, No. 980 T. R., dated 28th June 1884, and paragraph 15 of Mr. Nolan's letter dated 18th December 1886.

Paragraph 8.—*Vide* paragraphs 20 and 23 of Mr. Nolan's letter of 18th December 1886.

No. 537 B., dated 14th July 1887.

From K. G. GUPTA, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government order No. 2718-136 O., dated 31st December last, requesting that the Board's report on the recommendations of the Opium Commission contained in Chapter IX. of Part III. of their report regarding the opium laws and their administration may be submitted, and to report as follows:—

2. The proposals in paragraph 773 of the Opium Commission's report contemplate the repeal and re-enactment of Act XIII. of 1857. The proposals relating to the appointment of a Director-General having been negatived by the Secretary of State, the Board are of opinion that nothing need be said about that or the subsidiary proposals based upon the assumption that such an appointment will be created.

3. With regard to the repeal and re-enactment of Act XIII. of 1857, I am to state that the Benares agent is in favour of the measure, but the Behar agent with a keener sense of the difficulties that attend legislation in the present day, considers that it would be impolitic to pass an entirely new Act—a step which would probably "bring up the whole question of a Government monopoly," and give rise to hostile criticism regarding the grant of special powers to departmental officers. In order to judge whether the improvements which fresh legislation would introduce are of sufficient importance and urgency to justify Government in having recourse to legislation, it will be advisable first to examine the changes in the law recommended by the Opium Commission and discussed by the agents in their reports now before the Board. These are as follows:—

(1.) That the collector should cease to be *ex officio* deputy opium agent and the present "sub-deputy opium agents" and "assistant sub-deputy opium agents," should be styled "deputy agents" and "assistant agents" respectively. The Behar agent has expressed no opinion on this point, but the Benares agent is strongly opposed to the elimination of the collector. It is true, he remarks, that the collectors are very seldom called on to interfere, but it is at times necessary to ask for their assistance, and on such occasions much advantage to the Department results. The retention of the collector as deputy agent does not

take up much of his time, but adds considerably to the prestige of the Department, as the official head of the district administration naturally exercises far more power, and his orders carry far more weight than those of a departmental officer. The advantage of having less clumsy titles for some of the officers of the Department would be too dearly purchased by the loss of the collector's support. It is true that, even when no longer deputy agent, the collector would of course support and assist the officers of the Opium Department, as he would those of any other Government Department; but he would have to do so from outside as it were, and relying on his general powers, which, especially in the Lower Provinces, are more liable to be questioned by the public in these times than formerly. His power of intervention when called for would be much more effectually exercised, and its legality far less liable to be questioned, if he remained an officer of the Department. Under the provisions of section 3 of Act XIII. of 1857, it is at any time within the power of Government to declare that a collector shall not be deputy agent, and to appoint an officer of the Opium Department to such post, so that if thought advisable the experiment of eliminating the collector from the Department might be tried without having recourse to legislation.

4. The second recommendation of the Opium Commission is that the provision in section 10, imposing a penalty for not cultivating, should be replaced by one making provision for the recovery as well as imposition of the penalty. In paragraph 650 of their report the Commission recommend that such cases should be tried by a magistrate, as in section 3 of the Opium Act of 1878, in which case there would be no difficulty about recovery of the penalty. Both the agents agree in this view. The Behar agent points out that under the present law if the penalty be not paid the collector can only apply to the magistrate, who can confine the defaulter in the civil gaol under section 27—a process which brings him no nearer to payment than before. He adds "such penalties are practically irrecoverable if the defaulters do not continue to grow poppy."

5. The third recommendation is that the exemption of opium under section 11 of the Act from distraint by a landlord, or attachment by a creditor, should be retained. This evidently does not require fresh legislation. But the agents both point out that, as the Act stands, there is nothing to prevent a zemindar or creditor attaching the poppy plant while growing, and thus preventing the ryot from lancing the poppy heads and drawing off the opium. Neither of the opium agents states that any cases of the kind have ever occurred, but the Benares agent says that he has been told that it has been held (he does not say by what court or authority), that such attachment is not illegal. He considers the apprehension of such occurrences as not a very real one, and in this view the Board concur, for it is difficult to see what a zemindar would gain by attaching a crop from which neither he nor anyone who might purchase it could make any profit, while if he allowed the cultivator to extract the opium and deliver it he might attach the sum due to him for it in the hands of the the sub-deputy opium agent. This suggestion, I am to state, seems to the Board rather fanciful. Had there been any real difficulty in this point, it would not have escaped the notice of the Opium Commission.

6. The next recommendation is that in section 16 of the Act, balances should be made recoverable as arrears of land revenue; but no process should be issued without the authority of the agent. Both agents agree with this; but the Behar agent observes that practically balances are recovered from the next advances which, as the cultivation of opium is generally conducted by the same men from year to year, and by their sons and successors after them, affords a sufficient protection to the department from loss.

7. The fifth recommendation is that the penalty imposed by section 18 should be increased to ten times the amount of the excess and a cheap and speedy method of adjudication should be adopted. This question has recently been before Government on a reference from the Behar agent, and in Mr. Risley's letter No. 1448-113 O., dated 27th July 1885, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed his opinion that, "the new Tenancy Act provides adequate security to the ryot in Behar, both against excessive demands and illegal exactions." No further legislation on this subject is therefore necessary. The next recommendation that no prosecution under section 19 of the Act shall be permitted,

except at the instance of an officer of the Department, also does not call for legislation as it is already practically enforced by executive order.

8. The seventh recommendation of the Commission is that sections 24 and 25 of the Act need not be retained. The Benares agent is opposed to the repeal of these sections, and in Behar they are said to be a dead letter. Under the circumstances, there seems to the Board no necessity for any action in regard to these sections. The last recommendation, that the provisions of section 29, regarding imprisonment in the civil gaol, should not be extended to persons illegally purchasing opium from a cultivator is, the Board consider, a point which may be left to be dealt with by executive action.

9. From the above it will be seen that, out of the eight amendments in the law proposed by the Commission none, with perhaps the exception of No. 2, is such as to call for legislation. And even in regard to No. 2 there is much reason for doubt whether the difficulty is really serious. Before an opinion could be given on this point, it would be necessary to ascertain from both agents in how many cases the Department had suffered loss from the imperfect state of the law. It must be borne in mind that in their reports both the agents were answering the question "if the Act is to be repealed and re-enacted, what amendments or improvements can you suggest?" and not the question "do you really suffer from the imperfections of the present law, and are you unable to get on without fresh legislation?" If the question had been put in the latter form, probably the answers might have been different. On the whole the Board are not of opinion that the defects of the present law are such as to call for legislation, and this portion of the Commission's proposals may, they think, be allowed to stand over for the present.

10. In paragraph 774 of their report the Opium Commission say that there is reason to believe that the provisions of sections 14 and 15 of Act I. of 1878 have been seriously abused, especially in some of the districts of Behar. But this abuse, they were of opinion, could be remedied by an amendment of the rules, or by an executive order of Government without any alteration of the substantive law. They recommended that the powers of search, arrest, and seizure given by the sections referred to should be retained, but orders should be passed to prohibit any officer of excise or police from putting the provisions of these sections in force against licensed cultivators of the poppy, except under the instructions, or in the presence of such officers of the Opium Department as may be authorised on that behalf. With regard to this recommendation, I am to invite a reference to the Board's letter No. 668 B., dated 5th August 1886, in paragraph 5 of which it was suggested that the police subordinates should refrain from arresting any poppy cultivator found in possession of contraband opium, but take his personal recognizance (unless the quantity of opium was considerable, in which case the accused should be required to find bail), and that the recognizance and bail should be for the appearance of the accused, at not any given date, but whenever he might be summoned by the magistrate; that the police officer should then submit his report in the case to the district superintendent, who should forward it to the sub-deputy opium agent for his opinion as to whether a prosecution should be instituted or not, and dispose of the case in accordance with the decision of the sub-deputy opium agent on this point. This procedure was approved in Government order No. 1324 T. E., dated the 7th October 1886, with the reservation that the police should retain the power of sending up to the magistrate for trial at once very important or urgent cases. It was said that the Inspector-General of Police would be asked to issue the necessary instructions, and that the matter would be brought to the notice of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, with a view to the issue of similar instructions as regards the districts of the Benares Agency. From the enclosure of Government order No. 711-34 O., dated 5th March 1887, it appears, however, that the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh are averse to the introduction of the procedure into those provinces. I am to state that the Board consider that no further action in this matter is required at present.

11. In paragraph 776 of their report the Commission mention the six objects aimed at by the opium law, and in paragraph 777, they state the measures taken by the executive to attain those objects. Of the six, two, they considered in paragraph 778, are successfully attained,

viz., the maintenance of the free agency of the ryot and suppression of adulteration. Only partially attained, and that by injudicious measures are two other objects; the cultivation of the area stipulated for and repression of unlicensed cultivation. With regard to the former the Commission remark that failure to cultivate is seldom the fault of the ryot or lumberdar. It is often the fault of the settling officer. The Behar agent cannot concur with this view. Mr. Kemble writes:—

"The great evil I have to contend against is what is known in the Department as paper or dummy cultivation, that is, taking an advance and making a mere pretence to sow. It is only to enable officers to cope with this that, I think, some additional powers should be given to deputy agents or collectors under the law. I ask for no special powers for sub-deputies. No doubt much may be done, and I flatter myself has been done to stop this practice by improved administration, but some means for imposing and enforcing penalties for continued neglect of orders is much wanted.

12. This point has been considered under head (2) (in paragraph 4 above) of the Commission's suggestions for the amendment of the Act. Mr. Kemble, in the extract from his letter given above, asks that additional powers be given to collectors as deputy agents, though in his remarks, quoted in paragraph 4 of this letter, he has shown that penalties for not cultivating are usually recovered from the next advances. The defects in the license have formed the subject of a separate correspondence in the Board's letter No. 479 B., dated 27th June 1887, and the Board are of opinion that it would be better to discuss this question simultaneously with that regarding licenses as suggested in paragraph 11 of the letter referred to as the information supplied by the agents is not sufficient to enable the Board to judge of the extent of the evil or of the best measures for repressing it.

13. Regarding unlicensed cultivation the Behar agent remarks that it is unknown in his agency and measurements of lands by revenue officers are not made. Mr. Kemble thinks they would lead to oppression. The Benares agent remarks as follows:—

"Some years ago the measurement of opium lands by the Revenue Department was advocated by me but negatived by the Board. The arguments in favour of the scheme were, that the Revenue Department has a large and competent staff in every part of the district, trained to the work and provided with village maps, and that this staff for revenue purposes measures all the fields. Also that the measurement by an independent department would be a salutary check. I am, however, quite with the Commission in the view that the double measurement is undesirable, provided that the departmental measurement is properly performed. For undoubtedly the cultivator is put to inconvenience even if he escapes exactions by the double arrangement. I am doubtful, however, whether the revenue authorities in these provinces would forego the existing procedure. For no crop measurement for statistical purposes would be complete which omitted poppy lands. If the two departments would work together in the matter the result might be good, and this could only be attained by the opium officer being recognised as part of the district machinery. As matters now stand, the "putwaries" and others will not be at the beck and call of an opium officer. And the idea of opium assistant, village map in hand, ticking off the fields, though excellent in theory, is almost impossible in practice. With some experience in settlement work I have put the idea into practice, and although strongly prejudiced in favour of a system which I myself suggested I have been obliged to recognise that with our present staff the work cannot be done *ad unguem*. With a European assistant and kothee staff in each purgunah, or with a few hundred bighas of cultivation, such as an indigo assistant would have, the work could be done. But it must always be remembered, when dealing with suggestions for the improvement of the work, that our staff, roughly speaking, means one assistant, with a gomashtha and three mohurirs, and a certain number of zillahdars to a whole revenue district with perhaps from 15,000 to 20,000 bighas of cultivation. That the result is not much less satisfactory than it now is, is to me a marvel. I cannot certainly be debited with having failed to urge this over and over again. And the report of the Commission has most strongly supported my continuous representations."

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the measurement of poppy lands by officers of the Revenue Department is harassing and vexatious, and as

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there seems no reason to suspect unlicensed cultivation, the Board are disposed to recommend that it should be discontinued. There is, however, this difficulty, if the Board rightly understand Mr. Rivett-Carnac's statement that he is doubtful whether the revenue authorities in the North-Western Provinces would forego the existing procedure. If it be the case, as seems to be implied by the wording of the next sentence, that in the North-Western Provinces all lands under crop are measured for statistical purposes, the ryots of those provinces would feel it no greater hardship to have their poppy lands measured than their wheat or rice lands. The Board are of opinion that before finally deciding on this point it would be advisable to consult the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

14. Of the two remaining objects which in the opinion of the Opium Commission (*vide* paragraphs 780 and 781 of their report) are not attained at all, the first is the protection of the ryot from illegal exactions. With regard to this it has already been pointed out in paragraph 7 above that, as regards the Behar Agency, the Tenancy Act may be expected to afford the cultivator of opium, as much as any other ryot, the necessary protection. As regards the Benares Agency, where the Tenancy Act is not in force, the Board labour under the difficulty of not being sufficiently informed as to the relations existing between landlord and tenant. Mr. Rivett-Carnac doubts whether the exaction of illegal cesses is common in the North-Western Provinces. He writes:—

"In this paragraph reference is made to officers of the Department not suing zemindars for illegally exacting cesses from cultivators, and I doubt such cesses being common in these provinces. The opium cultivators are the very cream of the agricultural community, and their very presence in the village is a delight to the zemindar. They hold the best land, and if they willingly pay a good rate for such land, interference on the part of the opium officer would be undesirable. It would set a very powerful class against us. An indigo planter would be very careful in touching a similar case, and an opium officer should act on the same principle. It must not be forgotten, on the other side, that apart from the good rents paid, the opium cultivator finds favour with the zemindar from the regularity with which he pays rent. The opium weighments and payments take place just before one of the "kists," and unless there has been some desperate failure in the out-turn the zemindar is certain of the prompt payment of a portion of the rupees counted out at the opium godowns. Men who pay so regularly are riches to the zemindar, and establish for themselves a position, and can command fair treatment."

On this point the Board in the absence of full information, or of any light gained by experience, are unable to offer any opinion.

15. The exaction of bribes and gratifications by the amlah is, I am to state, not confined to the Opium Department, and is not likely to cease either in that or in any other department of the administration, until the practice of taking such gratifications is pronounced dishonourable by native public opinion, and until the givers learn to disbelieve in the efficacy or expediency of offering them. The Board fully endorse the remarks on this subject made by both agents. Mr. Kemble writes:—

"The only matter remaining to be discussed is the abolition of illegal gratification. I do not, and never shall believe, that the grant of increased salaries will stop the evil; every one will have what is called his "huq," the higher the pay the higher the "huq." When the exactions exceed the usual rate or the recipients commit unusual extortions, act dishonestly, or make themselves otherwise unpopular, complaints are made. If measures are taken to have these complaints promptly and carefully inquired into all that can be done is done. I consider that with commission all the native staff are liberally and adequately paid, but I cannot say the same of the European staff. When men in the position of European gentlemen after 12 or 14 years' service only receive Rs. 300 a month, and when the pay of the highest appointment they can hope to attain is only Rs. 900, and there are only two of these appointments, it is not surprising that discontent and grumbling prevail, and charges of conduct which is not strictly correct are occasionally brought to notice.

"Illegal exactions can only be stopped when the people who give them find it to their interest to discontinue the practice; when large sums of money pass

through a large number of hands it is hopeless to expect that all of it will reach the cultivators."

Mr. Rivett-Carnac remarks:—

"When the country and people are both more advanced it will be less difficult to put a stop to this universal custom. All that can be done ought undoubtedly to be done to advance an improved state of things. But I leave it to the Board to judge what measure of success can be expected from a European officer in a district isolated from the people, against the amlah who belong to the people and who live amongst the people, and against the people, brought up in and sympathising with the system. I am inclined to believe that the people at present would resent a change of system. They give a small percentage willingly. That small percentage is given to ensure consideration and make the work go smoothly. It is "dustoor" or a customary offering. It is "huq" or the zillahdar's right. Recently I received a petition from a lumberdar, who had fallen out with the zillahdar, complaining that the man "had taken R. 1 "huq" ("illegal gratification"). I give the words of the petition as showing the native and British rendering of the transaction. The payment is "huq" or the zillahdar's right as long as he behaves fairly in other respects. It is illegal gratification when any difference of opinion arises between the two * * * * * entirely hold that, so far in our power lies, the cultivator should be protected in this respect, but with the staff at our command, and the present pay of the native subordinates, their opportunities, and the sympathies of the people to help them, I cannot hope for any great or immediate results."

16. In paragraph 781 of their report the Commission are led from considering the question of illegal gratification into what seem to the Board to be proposals not naturally connected therewith. The necessity of giving to the opium cultivator a higher status and more vigorous protection by officers of Government is insisted on with some force. Both the agents view these proposals with a certain amount of distrust, and the Board are of the same opinion. It would certainly be dangerous and almost as certainly unnecessary to lead the ryot who cultivates opium to consider that by so doing he earns the special favour of Government and places himself in a position to defy or defraud his zemindars. There are many ways in which a discreet and active opium officer can assist a ryot with advice and even with more active help in cases where he is really oppressed; but if the Tenancy Act is to be of any real use in putting a stop to oppression of ryots by their zemindars and leading to a more equitable adjustment of their relations than at present prevails, it ought to be able to do this quite as much for the man who grows opium as for the man who grows any specially valuable crop, and any support over and above what the ordinary law affords is not only an admission that the law itself is too weak to protect the people, but is a step which would in all probability lead the landlords to discourage the growth of poppy in their estates, lest it should bring down on them the intervention of officers of Government and interfere with their legitimate business. In the Benares Agency it is said that there is no necessity for such intervention, as the zemindars find it to their interest to encourage the opium cultivators who willingly pay a high rent for their land, and being well-paid by Government for their opium, are always able in their turn to pay their rents punctually. There seems no reason to offer protection where it not only is not required but would introduce a feeling of hostility between landlord and tenant where none exists at present. In matters of irrigation, famine relief, and tucavai advances where no interests but those of Government and the ryots are concerned, Government can be as liberal as it pleases, and if any cases of oppression are brought to light, the officers of the Department would naturally do their best to procure redress for the sufferers; but nothing, the Board consider, can be more dangerous than to create a pampered class who are or fancy themselves to be under the special protection of Government.

17. The last point, the securing for Government the entire produce of the cultivation, is discussed by the Commission in paragraphs 784 to 789 of their report; and the following six remedies are proposed:—

- (1.) Bringing the cultivators into more direct relation with the Government.
- (2.) Improvement of the position of the ryots.
- (3.) Purification of the subordinate native establishment.

- (4.) Improvements of the present method of measuring the lands and of testing the measurements.
- (5.) Securing a trustworthy estimate of the yield of each assamee's crop.
- (6.) Rigorous enforcement of the law against persons receiving contraband opium.

The first of these remedies is in effect the question of giving licenses direct to the cultivators and abolishing the lumberdars and khattadars. The detailed recommendations of the Opium Commission in regard to this point are contained in paragraphs 674 to 677 and 679 of their report, and the subject has already been reported on in paragraphs 15 to 20 and 22 of the Board's letter No. 173 B., dated 5th March 1885, to which a reference is invited. The second and third remedies have been noticed in paragraphs 15 and 16 above.

18. The proposals of the Opium Commission in connexion with the fourth remedy are contained in paragraphs 653 and 654 of their report, and the Board's views on them have been furnished to Government in paragraphs 8 and 9 of their letter No. 653 B., dated 23rd September 1884. On this subject the Benares agent writes:—

"Paragraph 787 treats of improvements in the measurements, and in testing measurements, in respect to which there cannot be two opinions. As regards second advances, the Commission have rightly stated the procedure enjoined by me. In the last part of this paragraph the Commission return to what must be advanced in respect to this agency whenever improvement of any sort is mentioned, i.e., large and better staff. The importance of concentration of the cultivation is dwelt upon, but by no one has this been more strongly urged than by myself. I can with confidence refer to all I have written on the subject, and to all I have attempted to do in this respect. This was one of the first points that received my attention. A system of inspection and record and mapping out of the lands was instituted by me, which received the approval of the Board, and which has since been universally adopted in both agencies. The object in view was to get rid of inferior cultivation and to concentrate where possible. Officers were enjoined to keep this object steadily in view in their inspections.

"A scheme for concentrating the cultivation and massing the staff was matured. Then came the necessity for extending the cultivation. The reserve was reduced, it appeared difficult, the cultivation was hardly likely to be extended. It thus became necessary to take up almost every bigha that could be possibly secured in these parts, and this being the position, concentration and massing of the staff became an impossibility. No one would more gladly welcome a reduction in the unwieldy proportions of this agency than I myself. The magnificent out-turns of recent years and the second string to the bow provided by the Malwa scheme may render some improvement possible. Nothing can well be done this year even if the Government determine later that a reduction is desirable. But during the approaching cold weather tour, I propose to consider in detail whether cultivation cannot be entirely given up in some districts, and the staff now employed there massed in that part of the agency where cultivation is thickest. This must, however, depend on the policy of the Government and the state of the reserve after the housing of this year's crop, the exact out-turn of which cannot be known for a month or two to come."

19. With regard to the fifth remedy Mr. Rivett-Carnac remarks as follows:—

"Paragraph 788 deals with the fifth remedy, i.e., to secure a trustworthy estimate of each assamee's crop. Now could this Utopian view be put into execution, i.e., had we a sufficient staff—a staff sufficiently experienced, sufficiently trustworthy, and sufficiently controlled for the purpose—little would be left to be desired. The Commission state that to make an independent estimate of the probable yield of each field would not be impossible or even difficult. In this view I believe that they are so far mistaken that the little margin that even the best estimate would leave would be quite sufficient to affect the excise revenue. And that a detailed investigation and estimates with our present staff is practically impossible. The 'taidad' has never been adopted in this agency, and the results in Behar have, I have always learnt, been most unsatisfactory. I do not believe that, save in rare cases, any individual cultivator retains any considerable quantity of opium. Those who do are the cultivators with the best out-turn,

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and it will always be difficult to catch, with the assistance of an estimate, any man the produce of whose field is large. What is done I believe is that small portions of the out-turn are kept back by a large number of cultivators, and that in the aggregate the quality so retained is considerable. Moreover, that the excise revenue is materially affected by the extensive use of an extract of opium obtained by breaking up and boiling the small earthen vessels in which the crop is collected. My views on this subject will be found fully stated in paragraph 27 of my annual report for 1885-86. The raising of the standard of integrity of the inferior establishment of the agency will doubtless advance the end which must always be kept in view. And we must hope for better results from an increased establishment. And there can be no possibility of doubt that strenuous efforts should be made even with our present staff to improve the position as it now is. But I repeat that extreme caution is necessary in dealing with the cultivators."

The opinion of the Opium Commission regarding "taidads" has been expressed in paragraph 656 of their report, and Government were informed in paragraph 11 of the Board's letter No. 653 B., dated 23rd September 1884, that "taidads" had been discontinued in the Behar Agency. No further orders seem to the Board to be called for on this point.

20. In connexion with the sixth remedy the Benares agent remarks:—

"Against those dealers who collect from the cultivators, and retail to opium-eaters, no such caution is necessary. Nor would any crusade against the opium-eaters affect our cultivation. The cultivator may use a small quantity as medicine, but is seldom an opium-eater. If he is, he will put his finger into the pot, and nothing will prevent it. I have always urged concerted action against the dealers. A suggestion, made by some officers of the Department consulted on the subject, is worthy of consideration, that the district authorities should keep up a list of opium-eaters and see where they obtain their supplies."

The Board note that section 9 of Act I. of 1878 awards the same maximum punishment to the receiver or possessor of the opium as it does to the seller of the drug, and they are of opinion that it will be sufficient if it is impressed on the officers trying the cases that the heavier punishment should, as a rule, be imposed on the receiver of the opium. With this view I am to suggest that the purport of paragraph 789 of the Opium Commission's report may be circulated among the magisterial officers.

No 2792-1520, dated 8th September 1887.

From W. C. MACPHERSON, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

WITH reference to your letter No. 537 B., dated the 14th July 1887, in which the Board review the recommendations of the Opium Commission regarding the opium laws and their administration, contained in Chapter IX., Part III., of their report, I am directed to make the following remarks:—

2. The Lieutenant-Governor accepts the Board's conclusions, stated in paragraph 9 of your letter, that the defects of Act XIII. of 1857 are not such as call for fresh legislation at present. Sir Stuart Bayley is opposed to having recourse to such an expedient except in the case of the law, as it stands, being found to be absolutely unworkable, and he is of opinion that no improvement of the law in details would counterbalance the mischief of bringing before the Legislature the whole question of the connexion of Government with the cultivation of opium. I am to point out that the last sentence of paragraph 8 of your letter appears to have been written under a misapprehension, as the matter of imprisonment under section 29 of Act XIII. of 1857 is not one which can be dealt with by executive action, so long as the section remains unaltered. Even on this point, however, the Lieutenant-Governor is not prepared to recommend legislation.

3. With regard to paragraph 10 of your letter on the subject of the operation of sections 14 and 15 of Act I. of 1878, I am to observe that this matter was disposed of in the correspondence resting with my endorsement

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No. 711-340, dated the 5th March 1887, and that further action would appear to be unnecessary.

4. The recommendations of the Commission, made with a view to improving the system under which Government deals with opium cultivators, are discussed by the Board in paragraphs 11 to 20 of your letter under reference. The most important subject considered is that of bringing the ryot into more direct relations with Government, and, in order to effect this, the first step proposed is the introduction of what the Commission describes as miniature licenses. The Lieutenant-Governor would desire that this subject should be considered at the conference which is to be held under the instructions given in Mr. Nolan's letter No. 2165, dated 21st July 1887, for the purpose of discussing the question of placing on a legal footing the present practice of granting licenses for the cultivation of the poppy. The Board's suggestion that the means by which the cultivation of the full area stipulated for should be practically enforced should also be considered at the conference is proved by the Lieutenant-Governor.

5. With advertence to paragraph 13 of your letter regarding the measurement of poppy lands by officers of the Revenue Department, I am directed to ask for precise information as to the point or points on which the Board wish that the Government of the North-Western Provinces should be consulted. It is understood to be suggested that, instead of the existing practice of double measurements, the officers of the Opium Department should work with the measurements of revenue officers, or that officers of the Revenue Department should work with the measurements of opium officers. Of these courses, the only one of which it would appear desirable to consult the Government of the North-Western Provinces is the second, and it is doubtful whether such a proposal would be acceptable to that Government. If, however, the Board wish to pursue the inquiry further, it would be necessary to show that the maps and records of the Benares Agency are sufficient for purposes of revenue assessment and statistics.

6. Paragraphs 14 and 16 of your letter deal with the Commission's recommendations in the direction of affording special protection and patronage to opium cultivators, and in the views therein expressed the Lieutenant-Governor entirely concurs with the Board. The opium cultivator of Behar is, in common with other ryots, sufficiently secured against excessive demands and illegal exactions on the part of zemindars by the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act; while, in the Benares Agency, Mr. Rivett-Carnac's report shows that he is a highly valued tenant who is in apparently a better position than his neighbours to command fair treatment and protect his own interests. In the correspondence ending with Mr. Risley's letter No. 1448-1130, dated the 27th July 1885, instructions were issued as to how far officers of the Opium Department might be allowed to assist cultivators in suits in which it was believed that the illegal enhancement of the rent of poppy lands was aimed at.

7. Referring to paragraph 15 of your letter, I am to state that the proposals made by the Opium Commission with the object of raising the pay of the *kothi* staff, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks thereon, have been submitted to the Governor of India, under whose consideration they still remain. Sir Stuart Bayley is of opinion that, until the pay of the subordinate amlah of the Opium Department is raised, it will be difficult for Government to insist on purity in the lower ranks of a service in which the opportunities for demanding and exacting illegal gratifications are probably greater than in any other branch of the executive.

8. As regards paragraphs 18 and 19 of your letter on the subject of measuring the lands and estimating the field of each assamce's crop, I am to say that the Lieutenant-Governor concurs with the Board in the view that the question of the use of chains or poles is one which may be left to the agents for decision, and also approves of the Board's action in directing the discontinuance of the preparation of taidads in the Behar Agency.

9. In order to the proper enforcement of the law against persons receiving contraband opium, to which subject reference is made in paragraph 20 of your letter, I am to add that the Lieutenant-Governor approves the Board's suggestion that paragraph 789 of the Commission's report should be circulated among magisterial

officers. A circular will be addressed to Commissioners to this effect.

No. 5,685, dated 26th October 1887.

From E. T. ATKINSON, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Finance and Commerce, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2600-130 O., dated the 18th December 1886, referring for orders certain proposals in connexion with the recommendations made by the Commission appointed in 1883 to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces.

2. The proposals are briefly as follows:—

A.—As regards the higher Officers—

- (1.) The creation of three new opium districts in the Benares Agency, and a corresponding increase from 26 to 29 in the number of district officers, and from 43 to 50 in the number of assistants.
- (2.) The equalisation of the house-rent allowances of these officers.

B.—As regards Establishments—

- (1.) In the Benares agent's office a revision without increase of cost, with the retention of the personal assistant.
- (2.) The cost of the district office establishments to be increased from Rs. 5,478 to Rs. 10,741-4 a month.
- (3.) Mofussil establishments—A complete revision at a cost of Rs. 2,94,381 a year; payments by commission to be discontinued.

C.—Dealings with Asamis—

- (1.) The continuance of the present practice as to the number of advances.
- (2.) New procedure as regards unlicensed cultivation.
- (3.) Enhanced payments for trash (Rs. 6,336-4 a year).
- (4.) Improvements in the weighing establishment (yearly additional cost Rs. 3,648 in Benares and Rs. 5,016 in Behar).
- (5.) Iodine testers at Rs. 15 a month, and for three months but apparently only ten are wanted.
- (6.) The formal exemption from stamp-duty of receipts given by cultivators for money paid to them.

The following proposals are not entirely recommended by the Government of Bengal:—

- (7.) Payment of transit allowances to *asamis*.
- (8.) Abolition of the system of payments to cultivators through *khattadars* in Behar and middlemen in Benares, a system which it is considered impossible at present to do away with.
- (9.) Abolition of *khurela* and *khurchan*, or *dasturi* paid by cultivators, which should be deferred until the price of opium is changed.

D.—*Ghazipur Factory*.—The following proposals are recommended:—

- (1.) Better regulation of the relations of agent, factory superintendent, and assistant superintendent.
- (2.) Certain small changes in the subordinate native staff.
- (3.) A small improvement in the fire engine establishment at both the factories (Ghazipur and Patna).
- (4.) The substitution of regular police for the burkandaz guard without increase of cost.
- (5.) The enhancement of pay to cake-makers, costing Rs. 1,252 a year.

The following proposal is not recommended by the local Government:—

- (6.) Increase in the office establishment of the principal assistant.

E.—*Patna Saw-mill*.—Increase of Rs. 100 to the salary of Mr. Girling, and some other changes in the establishment.

F.—The following *general matters* are also discussed:—

- (1.) The introduction of a code for the working of the factories.
- (2.) The amount of the reserve of chests of opium.
- (3.) The French concession (already disposed of).
- (4.) Inspection of opium agencies by a member of the Board of Revenue every year.

3. *Supplementary Questions*.—Since the receipt of the general case above stated, the following letters have been received from the Government of Bengal:—

No. 630-31 O., dated 28th February 1887, which has reference to the recommendation E. above. The saw-mills were being extended and the extension involved an increase in the cost of establishment from Rs. 791 to Rs. 1,144, or of Rs. 353 a month. This consisted of—

	Rs.
(1.) Proposed increase to the salary of Mr. Girling	100
(2.) Assistant engineer on Rs. 125 instead of on Rs. 50	75
(3.) Storekeeper on Rs. 35 instead of on Rs. 20	15
(4.) Increase to petty establishments	159
(5.) To four chuprasis, R. 1 each	4
Total	353

The Government of Bengal intimate that the cost under No. 4 has been sanctioned in anticipation of orders. The proceedings of the Government of Bengal are confirmed.

4. No. 1485-85 O., dated the 6th May 1887.—This letter has reference to paragraph 681 of the report, and paragraph 34 of the letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 2600-130 O., dated the 18th December 1886, the question being whether the opium examiner should retain the power that he possesses at present to impose a fine on opium sent in as good by the district officers, but found really to contain an excess of *pussewak*. The Government of India concurs in the opinion of the local authorities that this power should remain.

5. No. 1,500-87 O., dated 7th May 1887.—On consideration of the question whether the Patna factory should continue to supply chests for the Benares Agency or whether the latter should make its own arrangements, all the authorities (including the Commission) agree that the present practice, whereby Behar undertakes the whole supply of chests, should continue, and I am to state that the Government of India concurs in that opinion.

6. No. 2166-120 O., dated 21st July 1887, has reference to C. (8). The system of payments through middlemen not being in accordance with law, it is found that the cultivator cannot be punished for misdoings, as he is not licensed under the law. It is stated by the Government of Bengal that a conference of opium officers is to be held to consider the question of bringing the present procedure into harmony with the law. The Government of India will therefore await the result of these deliberations before considering this question.

7. No. 2793-153 O., dated 8th September, 1887.—This letter deals with legal questions and includes the above. The Commissioners made some suggestions (eight in number) for improvement of the law, but none of them bear on important matters, and the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, and the Government of Bengal agree that there is in them no such urgency, and that no such difficulty in working the existing law exists, as to make it necessary for the Government to bring these matters before the Legislature.

Of the six objects aimed at by the law, two are successfully attained, viz., free agency of the ryot and suppression of adulteration.

In two, viz., the cultivation of the stipulated area and the prevention of unlicensed cultivation, the success is partial; and further information is promised by the Government of Bengal under those two heads. The first question depends partly on the general question of direct licenses; and as regards the second, unlicensed cultivation does not seem sufficiently prevalent to warrant harassment of the cultivators by measurements.

The remaining two matters, the protection of the ryot from illegal exactions and the securing for Government of the full return on the crop, depend to a large extent upon the improvement of the mofussil establishment. The Government of Bengal has, it is stated, issued a circular impressing upon magistrates

the necessity of properly enforcing the law against receivers of contraband opium.

8. As regards the less important of the proposals enumerated in paragraph 2 above, I am to communicate the following orders of the Government of India:—

9. B.—(1.) The Benares agent proposes—

- (1.) To reduce the salary of his head accountant from Rs. 500 to Rs. 300-20-400.
- (2.) To abolish the appointment of treasurer on Rs. 110.
- (3.) To abolish the "standard computing" branch of the office costing Rs. 297-8, and to distribute these reductions in the form of—
 - (i.) A personal allowance of Rs. 50 to one man;
 - (ii.) Various other increases.

The Government of India, I am to state, accepts these proposals on the conditions that the changes are introduced only gradually as funds become available by reductions, and that compensation pensions or gratuities are not given. The agent may also be authorised to take as his personal assistant an assistant on a salary not exceeding Rs. 300.

10. C.—(1 and 2.) The Government of India agrees that the present number of advances be continued; that opium treasuries be not closed; and that the procedure proposed as regards unlicensed cultivation be adopted.

(3.) The rates for trash may be enhanced as proposed.

(4.) The better payment of the temporary weighing establishments is agreed to by the Government of India, on the understanding that better methods of selection of weighmen recommended by the Commission are introduced.

(5.) The proposals regarding the iodine testers are sanctioned, and I am to say that as these testers already exist in all but a few sub-agencies, the number of additional testers required appears to be only about 10, costing for three months Rs. 450.

(6.) A notification will be issued exempting from stamp duty the receipts for money received from Government by opium cultivators, *lumbardars*, and *khattadars*.

(7.) The proposal is to make transit allowances more general in Benares, but not to extend them to Behar. As regards the latter, it is shown to be very doubtful whether they would ever reach the cultivator. As regards the former, the Government of India desires that the principle upon which allowances are at present given in Benares and the cost involved by the proposed extension should be stated. The necessity seems doubtful considering that the price of crude opium in Benares was raised a few years ago, only because it had been raised in Behar. From this it would appear that there is no urgent necessity for giving the Benares cultivators more than is given in Behar.

11. The question of increase in the number of weighing stations awaits further detailed proposals from the Government of Bengal, and that of *asáminádr* payments awaits the consideration of the general question of middlemen.

12. D.—(1.) The proposals for future selection of factory superintendents and assistants are agreed to.

(2.) The new scale of establishment for the native subordinate staff at Ghazipur factory as modified by the agent may be introduced, the reductions being effected as soon as convenient.

(3.) The increases in the allowances for the fire brigade establishment, and the allowance of Rs. 50 for uniform at the Patna factory are sanctioned.

(4.) The substitution of a police for a *bulundaz* guard at the Ghazipur factory may be carried out, provided there is no increase of cost.

(5.) The rates proposed by the Government of Bengal for cake-making may be adopted.

13. E.—The proposals about the Patna saw-mill are agreed to, but the increase proposed to the salary of Mr. Girling will be referred to the Secretary of State not in the form of an enhancement of pay, but as a personal allowance on account of the increase of work and responsibility and the long service of Mr. Girling.

The other proposals contained in your letter No. 2,600-130 O., dated the 28th December 1886 (that is, A. (1), A. (2), B. (2), and B. (3), including the proposal to spend Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000 on bonuses to *lumbardars*

APP. I.
Bengal.

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and ziladars) are still under the consideration of the Government of India.

Copy, with copies of the letters to which it is a reply, forwarded to the Accountant-General, Bengal, for information.

No. 329, dated 20th December 1887.

From the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

With reference to paragraphs 11 and 12 of Lord Kimberley's Despatch No. 47, dated the 18th June 1885, we have honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of the correspondence detailed in the accompanying schedule with the Government of Bengal, from which it will be seen that we have sanctioned some of the proposals in connexion with the recommendations made by the Commission appointed in 1883 to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces.

2. We now beg to recommend, with reference to paragraph 13 E. of the letter to the Government of Bengal, No. 5,685, dated the 26th October 1887, a copy of which is herewith forwarded, that a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month may be granted to Mr. Girling, the superintendent and engineer of the Patna saw-mill, in addition to his pay, in consideration of the increase of his work and responsibility, as also of the long and good service he has rendered to the Government.

No 9 Revenue, dated India Office, London,
the 2nd February 1888.

From the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I HAVE to convey to you my sanction to the grant of a personal allowance of Rs. 100 per mensem to Mr. Girling, the superintendent and engineer of the Patna saw-mill, as reported in the letter of your Excellency's Government in the Separate Revenue Opium Department, No. 329, dated 20th December 1887.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Mis. Revenue, No. 2,603-151 O.

From H. J. S. COTTON, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Department of Finance and Commerce.

SIR, Calcutta { Dated the 8th August 1888.
Issued the August 1888.

WITH reference to paragraph 6 of your letter, No. 5,685, dated the 26th October 1887, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, indicating the measures adopted by this Government with a view to bring

into harmony with the law the present system of granting licenses for the cultivation of poppy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. J. S. COTTON,
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of Bengal.

No. 970 B.

From K. G. GUPTA, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Revenue Department.

SIR, Calcutta { Dated the 30th December 1887.
Issued January 1888.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government Order No. 2165-1190, dated 21st July 1887, accepting a suggestion made by the Board that a conference be held either at Patna or Ghazipur, at which the member of the Board in charge of the Opium Department should

preside, and both the agents, with any experienced officers of the Department whom they might select, should attend to discuss the question of placing on a legal footing the present system of granting licenses for the cultivation of poppy.

2. In conformity with the above orders of Government a conference was held at Bankipore in October last, at which were present:—

The Member of the Board in charge of the Opium Department (F. M. Halliday, Esq.), presiding.

The opium agent, Behar (W. Kemble, Esq.),

The officiating opium agent, Benares (A. Cadell, Esq.), and

Mr. Tytler,

Mr. Ridsdale,

Mr. Drake,

Mr. Luard,

} sub-deputy opium agents.

The defects of the existing system, and the practical difficulties of making it satisfy the requirements of the law, are adverted to in the Board's No. 479 B., dated 27th June 1887.

3. The system which now obtains in the two agencies is as follows:—

In the Behar Agency the settlements are made on the system as described in paragraph 259, page 95, of the Opium Commission's report, while those in the Benares Agency are made as described in paragraph 254 of the report; the chief point of difference being that in the Behar Agency the opium officer receives from the khattadars lists of the cultivators at the time of settlement, while in the Benares Agency the lambardars only appear before the opium officer and conclude settlements absolutely on their own account for a definite area of poppy cultivation, irrespective of any arrangement as to the number of actual cultivators, whose names are given afterwards, who will engage to carry out the lambardars' engagement.

4. In the Behar Agency the license granted to the khattadar is not, as in the Benares Agency, a license to the khattadar alone, for it gives permission to him and to the assamis of his khatta to sow poppy and produce opium over a certain area, and the kabuliyaat is framed in corresponding language, the names of the assamis and the area to be cultivated by each of them being entered in these documents. But the defect of this arrangement is that, in its most complete form, it is not sufficient to bind the cultivators, as the counterpart engagement is entered into by the khattadar alone, and the assamis are not even present. Further, it appears that in some parts of the Behar Agency the lists of cultivators put in by the khattadars, at the instance of the ziladars, are really altogether erroneous and in fact a sham, for they have been sometimes simple copies of those of former years, showing names of men who have not even got the quantity of lands in their possession for which they are supposed to agree for, or of men who have died or left the village. But after he has received his first advance, the khattadar prepares a paper showing the names of all the cultivators to whom he actually distributes advances, and obtains their signatures in attestation of the receipt of the advance and the engagement to cultivate. This paper, technically called the "Butwara paper," is really the record of the transaction as between the khattadar and the cultivators in his khatta, but a copy of it is submitted to the opium officer, and it forms the basis of the further transactions between the Department and the cultivator.

5. The weak point in the present system, that it fails to secure direct dealings with the cultivators as is contemplated in section 8 of Act XIII. of 1857, was brought to the notice of the Board by Mr. Rivett-Carnac, the Benares agent, in 1879, and the remedy suggested by him consisted in the issue to each cultivator of a ticket in the form given in Appendix A., which he considered was to all practical purposes a miniature license.

6. The ticket, it will be observed, consisted of two parts, A and B, the former being a memorandum of account, and the latter a license to cultivate a certain number of bighas. The side B was to be filled up at the time of measurement, and the side A was practically a reproduction of the ticket which is issued to every cultivator at the time of weighments. It was, in fact, merely an extract of that part of the lambardar's license which, after the names have been entered, refers to the individual cultivator, showing the area he is understood to have engaged to cultivate, and what amount he has received as an advance, and it contained blank columns (to be subsequently filled up) for the

quantity of opium delivered, and the balance payable to him by Government after deducting the advance.

7. For revenue purposes the side A was undoubtedly the more important, but for the purpose of meeting the legal difficulty in reference to section 8 of the Opium Act, the side B, when duly filled up, would have been sufficient; it has, however, been found in practice that the side A only in the form was retained, that apparently being from a departmental point of view the really important feature of the license, and the side B, which represented the actual license to cultivate, was dropped out of use altogether, and the so-called miniature license became but an improved form of the *hatchila* already in use. There was another defect in the form, viz., though the portion A was to be signed by the opium officer, there was no provision made for having the signature of the officer issuing it in the portion B.

8. Thus, as a matter of fact, the miniature license, originally defective, came, after the disappearance of the portion B, to be no license at all, and it in no way met the requirements of section 8 of the Act, while no attempt was made to take a kabuliyat or counterpart engagement from the actual cultivator.

9. It is therefore manifest that in neither agency can the system in force be accepted as satisfactory, and this was brought prominently to notice by the Opium Commission in paragraph 647 of their report. The Commission also suggested certain remedies, all, however, based on the assumption that Act XIII. of 1857 will be repealed, and they considered therefore it was unnecessary to discuss the phraseology of its provisions, or to endeavour to make their suggestions run with it. But it

has been held by Government* that recourse to fresh legislation on this subject would be highly inexpedient, except in the case of the law, as it stands, being found to be absolutely unworkable, and that no improvement of the law in details would counterbalance the mischief of bringing before the Legislature the whole question of the connexion of Government with the cultivation of opium.

10. The object which the conference had in view was therefore to devise, if possible, some means to bring the present practice into accordance with the existing law without entailing any radical change in a system which has so long worked satisfactorily on the whole.

After a full discussion of the subject in all its bearings the proposals that commend themselves to the conference are the following:—

- (1.) That the present lambardari and khattadari system be continued.
- (2.) That a form of cultivator's license be adopted at each agency to be issued by the opium officer.
- (3.) The lambardar in Benares or the khattadar in Behar, when coming in to engage, should bring with him a list of the cultivators who have agreed with him to grow opium.

Either then, or at some future time, as may be found most convenient, when the list of actual cultivators who have received advances is final and complete, licenses to each individual should be prepared and signed by the sub-deputy agent or his assistant, filled up according to the names in the list as complete for distribution to the cultivators engaging. Forms of counterpart are to be issued to the lambardar or khattadar in the same way, and he is to be held responsible for having them filled up and returned to the opium officer either personally or through the *kothee umla*. In some divisions in one or other agency the cultivators come in themselves to engage, and in such cases the issue of the license and execution of the counterpart can then be effected direct. It has been considered that though the cultivators' licenses should be given separately and individually, the requirement of the law as regards the counterpart or kabuliyat will be sufficiently met by having this document executed jointly with the signatures of all the cultivators under each khattadar on one paper, the signatures being duly attested.

- (4.) The form of the license should be short and simple and might follow the portion B in Mr. Rivett-Carnac's miniature license already referred to, and the further details as given in the portion A might be added on the reverse, according to the requirements of each agency as may be deemed desirable, for the interest of the cultivator and the Department.

11. In this way the Conference believe the lambardar or khattadar would act as the agent of the Department in the distribution of the licenses, under which the Government would be dealing direct with the cultivator. It is agreed that it would be most undesirable to sever the connexion with khattadars and lambardars, without whose aid and influence the Department would find it now exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to negotiate engagements with the cultivators. Experience has shown that instances are very rare where the necessity arises for the enforcement of the penal sections of the Act against cultivators, and that what is wanted is only an administrative change to secure the interests of Government in those cases where the cultivators fail to fulfil their engagements. It is not worth while to upset a long existing system to meet isolated cases of infringement of engagements, and it is the opinion of the Conference that the proposals made above will meet all requirements.

In parts of the Benares Agency the cultivators are already getting accustomed to a method more recently introduced, on the lines now recommended, under which their individual responsibilities are being more directly brought home to them in their engagements with the Department, while at the same time the aid and influence of the khattadar and lambardar are retained.

I have, &c.
(Signed) K. G. GUPTA,
Officiating Secretary.

A. Division.
(Koti) (Name of assami).
(Name of village) (Name of lumberdar).
(Map No. of village) (No. of license).

Cultivation.	Quantity of Opium.	Sort.	Value of Opium.	Deduct Amount of Advance.	Net due at Weighment.

Mohurir. Assistant.

APPENDIX A.

B. (Name of assami) (Name of lumberdar).
(Son of) (Name of village).
(Caste) (Name of pergunnah).
(Translation.)
License.

Whereas you have of your own free will and pleasure submitted an application for permission to cultivate poppy, and have agreed to sow beeghas in village , pergunnah , this license is therefore granted to you.

No. 450-16 O., dated Calcutta, the 7th February 1888.

From H. W. CARNDUFF, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 970 B., dated 30th December 1887, in which the Board report the result of the conference held to discuss the question of placing on a legal footing the present system of granting licenses for the cultivation of poppy.

2. With reference to paragraph 10(2) of your letter, I am to request that copies of the forms of licenses and counterparts to be adopted in each agency may be forwarded to Government, and to say that the Legal Remembrancer should be consulted as to the validity of a contract made through the instrumentality of such documents, in the manner proposed by the conference, and as to whether the arrangements suggested in paragraph 10 of your letter is calculated to fulfil the conditions prescribed by Act XIII. of 1857.

APP. 7.

No. 573 B., dated Calcutta, the 18th July 1888.

From K. G. GUPTA, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government Order No. 450-16 O, dated 7th February 1888, calling for copies of the forms of licenses and counterparts for poppy cultivation proposed for adoption in the Behar and Benares Agencies, and stating that the Legal Remembrancer should be consulted as to the validity of a contract made through the instrumentality of such documents, in the manner proposed by the Opium Conference, and as to whether the arrangement suggested in paragraph 10 of the Board's letter No. 970 B., dated 30th December 1887, is calculated to fulfil the conditions prescribed by Act XIII. of 1857.

2. In reply, I am to submit the enclosed sets of draft forms of license and kabuliyat, which have been obtained from the Behar and Benares agents, and to state that the Legal Remembrancer, whom the Board consulted in the matter, considers that the joint kabuliyat submitted by the Benares agent and the license Form A. are substantial in conformity with section 8, Act XIII., 1857, and if duly signed in the manner stated in paragraph 10 of the Board's letter to Government, will satisfy the requirements of that section, and also legally bind the signing cultivators. As regards the Behar forms, Mr. Allen sees no propriety in the words "and jointly" as applied to cultivators. He says "each man agrees separately for himself and no more. He has nothing to do with failures of his fellow villagers."

3. The Benares forms appear to be more appropriate, and should, the Board think, be adopted in both agencies, such slight verbal alterations as may be found necessary being introduced in the forms for the Behar Agency in consultation with the agent.

BENARES OPIUM AGENCY.

License Form A.

Division.

(Koti) (Name of assami.)
 (Name of village) (Name of lumberdar.)
 (Map No. of village) (No. of license.)

Cultivation.	Quantity of Opium.	Sort.	Value of Opium.	Deduct Amount of Advance.	Net due at Weigh-ment.

Mohurir. Assistant.

(Name of assami) (Name of Lumberda
 (Son of) (Name of village.)
 (Caste) (Name of pergunnah.)
 (Translation.)

License.

Whereas you have of your own free will and pleasure submitted an application for permission to cultivate poppy, and have agreed to sow beeghas in village , pergunnah his license is therefore granted to you.

Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, or Assistant
 Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

BEHAR OPIUM AGENCY.

Translation.

License.

To cultivate of poppy on account of 18
 Issued to , son of , of
 village (Signed) Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

BEHAR OPIUM AGENCY.

Translation.

WHEREAS we, the undersigned cultivators and tenants of village , pergunnah district , have received advances from Government through khattadar, our appointed agent, on account of growing poppy, we hereby bind ourselves severally and jointly to cultivate the full quantity of land for which we have received advances, and to deliver the whole of the produce thereof to the opium godown at

This to be signed by each cultivator.

BENARES OPIUM AGENCY.

Proposed Joint Kabuliyat.

WHEREAS we, the lumberdars and cultivators, as mentioned in the appended list, of pergunnah out of our free will agree to grow poppy seeds and execute this kabuliyat for taking a lease under the following terms:—

In the best pieces of land held by us, as mentioned in the appended list, we shall sow poppy seeds, free from other vegetation, in due season and take proper care in weeding and watering the same. If we cultivate less than the land assigned for, the Government will have the power, under section 10 of Act 13 of 1857, to impose on us a fine amounting to three times the sum advanced for the land left uncultivated. When the plants will be in full blossom, the flower petals will be prepared and weighed as usual, and the fixed price will be taken by us. After scratching the capsules and collecting the exudation, we shall deliver the pure opium, under section 11 of the said Act, to the agent at any of the factories directed by him. After making allowances for the standard *sokhtni* (process of heating) under section 7 of the said Act, we shall take the price at the fixed rate per seer of eighty (80) tolas; and at the time of delivery we shall make over to the office all the implements used in preparing opium, to which it might have adhered. It will be weighed and examined under section 12 of the said Act before us and the sub-deputy agent or other officers. We shall accept the conditions of the pottah as proposed by the head or any other Government officer under section 13 of the said Act. The forfeiture of the opium, in case of its being adulterated, will not be objected to. If out of the actual produce of the land engaged and surveyed any quantity of opium is withheld by us, we shall be liable to penalty under section 19 of the said Act. We shall not take the premium or the whole amount without endorsing it on the pottah, or without having the endorsement examined by the *gomasha*. There will be no additions and alterations made in the pottah, otherwise we shall be the losers. If at the time of closing the accounts any default be made on our part, we shall acknowledge the same, and the Government will have the power, under section 16 of the said Act, to realise the same by means of the attachment and sale of all our moveable and immovable properties. We shall not be able to raise any objection to the fulfilment of the terms of this *kabuliyat*. We shall be held responsible for any loss (occasioned by the non-performance of the terms of the *kabuliyat*) as well as the cultivators who, under section 8 of the said Act, have agreed to grow the poppy seeds. Under the aforesaid conditions we execute this kabuliyat or lease, and it may be used against us if necessary.

BENARES OPIUM AGENCY.

This license, together with the pottah in name of , son of , by caste , resident of village , pergunnah district is granted in compliance with his application, forwarded with that of his lumberdar for sowing in the land engaged in the village , pergunnah , district

Dated 188 .

BENARES OPIUM AGENCY.
Proposed License of Cultivators.

APP. I
10 gal.

Village	Number of Pottah (Lease).		Name of the Cultivator.					
Land engaged.	Description of Seeds sown.	Serial Number of License.	Gross Weight of Opium.	Value of Opium.	Advance deducted.	Date of Delivery of the Opium.	Date of Chukti.	Remarks.

BENARES OPIUM AGENCY.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	Remarks.
Name of Cultivator.	Name of Father and Caste.	Place of Residence.	Advance per Beegha.	Amount of Advance.	Date of Payment.	Signature of the Cultivator.	Signature of the Witness.	

BENARES OPIUM AGENCY.

Translation of the Urdu Kabuliyat.

PETITION—KABULIYAT written by LUMBERDAR under Section 8, Act XIII., of 1857.

WHEREAS I, named _____, resident of mouzah _____, son of _____, agree of my own free will to cultivate poppy, therefore I, filing this petition to the *hozoor* for the grant of a pottah, and consenting to the terms mentioned below, declare and give in writing that in the first class land in an area of _____ together with the land which is found in excess at the time of measurement in mouzah _____, I shall sow poppy at the fixed time and will take every care, such as brooming and irrigating, &c., and will not allow any other kind of vegetable to grow on the land. If less land than the lands mentioned above is cultivated, the Government, under section 10, Act XIII., of 1857, can realise a fine, three times the *dadni* (advance) amount paid to me for the portion left uncultivated. When the poppy trees blossom, petals will be prepared in accordance with usage, and will be weighed wherever ordered, and I will take the price at the fixed rate. After lancing the capsules and collecting the milky juice, I would prepare pure opium under section 11 of the above Act, and have the opium weighed wherever ordered through the *amla* of the *kothee*, and will receive the price after its being boiled per standard under section 7, Act XIII., of 1857, at the weight of the seer of 80 tolahs at the rate of Rs. _____ per seer. I would make over to Government

the opium vessels and the rags in which the juice is inspissated, or any other pots or cloths used at the time of lancing and scraping, &c. The test and weighment of opium would be made in my presence and that of the sub-deputy opium agent, or any other officer appointed for the purpose, under section 12 of the aforesaid Act. The classification of *pottah* and premium of the opium fixed by the first assistant or other Government officer should be accepted by me in every case under section 13 of the above Act.

If the opium be confiscated for being impure or on proof of there being an adulteration I shall have no objection to make. If by some trick or otherwise I remove any portion of the opium produced in the land settled with me and measured, I shall be liable to be punished under section 19 of the Act. Without writing on the *pottah* and the attestation of the *gomashta* I would not take the *dadni* (advance) and *chukti* (settled) amount. In the *pottah* there would not be anything erased or struck out or re-written; if there be any, it will be for our loss. After the settlement of accounts, if there be any balance due to Government, I would pay it off to the *gomashta*, on taking a receipt; and in case of there being any arrear, the Government is authorised to realise it by the attachment of my moveable and immoveable property. I shall never make any objection to the execution of the conditions mentioned in this *kabuliyat*. Until the joint *kabuliyat* is not executed this *ekranamah* would remain in force. Therefore I execute those few lines in the shape of petition—*kabuliyat* for the grant of *pottah*, that it might come of use at the time of need.

Dated the _____

Number of License.	Name of Lumberdar and Village.	Land engaged.	Amount of Advance.	Date of Payment.	Initials of Officers.	Gross Weight of Opium.	Value of Opium.	Amount of Chukti.

Executed by _____, resident of mouzah _____, *pergunnah* _____, *zillah* _____, I have received the amount detailed below for the cultivation of poppy for _____, through _____, *gomashta* of *kothee* _____; therefore I give this receipt in writing that it might be of use at the time of need.
For first *dadni*
Dated _____ 18 .

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Mis. Revenue—No. 2602-1500.

From H. W. C. CARNDUFF, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the SECRETARY to THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

SIR, Calcutta, the 8th August 1888.
WITH reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 573 B., dated the 18th July 1888, regarding the question of placing on a legal footing the present system of granting licenses for the cultivation

APP. I.

of poppy. I am directed to say that the Lieutenant-Governor sanctions the adoption in both the Benares and the Behar Opium Agencies of the forms of license and kabulyat submitted by the Benares agent, such slight verbal alterations as may be found necessary being introduced in the forms for the Behar Agency in consultation with the agent. The joint kabulyat and the license (Form A.) should be duly signed in the manner stated in paragraph 10 of your letter No. 970 B.,

dated the 30th December 1887, and the proposals of the Conference, contained in that paragraph, regarding the issue and distribution of the licence and the execution of the counterpart, are approved by Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. C. CARNDUFF,
Under Secretary to the Government
of Bengal.

APP. II.

APPENDIX II.

MEMORANDUM ON THE COMPARATIVE COST OF CULTIVATION OF THE POPPY AND OTHER CROPS.

[Handed in by Mr. A. C. TYTLER.]

A WORKING household of six amongst the true agriculturists is sufficient to entirely cultivate, from first to last, one bigah of poppy, i.e., 20 kuthas of land. The poppy cultivation last year in the Sewan sub-division amounted to bighas 38,696, and the number of ryots who received licenses to cultivate this amounted to 84,651. In this densely populated district there are few households that do not contain three working hands at least, consequently, roughly speaking, 10 kuthas of poppy could be easily cultivated by each household, but if, for argument sake, the total cultivation of bighas 38,696 be equally divided, it gives about nine kuthas per household, or within their working capacity. However, as a fact, some households do more than they can themselves manage, and others less. Also some of the cultivators are high caste Hindus, whose wives and daughters do not work in the fields, and the same remark applies to the upper class of Mohamedans, and in such cases the men of the household are supplemented by hired labour, which is always paid for in grain, excepting during the lancing and gathering, when in cash at the rate of 12 to 14 hands for the rupee.

Under the above circumstances any statement of the cost of cultivation of crops in Sarun must be read more with a view to understanding their laboriousness than as a true guide as to what they cost the cultivators, who, for the most part, do the work themselves, failing which they would be idling their time, as there is no local demand for their labour.

Speaking roughly, about three-fourths of the poppy cultivation is done free of cost in Sarun by each household, and one-quarter with an additional outlay of about from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8 a bigha, and, exceptionally, Rs. 10 a bigha. The men who engage this labour are those who have fine lands, large yields, and generally fairly large holdings, with spare grain in their granaries.

In sugar-cane, similarly, the cultivation is mostly done with home labour, but a heavy deduction has to be made for the cost of pressing and boiling, which, in the Sewan sub-division, is paid for by deduction from the weight or value of the sugar made. If the sugar-cane press, boiling pans, press bullocks, practised stoker, and workmen are all hired it comes to five annas in the rupee, one anna for each item, while there is an equivalent saving for as much as is home supplied.

Lastly, soils differ greatly in Sarun, more so probably than anywhere else in India, because the very dry soil of the South Gangetic districts, the damp soil of Bengal, and a medium description, all exist, adding to the difficulty of estimating the cost of cultivation. For instance, the first requires, for poppy, seven irrigations ;

the second, none; and the third description two, three, or four, as the case may be.

With the above explanation the following statement will show what some crops would cost if only hired labour was employed :—

POPPY per BIGHA in HIGHLY IRRIGATED LAND.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing	5	0	0
Poppy seed	0	5	0
Seven irrigations	5	0	0
Four weedings	4	0	0
Lancing and gathering	6	0	0
Total	20	5	0

SUGAR-CANE in similar SOIL.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing	5	0	0
Spade work before and after planting	9	0	0
Cost of cuttings for planting	4	0	0
Labourers for planting	0	6	0
Nine irrigations	4	4	0
Also 5 annas per rupee for pressing, &c., as described above, say on a crop worth Rs. 80	25	0	0
Total	47	10	0

For WHEAT or BARLEY on similar SOIL.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing	3	0	0
Seed	3	0	0
Two irrigations	2	8	0
One bundle in 20 for the cutting	1	0	0
Also one maund in 20 for treading out	1	0	0
Total	10	8	0

POTATOES in similar SOIL.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ploughing	5	0	0
Seed potatoes	25	0	0
Labourers for planting, irrigating, earthing up, &c.	10	0	0
Total	40	0	0

N.B.—In non-irrigated lands the cost of irrigation must be deducted, and in partially irrigated land lessened by half.

BÁNGAR, OR DRY AND GREATLY IRRIGATED LAND.
Bágar No. 1.—Highest Class.

A.—In Poppy.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
1st year:		
Opium - - - - -	0 16 0	88 0 0
Poppy seed - - - - -	—	12 0 0
Do. flowers - - - - -	0 15 0	3 12 0
Passewa - - - - -	0 1 0	2 8 0
The following rain crop—cheena (kutcha weight). Do. straw - - - - -	20 0 0	25 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight). Do. stalks - - - - -	15 0 0	15 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	149 4 0
2nd year:		
Opium - - - - -	0 8 0	44 0 0
Poppy seed - - - - -	—	8 0 0
Do. flowers - - - - -	0 8 0	2 0 0
Passewa - - - - -	0 0 8	1 4 0
Now no cheena, only Indian corn (kutcha weight). Do. stalks - - - - -	20 0 0	20 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	76 4 0
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	—	225 8 0

B.—The same in Mustard, &c.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
1st year:		
Mustard (or sarson) - - - - -	14 0 0	28 0 0
The following Indian corn crop (kutcha weight). Do. stalks - - - - -	20 0 0	20 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	49 8 0
2nd year:		
The following winter crop—wheat (kutcha weight). Do. bhusa - - - - -	20 0 0	32 0 0
Do. sarson - - - - -	—	3 0 0
Do. - - - - -	—	4 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight). Do. stalks - - - - -	15 0 0	15 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	55 8 0
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	—	105 0 0

C.—The same in Wheat.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
1st year:		
Wheat (kutcha weight) - - - - -	20 0 0	32 0 0
Do. bhusa (chaff) - - - - -	—	3 0 0
Amongst the wheat, sarson, and linseed.	—	6 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight). Do. stalks - - - - -	15 0 0	15 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	57 8 0
2nd year:		
The following winter crop—barley (kutcha weight). Do. bhusa (chaff) - - - - -	15 0 0	15 0 0
Do. - - - - -	—	3 0 0
Amongst the barley, sarson - - - - -	—	4 0 0
The following rain crop—marua (kutcha weight).	20 0 0	20 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	42 0 0
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	—	99 8 0

D.—The same in Barley, &c.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
1st year:		
Barley (kutcha weight) - - - - -	30 0 0	30 0 0
Do. bhusa (chaff) - - - - -	—	4 0 0
Linseed and sarson (mustard) in the same.	—	4 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight). Do. stalks - - - - -	16 0 0	16 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	55 8 0
2nd year:		
The following winter crop—peas (kutcha weight). Do. bhusa (chaff) - - - - -	15 0 0	15 0 0
Do. - - - - -	—	2 0 0
Sarson in the same - - - - -	—	3 0 0
The following rain crop—marua (millet) (kutcha weight).	20 0 0	20 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	40 0 0
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	—	95 8 0

N.B.—Sugar-cane, if planted in such extra fine lands, grows splendidly, but the "goor" will not form and the produce is dark, and can only be sold as the cheaper "shira" or treacle. At the very best, with the succeeding crop of kodo, it would realise Rs. 130, while occupying the land for four fasils, or two years.

Bágar No. 2.—Good Land.

A.—In Poppy.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
1st year:		
Opium - - - - -	0 8 0	44 0 0
Poppy seed - - - - -	—	8 0 0
Do. flowers - - - - -	0 8 0	2 0 0
Passewa - - - - -	0 0 8	1 4 0
The following cheena crop (kutcha weight). Do. straw - - - - -	16 0 0	16 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	72 4 0
2nd year:		
The following poppy crop - - - - -	0 9 0	49 8 0
Do. seed - - - - -	—	9 0 0
Do. flowers - - - - -	0 8 0	2 0 0
Passewa - - - - -	0 0 10	1 9 0
The following—sawuni muruah (kutcha weight).	16 0 0	16 0 0
Total - - - - -	—	78 1 0
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	—	150 5 0

B.—The same in Sugar-cane.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
1st year:		
The first rabi or winter crop is a fallow, the cane being put down in January or February.		
The following rain crop—sugar growing.	50 0 0	80 0 0
2nd year:		
The following rabi also occupied with it, but pressed in January.	15 0 0	10 0 0
The following rain crop—kodo (kutcha weight). Do. straw - - - - -	—	0 8 0
Total for both years - - - - -	—	90 8 0

APP. II.

C.—The same in Wheat.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat (kutcha weight) -	16 0 0	25 8 0
Do. bhusa -	—	3 0 0
Sarson amongst the wheat -	—	4 0 0
Linseed do. -	—	2 0 0
*The following rain crop— Indian corn (kutcha weight).	8 0 0	8 0 0
Do. stalks -	—	1 0 0
Total -	—	43 8 0
2nd year:		
The following winter crop, viz., rahur.	—	10 0 0
Do. cotton -	—	8 0 0
Stalks -	—	1 0 0
Rahur bhusa -	—	1 0 0
Total -	—	20 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	63 8 0

* Such soil produces less Indian corn, and especially when mixed with rahur and cotton, which take up room. Rahur and cotton are put down as a rotation to restore the strength of the land after wheat, which is a very exhausting crop.

Bāngar No. 3.—Fair Land.

A.—In Poppy.	Out turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Opium -	0 5 0	27 8 0
Poppy seed -	—	5 0 0
Do. flowers -	0 4 0	1 0 0
Passewa -	0 0 4	0 10 0
The following rain crop— murua (kutcha weight).	12 0 0	12 0 0
Total -	—	46 2 0
2nd year:		
The following poppy crop at 4 seers and as above.	—	27 8 0
The following cheena and no rain crop (kutcha weight).	15 0 0	15 0 0
Ditto straw -	—	1 0 0
Total -	—	43 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	89 10 0

B.—The same in Barley and Peas, &c.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Barley and peas (kutcha weight)	12 0 0	12 0 0
Do. bhusa -	—	2 0 0
Linseed and sarson amongst the barley.	—	3 0 0
The following rain crop— Indian corn (kutcha weight).	10 0 0	10 0 0
Do. stalks -	—	1 0 0
Total -	—	28 0 0
2nd year:		
The following winter crop— barley and wheat (kutcha weight).	12 0 0	14 0 0
Do. bhusa -	—	2 0 0
Linseed and sarson amongst the barley.	—	3 0 0
The following rain crop— murua (kutcha weight).	15 0 0	15 0 0
Total -	—	34 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	62 0 0

C.—The same in Wheat, &c.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat (kutcha weight) -	10 0 0	16 0 0
Do. bhusa -	—	2 0 0
Sarson and linseed amongst the wheat.	—	3 0 0
The following rain crop— murua (kutcha weight).	12 0 0	12 0 0
Total -	—	33 0 0
2nd year:		
The following rabi—barley, the field being worn out.	10 0 0	10 0 0
Linseed amongst the barley	—	1 0 0
Bhusa -	—	1 0 0
In the second year there can be no crop in the rains; the land <i>must</i> be fallow; both wheat and murua being most exhausting crops.	—	—
Total -	—	12 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	45 0 0

BHÁT, or LANDS which retain MOISTURE and require less IRRIGATION.

Bhát No. 1.—Highest Class.

A.—In Poppy.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Opium -	0 14 0	77 0 0
Poppy seed -	—	10 0 0
Do. flowers -	0 12 0	3 0 0
Passewa -	0 1 0	2 8 0
The following rain crop— cheena-(kutcha weight).	20 0 0	25 0 0
Do. straw.	—	1 8 0
It would then be ploughed and remain fallow till November.	—	—
Total -	—	119 0 0
2nd year:		
Opium -	0 10 0	55 8 0
Poppy seed -	—	10 0 0
Do. flowers -	0 8 0	20 0 0
Passewa -	—	2 0 0
The following rain crop— Indian corn (kutcha weight).	20 0 0	20 0 0
Do. stalks -	—	1 0 0
Total -	—	90 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	209 8 0

B.—The same in Mustard.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Sarson (kutcha weight) -	13 0 0	26 0 0
Castor-oil seeds (do.) -	8 0 0	16 0 0
The following rain crop— Indian corn (kutcha weight).	20 0 0	20 0 0
Do. stalks -	—	2 0 0
Total -	—	64 0 0

B.—The same in Mustard.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
2nd year :	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
The following winter crop—wheat (kutcha weight).	15 0 0	24 0 0
Ditto straw	—	2 0 0
Sarson amongst the wheat	—	4 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).	10 0 0	10 0 0
Do. stalks	—	1 0 0
Total	—	41 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	105 0 0

C.—The same in Wheat.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year :	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat (kutcha weight)	18 0 0	29 0 0
Do. bhusa	—	3 0 0
Linseed and sarson amongst the wheat.	—	6 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).	15 0 0	15 0 0
Do. stalks	—	1 0 0
Total	—	54 0 0
2nd year:		
The following winter crop—barley (kutcha weight).	10 0 0	10 0 0
Do. straw	—	1 8 0
Mustard amongst the barley	—	3 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).	20 0 0	20 0 0
Do. stalks	—	1 0 0
Total	—	35 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	89 8 0

MEMO.—*Sugar-cane* if planted in such extra fine lands grows splendidly, but the "goor" will not form, is dark, and can be sold only as the cheaper "shira" or treacle. At the very best, with the succeeding crop of *kodo*, it would realise Rs. 130, occupying the land for four "fasils," or two years.

Bhát No. 2.—Good Land.

A.—In Poppy.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Opium	0 8 0	44 0 0
Poppy seed	—	8 0 0
Do. flowers	0 8 0	2 0 0
Passewa	0 0 6	1 0 0
The following rain crop—cheena (kutcha weight).	12 0 0	14 0 0
Do. straw	—	0 8 0
Remains a fallow till next poppy crop.	—	—
Total	—	69 8 0
2nd year:		
Opium, &c. as above, at 7 seers	—	50 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).	10 0 0	10 0 0
Do. stalks	—	0 8 0
Total	—	60 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	130 0 0

B.—The same in Sugar-cane.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year :	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
<i>Sugar-cane</i> .—During the first rabi or winter crop the land lies fallow. Cane is planted in January or February. The following rain crop: sugar growing.	—	—
2nd year :		
The following winter also occupied with it, but manufactured in January.	42 0 0	70 0 0
The following rain crop of kodo and tangani (kutcha weight).	12 0 0	8 0 0
Do. straw	—	0 8 0
Total of both years	—	78 8 0

C.—The same in Wheat.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year :	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat (kutcha weight)	12 0 0	19 0 0
Do. straw	—	2 0 0
Mustard and linseed amongst the wheat.	—	3 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).	12 0 0	12 0 0
Do. stalks	—	1 0 0
Total	—	37 0 0
2nd year :		
The following winter crop—peas.	10 0 0	10 0 0
Ditto straw	—	1 0 0
Mustard and sarson amongst the peas.	—	3 0 0
The following—cheena	15 0 0	18 0 0
Do. straw	—	0 8 0
Total	—	32 8 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	69 8 0

Bhát No. 3.—Ordinary Land.

A.—In Poppy.	Out-turn per Bigha.	
	Produce.	Value.
1st year:	Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Opium	0 5 0	27 8 0
Poppy seed	—	5 0 0
Do. flowers	0 4 0	1 0 0
Passewa	0 0 6	1 0 0
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).	10 0 0	10 0 0
Do. stalks	—	0 8 0
Total	—	45 0 0
2nd year:		
The following poppy crop—opium.	0 4 0	23 8 0
Poppy seed	—	4 0 0
Do. flowers	0 4 0	1 0 0
Passewa	0 0 6	1 0 0
The following—cheena (kutcha weight).	15 0 0	15 0 0
Do. straw	—	0 8 0
Total	—	44 0 0
GRAND TOTAL	—	89 0 0

APP. II.

B.—The same in Sugar-cane.		Out-turn per Bigha.	
		Produce.	Value.
1st year:		Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
<i>Sugar-cane</i> .—During the first winter crop the land lies fallow, the cane being put down in January or February.			
The following rain crop—sugar growing.			
2nd year:			
The following winter crop also occupied with it but manufactured in January.			
The following rain crop of kodo (kutcha weight).			
Ditto straw - - -			
Total for both years - -			
C.—The same in Wheat.		Out-turn per Bigha.	
		Produce.	Value.
1st year:		Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat (kutcha weight) - -			
Do. straw - - - - -			
Linseed and mustard amongst the wheat.			
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).			
Do. stalks - - - - -			
Total - - - - -			
2nd year:			
The following winter crop—barley and peas, mixed (kutcha weight).			
Do. straw - - - - -			
Linseed and mustard amongst the barley.			
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).			
Do. stalks - - - - -			
Total - - - - -			
GRAND TOTAL			
A.—In Poppy.		Out-turn per Bigha.	
		Produce.	Value.
1st year:		Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Opium - - - - -			
Poppy seed - - - - -			
Do. flowers - - - - -			
Passowa - - - - -			
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).			
Do. stalks - - - - -			
Total - - - - -			
2nd year:			
The following poppy crop—opium, &c.			
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).			
Do. stalks - - - - -			
Total - - - - -			
GRAND TOTAL			
B.—The same in Wheat, &c.		Out-turn per Bigha.	
		Produce.	Value.
1st year:		Mds. s. c.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat (kutcha weight) - -			
Do. straw - - - - -			
Linseed and mustard amongst the wheat.			
The following rain crop—Indian corn (kutcha weight).			
Do. stalks - - - - -			
Total - - - - -			
2nd year:			
The following winter crop—barley and peas, mixed (kutcha weight).			
Do. straw - - - - -			
Mustard amongst the barley.			
The following rain crop—Indian corn.			
Do. stalks - - - - -			
Total - - - - -			
GRAND TOTAL			

APP. III.

APPENDIX III.

CORRESPONDENCE No. 291C.-787, REGARDING THE USE OF NARCOTINE AS A FEBRIFUGE.

From G. M. GREGORY, Esq., Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, Ghazipur, to J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary Royal Opium Commission.

SIR, Ghazipur, 14th February 1894.
 IN accordance with the request made by the President of the Royal Opium Commission during my public examination at Benares as a witness, that I should submit what papers I could obtain from the opium factory at Ghazipur, regarding the use of narcotine as a febrifuge, and its supply to the Medical Department; I have now the honour to annex the following papers in connexion with the subject for submission to the Commission:—

1. Copy of letter No. 79, dated 15th December 1858, from Dr. Palmer to the Opium Agent.

2. Copy of letter No. 103, dated 13th April 1859, from Dr. Palmer to the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Gorakhpur.
3. Copy of letter No. 169, dated 19th November 1859, from Dr. Palmer to the Opium Agent.
4. Copy of letter No. 192, dated 14th February 1860, from Dr. Palmer to the Director-General of the Medical Department.
5. Appendix to above letter, containing history of cases treated.
6. Extract of letter No. 2, from Dr. Shepherd to the Opium Agent.
7. Extract of letter No. 74, dated 7th October 1875, from Dr. Shepherd to the Opium Agent.
8. Extract of letter No. 175, dated 27th March 1877, from Dr. Shepherd to the Opium Agent.

9. Statement showing the issues of narcotine from the Ghazipur factory to the Medical Department from 1860 to 1894.

The last item of 400lbs. was issued to the Secretary of State, London, in 1883, for sale in the London market, but there was no purchaser for it. The issues to the Medical Department have now ceased, owing to the cheapness of quinine.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. M. GREGORY,
Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

No. 79.

To H. C. HAMILTON, Esq., Benares Opium Agent,
Ghazipur.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward for your orders the Annual Statement of confiscated opium, and to make the following report on the uses to which that of the former seasons has been applied, together with a statement of some important experiments which are still being carried on in the laboratory of this agency on the manufacture of anarcotine.

On my arrival here in November 1857, there was 18 mds. 12 seers 2 ch. of confiscated opium in store of season 1856-57; from this 8 seers 10 ch. of muriate of morphia has been made; its purification is not yet completed; as soon as it is I shall have the honour of reporting to you, but in the meantime I am anxious to call your attention to some experiments which are still being carried on in this laboratory, and in the hospitals round about, which appears to me to be of greater importance than the mere preparation of morphia, as this latter is only a saving of money to Government, while the former appears to give a remedy scarcely inferior to quinine in the treatment of the fevers and some other of the most severe diseases of this country, to solve that great difficulty, "How a substitute for quinine is to be found," in case all future attempts to introduce the cinchonas or quinine-giving trees in this country fail, and in case those trees should die out in their own country; and further it appears to justify that old and almost universal belief, that wherever a severe disease is common there the remedy for that disease exists if man can find it out.

When morphia has been extracted from opium it has been the custom to throw the dregs away; those dregs contained several of the proximate principles of opium which have been separated from time to time by chemists, but only one of these, called anarcotine or narcotine, has been used in medicine, and this only to a very limited extent. Some years ago Sir W. B. O'Shaughnessy made some quantities of the alkaloid in question, distributed it to some of the most eminent surgeons and assistant surgeons on the Bengal establishment, as a remedy against the common fevers of this country; it was tried and reported upon favourably by all who had used it. Dr. O'Shaughnessy published these experiments in England; the discovery of a substitute for quinine excited much interest there, but the actual value of the remedy could not well be tested because cases of the same class of diseases were not very common.

In India, however, the remedy had also fallen into disuse; on asking the question why, it appeared to me that no regular establishment for its manufacture had ever been formed, and its disuse was a necessary consequence of the departure from this country of Dr. O'Shaughnessy; whether this were the correct reason or not, it appeared to me a subject of such importance that further experiments were urgently called for. When the morphia had been prepared from the confiscated opium of season 1856-57, and the dregs were about to be thrown away, I felt that these dregs contained a considerable portion of anarcotine, and was anxious to extract some of it in order to put its medicinal properties to the test. When the first portion was extracted Dr. Gibbon was here in medical charge of the 65th N.I.; he tried it in all the fevers in his hospital and reported most favourably upon it. In my own practice it appeared highly successful, scarcely inferior to quinine as a remedy in some cases of fever, while in some other cases it was decidedly superior. In the Gaol Hospital and Civil Station only half the usual quantity of quinine has been used during the past year, while a much larger number of fever cases has been treated than in previous years.

In the Ghazipur Charitable Dispensary anarcotine has been used most extensively, and with uniformly favourable results. Small quantities have been distributed from time to time to surgeons proceeding up and down the river in charge of sick, but in consequence of the unsettled state of the country no record of these has been obtained.

In all about one seer of anarcotine has been prepared during the past twelve months, and most of it has been used in the treatment of fevers at this station.

The result of its use has been so highly satisfactory that I am anxious to call your attention to such an important subject, and to solicit permission to extract the whole of anarcotine, as well as the morphia, from the opium confiscated this season. As we have only 17 mds. 32 seers 3 ch. this season, it is possible that it does not contain more than six or eight seers of anarcotine. In case permission is granted to extract as much of this as it is possible to obtain, it appears to me that two things remain to be done. First, experiments have to be made upon the most economical mode of separating anarcotine on a large scale. Secondly, the anarcotine made has to be distributed so as to obtain the most carefully observed results as to its medicinal properties.

I have the honour of further communication with you upon both these subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. J. PALMER,
16th December 1858. 1st Assistant.

No. 103.

To G. OSBORNE, Esq., Sub-Deputy Opium Agent,
Gorakhpur.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to transmit by this day's post one ounce of *hydrochlorate of anarcotine* as a remedy against fever. I am very anxious to know how it answers with the kind of fever which prevails at Gorakhpur, and shall be much obliged if you will let me know the result of your trial.

Directions for use.—A dose of purgative medicine should always be first administered, then the anarcotine may be given in doses of *one gram* every six, four, or two hours according to the virulence of the fever. It may be taken in a little water.

Precautions.—As it is a very powerful remedy, it must be used with great care. If the dose is too large it causes giddiness and vomiting. Whenever these occur it should be given in smaller doses. Whenever the fever does not abate quickly the dose should be increased gradually until the giddiness or vomiting comes on.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. J. PALMER,
1st Assistant.

No. 169.

To H. C. HAMILTON, Esq., Benares Opium Agent,
Ghazipur,

November 15, 1859.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to report the despatch, under care of Assay Superintendent, Mr. H. Myles, of fifteen and a half chitaks of hydrochlorate of morphia, made from the confiscated opium of season 1857-8, to the address of Dr. Grant, Apothecary-General, also of one seer five chitaks of anarcotine, made from part of the same confiscated opium to Dr. J. Forsyth, Director-General of the Medical Department, under care of the Apothecary-General.

2. The Director-General in his letter, No. 2,760, dated 12th March 1859, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, having pointed out the necessity of estimating the cost of manufacturing both morphia and anarcotine at this agency, as soon as the "weightments" of past season were over, careful experiments were commenced in this laboratory for the solution of that question. The results are appended to this letter in two tables, from which it appears that we can supply a large proportion of the morphia required by Government at 8 annas and 4 pies per oz.

3. Dr. Forsyth in the letter above alluded to mentions the quantity of the salts of morphia annually required by

. APP. III.

Government, and refers to a former recommendation of the Apothecary-General, that the whole of this quantity should be supplied from the Behar and Benares Agencies. The quantity we shall be able to supply from this agency will, of course, vary with the quantity and quality of the opium confiscated. The morphia sent down this year was the product of 17 maunds 32 seers of confiscated opium, but in the season just ended only 10 maunds 9 seers of opium were confiscated, and the produce of morphia will be proportionately diminished. With reference to the quality of the drug, I would observe that it can be purified here to any degree the Apothecary-General may think fit; the drug I have sent down this year appears to me to be of fair average commercial purity, but I shall be glad to have the opinion of the Apothecary-General on this point to guide me in future.

4. The actual amount of anarcotine made in the past year has fallen far short of the amount estimated in my letter, No. 79, dated 15th December 1858.

A large proportion of anarcotine is lost in our present method of preparing morphia, or rather it is so mixed up with the resin of opium, that in the present state of our knowledge it would be very expensive to extract it; this is one cause of the diminution, secondly, a number of experiments were made to extract anarcotine without the aid of spirit; and in trying which form of the alkaloid could be prepared most economically this was another cause of the diminution.

At first much difficulty was found in making the anarcotine pure, and up to the present time there is a difficulty in extracting the whole of it. The specimen sent down to the Director-General is a good sample both as to the quality and quantity we are able to obtain from a given amount of confiscated opium.

Under the circumstances I am afraid it will be impossible to make enough to supply dispensaries, and I would suggest that it be given out on special indent only, and that medical officers using it should be required to keep records of its therapeutic effects.

It has been very extensively used here as a remedy in fevers, especially during the late severe visitation, from which so large a proportion of the population has suffered; it appears to me hardly inferior to quinine in its power of arresting the attack of fever; indeed, in many cases it appears superior, and as the dose required is rather smaller than that of quinine, I estimate its commercial value as at least equal to that of that drug.

5. I am drawing up an exclusively medical report on the therapeutic effects of anarcotine, as observed here during the last two years, which I shall have the honour of forwarding to the Director-General as soon as it is completed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. J. PALMER,
1st Assistant and Opium
Examiner.

No. 192.

To J. FORSYTH, Esq., Director-General Medical
Department.

Calcutta,

February 14, 1860.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to make the following report on the use of narcotine or anarcotine as an anti-periodic during the time I was Civil Assistant Surgeon at Ghazipur.

From November 6th, 1857, to the end of September 1859 one hundred and eighty-eight cases of malarious fever were admitted into the Gaol Hospital. From the formation of the Ghazipur military police in July 1858 to the end of September 1859, three hundred and fifty-eight cases of fever were admitted into the Police Hospital, making a total of 546 cases, all of which were treated with anarcotine. Of the 188 admitted in the Gaol Hospital, 184 were cured and 4 died.

Of the 358 admitted in the Police Hospital, 357 were cured and 1 died.

The plan of treatment adopted in all cases was uniformly simple. When a patient was admitted, complaining of any one of the forms of malarious fever, a purgative was first administered. In case the fever was not present at the time of admission, the patient was allowed to remain without more medicine until the attack came on, and was examined. As soon as it was

ascertained beyond a doubt that the patient was suffering from malarious fever anarcotine was given in one, two, or three grain doses, either alone or dissolved in a little dilute sulphuric acid and water, three or more times a day in proportion to the severity of the attack. The first expected return of the paroxysm after the medicine was commenced, usually came on, sometimes as if no medicine had been taken, generally with less severity than before. The second expected return seldom came, the paroxysm had been arrested. So constantly was this the case that I would scarcely refrain from assuring the patient in every case that the second return of the paroxysm would never come.

Of this class of cases I have transcribed the notes of six cases, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in the Appendix. Those six cases fairly represent the effect of anarcotine as an anti-periodic in seventy per cent. of all the cases treated by me.

There is another class of cases where the effect is not so quick; it causes, but not immediately as in the above. Cases 7, 8, 9, and 10 in the Appendix are fair representations of this class. The effect of the medicine is first seen by postponing the attack. While no medicines are being given it is not uncommon to see each succeeding paroxysm commence a little earlier, continue a little longer, and with more severity than the former ones. When these three signs are reversed under the influence of the medicine, a rapid cure may be predicted. The four cases, viz., Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, are a fair representation of 20 per cent. of all the cases treated by me.

The remaining 10 per cent. may be said to form a third class, in which anarcotine in the form and doses at present given by me does not appear to have any curative effect. A specimen is given in Case 11. This class contrasts so strongly with the former two that I have been constantly led to believe there must be some difference in the character of the fever. I have, however, up to the present time sought in vain for any pathognomonic symptom by which they may be distinguished before the treatment is commenced. In this 10 per cent. of all cases other anti-periodics were given. The necessity for resorting to them was generally assumed when each succeeding paroxysm of fever commenced earlier and lasted longer, or come with more violence.

The proportion of deaths which occurred in the Gaol was large compared with those in the Police Hospital. The policemen were all in the prime of life while the prisoners were frequently old and diseased. Of the four fatal cases amongst the prisoners, two were admitted in a dying state, and a third was an enfeebled old man. The four fatal cases are noted in the margin from the Gaol Hospital records.

Janki Roy, aged 60, admitted December 13th, 1857, remitt. fever, died 16th December 1857.

Chonee, aged 40, admitted September 1st, 1858, and died the next day.

Gouree Roy, aged 60, admitted March 28th, 1858, died from anæmia 7th May.

Jhutina, aged 32, admitted March 3rd, 1858, died 12th March.

2. In addition to the above 546 cases, all of which are recorded in the usual official manner, a large number of fever patients have come under my treatment in the following ways:—

In the ordinary medical practice of a large civil station;

At the Ghazipur Charitable Dispensary;

In the hospital of the 2nd Sikh Infantry, which was under my charge from July to October 1858; and

In the hospitals of the 4th Madras Light Cavalry and of the regiment of irregular cavalry, called the Benares Horse, both of which were under my medical charge from the end of September to the end of November 1858.

In all cases the results were exactly similar to those reported above, and the total number treated falls little short of 1,000.

3. The above I think contains satisfactory evidence of the power of anarcotine to cure fevers. The question whether it is equal to quinine as an anti-periodic cannot be decided by such a limited number of experiments as have been hitherto made, but sufficient I trust has been done to show the desirability of further knowledge on such an important subject. There are cases where its efficacy appears to be decidedly superior to quinine, viz., where there is an intolerance of quinine and where quinine has been given without any effect for a long time. I will mention two in illustration which have come under my observation. 1. A lady had been

subject to periodical headache; it came every day after noon. The smallest dose of quinine caused such a ringing in her ears and deafness that she said "the remedy was worse than the disease." One grain of anarcotine given three times a day caused no deafness, but cured the headache in three days. The other was a pale chlorotic girl aged 16. She had had a very severe attack of fever six months before, from which time she had never regained her health and strength; slight attacks of fever returned from time to time, for which she took quinine, but it had, to use her expression, "lost its effects." This patient was perfectly cured after taking anarcotine for a few weeks.

It may be that there are fevers which are more amenable to anarcotine, and others which yield more readily to quinine. It may be that larger doses of anarcotine could cure a greater number of cases than the above small doses; these and many other questions in the treatment of periodic diseases appear to be opened up by the above facts, and will, I hope, be solved when a sufficient number of cases have been recorded by different medical men in various parts of the country.

4. So long as there is an unlimited supply of quinine it does not appear probable that anarcotine will ever supersede it. The former enjoys an established reputation, the latter has fallen into disuse partly because it is so little known, and partly perhaps from an uncertainty about its relative cost.

All that has been used here during the past two years has been made from refuse opium, which as opium was of no value whatever, so that its cost has only been that of manufacture. But even if it should cost more per ounce than quinine when made from good opium it appears to be effectual in much smaller doses. Again quinine may at any time become very much scarcer and dearer than at present; in such a case it is satisfactory to know that we have an indigenous product which will cure the fevers of the country, almost, if not quite, as rapidly and certainly as quinine.

5. Among the Ghazipur Police there are many natives of the Nepaul hills who had never lived in the plains before 1848. A large proportion of these men suffered from fever and were very subject to relapse. A phenomenon occurred which appears to bear upon the question of the relation of dysentery to the malarious fevers. Of every five patients re-admitted into hospital within eight or ten days after they had been discharged cured two were suffering from dysentery, while the other three had fever again. Both diseases appeared to have returned under exactly similar circumstances, but they were always separate; if a patient had fever he seldom had dysentery and *vice versa*. These cases came before me so constantly that I felt compelled to assume that the same malarious poison was the origin and cause of both diseases, and I subjected them to the same treatment.

Castor oil was first given, then a pill made of two grains of anarcotine and a half or one grain of opium every four or six hours. From July 1858 to end of September 1859, 44 cases of dysentery, and some of them very severe ones, were treated in this way in the Police Hospital.

All were cured; there was not one death. This result appeared so wonderful that the same treatment was applied to the dysentery patients in the Gaol Hospital. Out of 39 cases admitted into the Gaol Hospital during the same period 15 died, or 38 per cent. of deaths to be treated. The number of dysentery cases admitted into the Gaol Hospital in the seven months before the anarcotine treatment was tried was 21, of which six died, or 28 per cent. of deaths to be treated. These figures tend to invalidate the supposition that anarcotine is a specific in dysentery, but the experiment is on both sides on too limited a scale to prove anything, and the great fact that 44 cases of dysentery were cured without one fatal result still remains demanding further investigation into the therapeutic action of anarcotine in this disease. Is there a form of dysentery which may be cured by anarcotine, and, if so, how may it be known from other forms?

6. There is another class of cases in which anarcotine has been given with great benefit, viz., hemecrania and periodic headaches; these diseases are in most cases rapidly cured by two-grain doses given three to six times a day according to the severity of the disease.

7. I regret that my opportunities of submitting this valuable remedy to further experiment are now so limited, but am also glad to be able to inform you that Dr. Garden, the present Civil Surgeon, has continued to use it extensively in both the Gaol and Police Hospitals ever since his arrival here in October 1859, and as

fever has raged with fearful and fatal violence at this station and in all the country round about ever since his arrival, his experience of its therapeutic effect will be especially valuable.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. J. PALMER,
Assistant Surgeon,
First Assistant and Opium Examiner,
Benares Opium Agency.

APP. III.
Anarcotine.

APPENDIX.

Case 1.—An European aged 55, who had lived many years in near Ghazipur called me in to see him at 2 p.m. on 27th of September when he was suffering from great heat of the body, skin dry and harsh, burning pain in the head, great thirst, urine high coloured. P. 98 says he has been in this condition since noon, and that between nine and ten o'clock this morning he was attacked with a shivering fit, during which his whole body was shaken severely and he could not feel warm though he was covered with a great amount of warm clothing and had hot water bottles to his feet and stomach. The great heat, thirst, and febrile symptoms generally abated after 3 o'clock and by 5.30 p.m. they had all passed away with the exception of the harsh dry skin, which continued.

History.—He usually enjoys good health but has had an attack similar to the present one every other day for the last ten days, but it has every day increased slightly in duration and force. At 6 o'clock p.m. on the 27th his skin continued harsh and dry but he said this was usual and that he had not perspired for the last week. He had himself taken a dose of purgative medicine a day or two before, so I immediately administered one grain of anarcotine. In 20 minutes from this time he felt a warm glow over the whole of the surface of his body, but especially about his hands and feet, the harsh feel had disappeared, the skin now felt soft and was presently covered with minute drops of perspiration which gradually increased until his whole body was bathed. Continue the powder every four hours.

On the 29th the fever returned very slightly. On the 1st October it did not come at all and the medicine was discontinued, contrary to my direction. About a week after this time I was again called in to see the same patient suffering from a return of the fever. He had travelled to an indigo factory ten miles away to pack up some indigo. During the time he was there he performed an unusual amount of labour for many hours and was attacked with a shivering on the spot about four o'clock in the afternoon. Of the 28 natives who were at work there with him on that day six were attacked with fever. The factory was on the borders of the Ganges river and the flood of the rainy season had just subsided. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that he should have caught fever again. This attack yielded to the influence of anarcotine exactly as the former one had done.

Case 2.—Gumbheer Bhitiskotee, Goorkha, aged 22, admitted into hospital at 8 a.m. February 6th, 1859.

Has suffered for the last three or four days from quotidian ague which commences at midnight and continues till the next morning. Ordered a purgative.

February 7th, 7 a.m. Bowels had been well moved yesterday. The fever had been examined in the night by the native doctors, and the man's body was still covered with profuse perspiration as an evidence that he was really suffering from fever. Ordered anarcotine 1½ grains every four hours.

8th. Had fever last night but it was less severe than before.

9th. Had no fever last night.

10th. Discharged cured.

Case 3.—Jus Beer, Goorka, aged 28; admitted into hospital on 22nd May; has been suffering from remittent fever for the last two days.

22nd. Ordered purgative to be followed by anarcotine two grains three times a day.

February 23rd. The fever has continued with slight variation in degree throughout the whole day and night.

24th. The fever has been very slight since yesterday.

26th. The fever scarcely perceptible.

27th. Fever quite gone.

30th. Discharged cured.

Case 4.—Mohan Sing, aged 26 years, a policeman, native of Ghazipur, was admitted into hospital.

APP. III.

27th October 1858. Suffering from the following symptoms:—Skin hot and dry; pulse frequent, jerking, and easily compressible; urine high coloured; thirst; no appetite; tongue coated with brown fur; headache, and great lassitude. Has suffered from these symptoms for the last six or seven days.

Ordered purgative powder.

Anarcotine, two grains three times a day, to be commenced after the operation of the purgative.

28th October. Has been well purged. Took one dose of the anarcotine yesterday. Fever continued the whole day. He feels chilled from time to time; never has actual shivering. His skin continues dry.

29th October. Fever continues, but all the symptoms are milder.

30th October. Complains of nausea after taking the medicine yesterday, and says he perspired all night.

31st October. Had no fever during the day yesterday.

3rd November. Discharged cured.

Case 5.—Gujraj Sing, policeman, native of Ghazipur.

Admitted into hospital December 17th, 1858. Says he was attacked with ague every day at noon since the 15th instant, that it lasts about half an hour, after which he becomes very hot. This continues till five or six o'clock, when he begins to perspire freely, and after eight or nine p.m. he feels quite well again.

Ordered a purgative.

18th December. Bowels were moved yesterday freely. Fever came on as usual.

Ordered anarcotine, 2 grs.

„ dil. sulph. acid, 5 drops.

„ water, an oz. To be taken three times a day.

19th December. Fever came on slightly.

20th December. No fever yesterday.

21st and 22nd December. Has had no fever.

23rd December. Had fever again yesterday. Says he had not omitted the medicine, but I suspect he had not taken it. Ordered the medicine to be given carefully.

24th December. No fever yesterday.

27th December. Discharged cured.

Case 6.—A robust male European, aged 45, who had lived in Ghazipur for many years, applied to me for medical aid on the 15th October at one o'clock p.m. He was then in a burning heat; his whole body was covered with a papular eruption of a lenticular shape and a dusky red colour. These papules were distinct and varied in size from one line to one-eighth of an inch in diameter. His whole body was burning and itching. He could scarcely refrain from tearing his hands and face with his finger-nails. His pulse at this time was 88, but as I sat and watched him it uniformly increased in frequency until three o'clock p.m., when it beat 125 per minute. At the same time the skin became hotter and dryer, the papules increased in size, number, and depth of colour; those which measured only a line in diameter had increased gradually and uniformly up to nearly a quarter of an inch, new papules had appeared, faint coloured and small as at first, but the whole number had by this time so much increased that they had run into each other until the whole body was a dusky red colour, and presented a bloated appearance; the lips were much swollen, and the tongue had by three o'clock become quite dry. From this time (three p.m.) all these symptoms gradually disappeared, and by six o'clock p.m. the papules had all disappeared, the skin was still harsh and dry, and he still complained of thirst, but the pulse had gradually decreased to 80, and his skin was gradually becoming moist.

History of the disease. His health generally very good a week ago. On the 7th October he felt a slight burning on his face and the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet, but took no notice of it. Again on the 9th and 11th he had similar attacks. The last time (on the 11th) he noticed the eruption on his hands and face as to-day, but it was very slight. On the 13th, at noon, he had a slight shivering fit, followed by gradually increasing heat, thirst, itching, and eruption, exactly as to-day, but not so severe. The attack commenced to-day with shivering, but the cold stage lasted a very short time.

He was ordered a dose of blue pill and colocynth at bedtime, to be followed by a dose of castor-oil on the morning of the 6th.

15th October. His purgative is operating freely. He is free from fever to-day.

Ordered anarcotine, two grains, to be taken every four hours.

17th October. Has taken the anarcotine regularly since four p.m. Yesterday at eleven o'clock p.m. slight shivering came on, which was followed by all the symptoms noted on the 15th, every one exaggerated in degree. The pulse rose to 130, and the fever did not attain its maximum weight until four o'clock. After seven o'clock p.m. profuse perspiration occurred. Continue anarcotine.

18th October. Lives on slop diet. Feels quite well, with the exception of weakness and disinclination for food. Continue the anarcotine.

19th October. Between one and two o'clock the body became slightly warm, and one or two papules appeared on the face, but all passed away in less than an hour. Continue the medicine.

1st November. No symptom of fever appeared to-day.

2nd and 3rd November. Is quite well.

To leave off medicine gradually.

Remarks on case. In the above case the eruption, the swelling of the lips, and the intolerable itching of the hands, feet, and face are uncommon symptoms, but they were also manifestly connected with the fever poison, increasing and decreasing simultaneously with the ordinary signs of an attack of intermittent fever that their occurrence in this case appears to throw light on the proper treatment of a class of cases by no means uncommon in this country. A native applies to a medical man, complaining of occasional burning in the palms of his hands and soles of his feet, or sometimes of constant perspiration from the same parts. I have often been puzzled to know how to treat these cases. Are they amenable to anti-periodic remedies, as quinine or anarcotine? I have only had one case of the kind since the above case of fever was seen. It was a case of constant sweating of the hands. Anarcotine relieved the symptoms very much while it was being taken, but did not appear to cure. Although this case was not quite favourable, still I hope the question is one of sufficient interest to induce other practitioners to seek for the true solution of it.

Case 7.—Pooran Joysee, a Goorkha Brahmin, aged 18, admitted into hospital.

October 27th, 1858. Says he has had an attack of fever every night for the last five nights.

Ordered a dose of castor-oil.

23rd October. His bowels were well acted upon yesterday. In the evening about five o'clock his body became very hot, and his heat continued with headache, thirst, and great restlessness until three or four o'clock this morning, attaining its maximum about midnight. The attack did not commence with shivering, nor did it terminate with the usual sweating. His skin continues dry and harsh all day.

Ordered anarcotine, one grain, to be taken three times a day.

24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th October. On all these days it is reported that the fever has not diminished in any degree. He was therefore ordered to take the following draught three times a day:—

Anarcotine, 2 grains.

Dil. sulph. acid, 10 drops.

Water, 1 oz. Mix.

29th October. Says the fever was less severe last night.

30th October. The fever still less severe.

31st October. Had no fever last night.

3rd November. No fever, but he does not regain his strength. Ordered quinine mixture as a tonic.

3rd December. Discharged cured.

Case 8.—Rambux Tewary, aged 35, policeman. August 2nd admitted into hospital suffering from tertian ague. The fit has just passed it off. Says the fever comes every second day; begins at noon with shivering, which continues three or four hours; his body then becomes burning hot, and towards the morning his body begins to perspire, after which he feels well.

Ordered a purgative.

3rd August. Bowels well opened yesterday.

4th August. The ague commenced as usual at four p.m. yesterday, and continued till this morning.

Ordered anarcotine mixture, to be taken three times a day.

6th August. Fever returned last night.

8th August. Continue the mixture.

10th August. Continue.

12th August. The fever well; severe last night.

14th August. Had no fever yesterday. Continued the medicine till the 23rd, when he was discharged cured.

Case 9.—Buddhibul Khedroo, aged 10, policeman. Admitted into hospital on the 2nd February 1859.

He has been suffering from ague every day for the last three days. It commences in the afternoon, and continues all night.

Ordered a purgative.

3rd February. The ague came on at three p.m. yesterday.

The bowels had been well opened.

Ordered the following draught, to be taken three times a day:—

Anarcotine, 2 grains.

Dil. sulph. acid, 10 drops.

Water, 1 oz. Mix.

4th February. The fever came as usual yesterday.

5th February. Fever came yesterday.

6th February. Fever came again.

7th February. Reports that the fever yesterday was less severe.

8th February. No fever yesterday.

9th February. Discharged cured.

Case 10.—Knaba Beer, Goorkha, aged 18, admitted in to the hospital on the 11th October 1858, complaining of fever, which comes on every afternoon and continues all night. His face, lips, and tongue are all very pale. He is very weak, and his spleen is seen and felt extending nearly as far forward as the umbilicus.

Ordered a purgative: a blister over the spleen.

12th October. The usual attack of fever came on yesterday, passing through the regular stages of shivering, hot and dry skin, with thirst and headache, succeeded by profuse perspiration.

Ordered 2 grains of anarcotine, to be taken three times a day.

13th, 14th, and 15th October. Same report daily. The fever had not abated, but on the 16th the attack yesterday was less severe.

17th October. Had no fever yesterday. The spleen is softer but not smaller than it was.

Ordered the following draught, to be taken three times a day:—

Anarcotine, 2 grains.

Sulphate of iron, 1 grain.

Dil. sulph. acid, 5 drops.

Water, 1 oz. Mix.

Another blister to be applied to the left hypochondrium. From this time his health improved regularly, and the spleen had shrunk up under the ribs, where it could be felt, a little larger than its natural size.

29th November. Discharged cured.

Case 11.———, aged 25, called me in on the 18th December, 1859, at four o'clock p.m. She was then shivering and covered up with warm clothing, sitting before a fire. The attack had just commenced. After an hour the cold stage passed away, and the body became gradually hot, the mouth dry, and the pulse rose gradually from 74 to 98 beats in a minute. After two hours this dryness was succeeded by profuse perspiration, and all the abnormal symptoms passed away. She remembered feeling a coldness for the first time on the 14th inst., and on the 16th she became very cold at four or five o'clock p.m., but had no decided shivering until to-day.

Ordered castor-oil, a tablespoonful to be taken to-morrow morning, to be followed by 2 grains of anarcotine every two hours.

19th December. The bowels have been freely moved. Continue the anarcotine.

20th December, 4 p.m. The ague came again to-day with about the same force as on the 18th.

Continue the powder.

22nd December. The fever came a little earlier to-day, and continued longer.

Continue the powder.

24th December. The fever commenced at two o'clock to-day, and continued until 10 p.m.

Quinine would now have been given but that at the outset of the case the patient warned me that I was on no account to give her quinine, for she had once taken it, and it had made her almost mad.

Ordered anarcotine, 3 grains, to be taken every two hours.

26th December. The fever returned to-day with still greater severity. As the constitution was now suffering from the repeated attacks of the fever, and as it was evident the anarcotine did not check it, but, on the contrary, it was increasing in violence, I ordered to omit the anarcotine, and to give 10 grains of quinine as soon as the sweating stage commenced.

27th October. The quinine was given at four o'clock this morning, and no distressing head symptoms having followed, the dose was repeated at noon and again at night.

28th October. At seven o'clock a.m. 10 grains of quinine was given, and repeated again at ten o'clock. Ordered 10 grains of quinine to be taken three times to-morrow and twice on the 30th before noon.

30th October. No fever came to-day.

From this time the doses of quinine were gradually reduced, and the patient rapidly recovered her health and strength.

APP. III.
Narcotine.

No. 2.

ON THE PREPARATION OF NARCOTINE AND MORPHIA.

1. Dr. Palmer, principal assistant, commenced the manufacture of narcotine and morphia from confiscated opium. Opium which is only slightly adulterated, or somewhat largely with additions of articles which can be separated in the preparation of Lewah, is not confiscated, but passed for Lewah under a fine proportionate to the nature and extent of the adulterations.

2. The confiscated opium of seasons 1858-59 and 1859-60 was operated on for the extraction of morphia and narcotine. Its quality is not stated, but from it 182 lbs of morphia and 21 lbs. 14 ozs. of narcotine were obtained. The value of these alkaloids was at English rates, according to Dr. Palmer, Rs. 18,933, while the expense of preparing them was only Rs. 1,737, showing a profit of Rs. 17,196.

3. Since 1865 neither morphia nor narcotine have been manufactured at this agency, and the confiscated opium of three years has been destroyed, amounting to 80 maunds. Hence a great loss of two very valuable alkaloids has taken place.

*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*

7. The demand for narcotine is always considerable in India, on account of its febrifuge properties, and, as it is used in doses ten times larger than those of morphia, the consumption is much greater.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) T. W. SHEPPARD,
Principal Assistant B.O.A.

No. 74.

From the PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT, Benares Opium Agency, to the BENARES OPIUM AGENT.—Dated 7th October 1875.

SIR,
I HAVE the honour to submit the following remarks on the preparation of morphia and narcotine at the Benares Opium Agency Factory.

*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*

17. Formerly there was but a very small demand for this alkaloid. During the last 14 or 15 years it has come to be used, and has been of late years much employed as a febrifuge for malarious fevers* between 1871-72 and 1874-75. Upwards of 1 cwt. per annum

* In the three Presidencies.

APP. III.

on an average has been supplied to the three of morphia, hydrochlorate, and narcotine at this Presidencies. agency factory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. W. SHEPPARD,
Principal Assistant B.O.A.

* * * * *

No. 175.

From the PRINCIPAL ASSISTANT, Benares Opium Agency,
to the BENARES OPIUM AGENT.—Dated Ghazipur,
the 27th March 1877.

The demand for narcotine has been steady in 1875-76,
142 lbs. and in 1876-77 137 lbs.
Narcotine. were issued. These quantities
show a slight increase over the
issues of 1873-74 and 1874-75. There are 22 lbs. 7 ozs.
in stock.

SIR, IN a letter, No. 74A, 7th October 1875, I had
the honour to submit some remarks on the preparation

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. W. SHEPPARD,
Principal Assistant B.O.A.

STATEMENT showing the QUANTITY of NARCOTINE issued to the MEDICAL DEPARTMENT before 1878.

Date.	Order Number.	To whom supplied.	Quantity supplied.
1	2	3	4
4th April 1860	2155 F.	Sub-deputy opium agent, Gorakhpur	lbs. oz. d. 0 2 0
13th June 1860	2267 F.	Superintending surgeon of Benares Circle	1 0 0
20th August 1860	2339 F.	Medical store-keeper, Allahabad	3 0 0
31st August 1860	2347 F.	Medical-in-charge, Ghazipur Factory	0 4 0
12th October 1860	2373 F.	Medical store-keeper, Umballa	2 0 0
31st October 1860	2389 F.	" " Saugor	1 0 0
"	"	" " Sialkot	1 0 0
2nd November 1860	2399 F.	Assistant-surgeon (civil), Ghazipur	0 4 0
26th July 1861	2723 F.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. each to the Medical Store Department of Saugor, Umballa, Sialkot, and Allahabad.	2 0 0
17th January 1863	3151 F.	Medical store-keeper, Calcutta	10 0 0
23rd April 1863	3271 F.	Principal medical store-keeper, Calcutta	27 0 0
"	"	Medical store-keeper, Allahabad	3 0 0
"	"	" " Saugor	2 0 0
"	"	" " Umballa	4 0 0
"	"	" " Sialkot	4 0 0
11th June 1863	3321 F.	Presidency Medical Store Department as per Board's letter, No. 262, dated 8th June 1863.	20 0 0
11th November 1863	3469 F.	Medical store-keeper, Sealkot, and the remaining. <i>Vide</i> First Assistant's Memo., No. 457, dated 10th November 1863, to Calcutta.	28 0 0
8th August 1864	3746 F.	Medical store-keeper, Sialkot	8 0 0
"	"	" " Umballa	6 0 0
"	"	" " Allahabad	6 0 0
"	"	" " Saugor	4 0 0
19th January 1867	393 G.	" " Sialkot	1 0 0
19th May 1869	1011 G.	" " " "	3 0 0
13th April 1870	1280 G.	" " Allahabad	1 6 0
1st August 1871	1711 G.	Medical Department, Sialkot	6 0 0
6th March 1872	1861 G.	Medical store-keeper, Allahabad	20 0 0
22nd April 1875	2857 H.	Principal medical store-keeper, Calcutta (including supply for Madras).	51 0 0
"	"	Principal medical store-keeper, Allahabad depôt	45 0 0
"	"	Mean Meer "	"
24th April 1876	26 H.	Medical depôt as per Board's letter, No. 136, dated 13th April 1876.	21 0 0
		Total	100 0 0
			382 0 0

STATEMENT of NARCOTINE supplied from 1876 to January 1894.

Number of Invoice.	Date of Invoice.	To whom supplied.	Quantity supplied.	
			lb.	oz. d.
		Brought forward	382	0 0
1	15th December 1876	Medical store-keeper, Mean Meer	17	0 0
4	1st March 1877	" " Calcutta	51	0 0
5	" "	" " " "	100	0 0
6	" "	" " Allahabad	25	0 0
7	" "	" " " "	45	0 0
8	" "	" " Mean Meer	21	0 0
10	10th September 1877	" " " "	25	0 0
11	" "	" " Allahabad	23	0 0
12	14th October 1877	" " Calcutta	63	0 0
13	5th March 1878	" " " "	20	0 0
15	26th May 1878	" " " "	69	0 0
16	" "	" " Allahabad	3	0 0
17	" "	" " Mean Meer	16	0 0
21	12th February 1879	" " Allahabad	5	0 0
22	28th April 1879	" " Calcutta	20	0 0
25	23rd May 1879	" " Allahabad	9	0 0
26	14th July 1879	" " Mean Meer	19	0 0
27	" "	" " Calcutta	21	0 0
29	19th June 1880	Surgeon-General, Agra	5	0 0
30	12th August 1880	Medical store-keeper, Allahabad	5	0 0
31	" "	" " " "	15	0 0
32	" "	" " Mean Meer	31	0 0
22	21st May 1886	Mr. Francis, Durbhanga	1	0 0
9	November 1887	" " " "	2	0 0
39	9th February 1888	Medical store-keeper, Calcutta	0	8 0
54	20th August 1893	Civil surgeon, Ludhiana	0	1 0
	23rd January 1894	Factory superintendent, Behar	0	1 0
	October 1883	Secretary of State, London	100	0 0
		Total	1,393	10 0

Benares Opium Agency, Ghazipur,
14th February 1894.

G. M. GREGORY,
Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

APPENDIX IV.

APP. IV.
N.W. Prov.
Excise.

MEMORANDUM on the HISTORY of the OPIUM EXCISE ADMINISTRATION in the NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES and OUDH, by Mr. STOKER, Commissioner of Excise in the North-western Provinces and Oudh.

It may be well to premise by saying that the Government and the revenue officers of these provinces are responsible only for the excise administration. The cultivation of poppy and the manufacture, &c. of opium are under the direct control of the Benares opium agent, who is immediately subordinate to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces. The supplies of excise opium required for provincial consumption are procured from the Ghazipur factory at a fixed price, which is now Rs. 7-4 per sir, and the further arrangements for control of vend and collection of revenue are made under orders of the Local Government.

But the presence of a large and widely diffused area of poppy exercises a very important influence on the opium excise administration and on the revenue from this source. Notwithstanding the severely restrictive character of the present system, a large amount of illicit opium both from inside and from outside the provinces finds its way into the hands of consumers, and a limit is put on the price which can be exacted for the duty-paid drug. This will be more fully considered hereafter.

2. Up to 1844, the price of excise opium was regulated by the price at which the drug sold for export. In that year the price rose to Rs. 18-4 per sir, and the vendors in these provinces refused to take out licenses. The competition of cheap contraband opium, both home grown and imported was too great to permit sales at so high a rate. The price of excise opium was therefore fixed at a uniform rate of Rs. 10 per sir. Retail sale was then effected through both official and non-official agency. The number of licenses is nowhere stated, but it cannot have been considerable as the

total revenue of the North-western Provinces from contract fees was only Rs. 23,000. It may be gathered that non-official vendors were few in number, and limited to large towns in localities where poppy was not grown and supervision could be exercised to prevent the sale of illicit opium. The cost price of excise opium to Government appears to have then been Rs. 5-8 per sir, and if, as seems probable, a discount of Re. 1 per sir was allowed to licensed vendors, the net profit to excise was Rs. 3-8 per sir.

3. In 1857, the retail price of excise opium was raised to Rs. 12 per sir. The arrangements for retail vend seem to have undergone little change. Sale was permitted at the collector's office, and such Tahsil offices as the collector might select. In districts where the cultivation of poppy was prohibited, sale by non-official vendors was permitted under special circumstances. Such permission was limited to large towns and subject to previous sanction of the Board of Revenue. The object of this restriction was to guard against the sale of illicit opium, and to restrict shops to localities where a demand existed, which would otherwise be illicitly supplied. This agency seems to have been little employed and it had fallen into complete desuetude in the seventh decade. Retail sales were limited to five tolas, and a register kept showing the names, residences, &c. of all purchasers. A discount of Re. 1 per sir was allowed to all licensed vendors to cover wastage and charges, leaving the net profit to excise Rs. 5-8 per sir; special licenses were granted to medical practitioners. The sale of madak and other non-medical preparations was prohibited.

4. These prices remained unchanged till 1861. In the meantime the demand for excise opium was growing, and as the price of provision opium had advanced to Rs. 42-11-3 per sir, so the loss on withholding opium from export had become very considerable.

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Prov.
excise.

At the same time the price of crude opium to the cultivators had been increased by 12 annas per sir, and the expenses of manufacture had become heavier. These circumstances led the authorities to consider whether the rate for excise opium could not be raised in the North-western Provinces as it had already been raised in parts of Bengal. An experiment was made by Mr. A. O. Hume, the collector of Etáwah, who had satisfied himself that a large amount of illicit opium was used in the district. The recorded consumption was only one maund per annum, and he estimated that it should be at least nine. He had succeeded in raising the duty paid sales to two maunds before the Mutiny. During the disturbances the cultivation of poppy was stopped, and on the restoration of order there was an unprecedented demand which led to the sale of three maunds in a few months. This demand ceased when the crop of 1858-59 was ready, and it was observed that in spite of a favourable season the recorded out-turn of that crop was very small. In order to check the illicit consumption to which these facts clearly pointed, Mr. Hume introduced regulations of a very stringent and inquisitory character. At the same time, he raised the retail price to Rs. 14, and placed the sale entirely in the hands of official vendors. The result of these measures in 1859-60 was to double the recorded consumption of excise opium, and Mr. Hume obtained permission to raise the retail price to Rs. 16 in 1860-61.

From the 6th December 1861, this price was made general throughout the North-western Provinces. Opium was issued to the vendors at Rs. 15 per sir, and retailed by official vendors at Rs. 16. Non-official vendors were at liberty to charge what retail price they liked. These prices remained in force till the 1st July 1893.

For the year 1861 the net profit to excise was Rs. 9-8 per sir.

5. In 1862, the factory price of excise opium issued to Local Governments was raised from Rs. 5-8 to Rs. 7-4 per sir, at which it still remains. From that time up to last July, the profit to the Excise Department on the sale of opium has been Rs. 7-12 per sir.

6. The rules of 1857 for vend of pure opium remained practically unchanged when these modifications of price were effected in 1861-62. Up to this time the sale of madak and other preparations of opium had been prohibited with a view of repressing the practice of opium-smoking. But protracted experience had shown that it was impossible to prevent the contraband manufacture and sale of these preparations, or to suppress opium-smoking in private. Moreover, as the business escaped direct taxation, and as illicit opium was largely used, the habit was not made as expensive as it might be to those who practised it. It was, therefore, deemed better to bring the trade or habit under proper control, wherever it was known to exist, and to subject it to taxation which would make it as expensive as possible. With this view it was decided in 1862-63 to give licenses to non-official vendors for the manufacture and sale of madak in those localities where the sale of the preparation was such as to render this step advisable. The licenses were then almost exclusively confined to the districts of the Benares and Allahabad divisions, and the chief military cantonments elsewhere. In the first year, 1862-63, the revenue from these contracts realised Rs. 13,657. The sums paid in such places as Allahabad (Rs. 2,988), Benares (Rs. 4,001), Cawnpore (Rs. 1,600), Gorakhpur (Rs. 1,250), indicate clearly that the practice had attained considerable dimensions before it was brought under formal control and taxation.

7. In 1863 and the following years, various changes were made in the method of administering the excise from country spirits, which had the effect of restricting the supply and increasing the price to consumers. It was considered that this curtailment of the supply of liquor tended gradually to stimulate the use of opium. The extensions of canal irrigation in the Meerut and Agra divisions led also to a demand for opium by the population whose health had been affected by the insanitary conditions which followed an artificial disturbance of the water level.

But the main cause of the progressive increase in the sales of excise opium was the restriction of illicit traffic and its displacement by the duty-paid drug.

8. The existence of a large consumption of illicit opium had always been recognised. In 1845, the Behar agent believed that as much as one-seventh of the produce of land cultivated for his agency was diverted

from the Government stores for illicit consumption. This was supplemented by contraband import from foreign territory. The constant attention of Government and its officers was directed to the leakage, which not only involved a large loss revenue but was calculated to encourage the use of opium generally, as the illicit drug sold much cheaper than the duty paid article. The proofs furnished from time to time left no doubt of the existence of a large contraband trade. It has been shown that the recorded consumption of excise opium always diminishes at those times and in those places where the facilities for obtaining the illicit drug increases. To illustrate this, I may give an extract from the Excise Report of 1891-92.

"After making due allowance for all special and local causes which operate in both directions, I have no hesitation in saying that the increased sales are due broadly to nothing else than a corresponding diminution in the use of illicit opium. This again has been determined by the character of the poppy harvest and the area under poppy cultivation. . . . The amount of illicit opium consumed in these provinces is undoubtedly considerable. This is admitted by the unanimous consent of everyone who is in a position to judge. Figures on such a point obviously cannot be procured; but there are certain indications even from existing figures which leave no doubt on the point. It has been observed that a favourable season for poppy cultivation is accompanied by a fall in the sale of duty-paid opium during the past 10 years. The best opium crops were in 1883-84, 1884-85, and 1887-88. The season of 1889-90 was above average, but not a bumper one. The worst out-turn was in 1882-83 and 1888-89, while 1890-91 fell below the average. In each of the good years the consumption of Government opium in these provinces fell and in each of the bad years it rose. The following figures illustrate most strikingly the way in which the sales of duty-paid opium vary with the season, or, in other words, with the scarcity or abundance of illicit opium:—

Year.	Out-turn of Opium per Bigha.		Sale Proceeds of Government Opium.
	Seers.	Chataks.	
1880-81	4	3½	5,37,701
1881-82	5	2½	5,13,275
1882-83	4	1½	5,35,018
1884-85	6	9	5,15,892
1885-86	4	14½	5,24,196
1886-87	5	4½	5,28,535
1887-88	6	2½	5,19,190
1889-90	4	4½	5,79,346
1890-91	4	8	5,76,919
1891-92	4	3½	5,95,231

"Opium cultivators are compelled to produce a certain out-turn at the risk of having their cultivation stopped. When the crop is abundant they can keep back a large amount. When the crop is scanty the margin available for smuggling is small. The exceptional figures of 1889-90 are ascribed to contraction of the area of opium cultivation. No other inference can be drawn from these figures, but that a large illicit consumption exists which is stimulated by a full opium harvest, while in a bad season consumers are forced to purchase more of the Government drug.

"Again it has been observed that the sales of duty-paid opium rise and fall with the extensions and contracting of poppy cultivation. For instance, in Aligarh poppy was not allowed in the Mursan pargana till 1887-88. The sales fell in that year from 62 maunds 30 seers, 1886-87, to 58 maunds 16 seers. The next year the cultivation was stopped throughout the district, and the sales rose to 64 maunds 12 seers, and in the following year to 67 maunds and 36 seers. In Agra, the cultivation was admitted in 3 parganas in 1887-88, and the sales fell from 67 maunds 12 seers in 1886-87 to 59 maunds 16 seers. Next year it was prohibited throughout the district, and sales rose to 67 maunds 19 seers and in the following year to 67 maunds 21 seers. The Moradabad cultivation was permitted everywhere up to 1888-89, and the sales averaged under 50 maunds. In 1888-89 cultivation being stopped, they rose to 65 maunds 15 seers. In 1889-90 they were 61 maunds 14 seers, and in 1890-91 were 64 maunds 20 seers. In Jaunpur when cultivation of poppy was stopped in 1888-89, the sales rose from 23 maunds 10 seers to 41 maunds 30 seers and increased to 39 maunds 12 seers in 1889-90 and to 39 maunds 18 seers in 1890-91. Those are

representative districts, and the figures indicate unmistakably the connexion between the use of the illicit drug and the facilities for obtaining it. It is impossible to suppose that consumers suddenly gave up or diminished the use of opium in 1887-88, or increased it again in 1888-89. The price of Government opium remained unchanged. They simply took more duty-paid opium because they could not smuggle as much as before."

9. These conclusions will obtain some confirmation from a reference to the more extended statistics now supplied. A distinct and constant co-relation may be observed between the sales of excise opium and the fluctuations in area and out-turn of the poppy crop. In some cases this has been obscured by some special disturbing influence. For instance, in 1873-74 a sudden increase in the average out-turn was not followed by a corresponding fall in sales, because the facilities for the sale of duty-paid opium had been increased, and the cultivation of poppy stopped in five districts from the close of the preceding year. In 1878-79 the usual result of a large out-turn and a full area was neutralized by a further extension of the licensing system.

10. In considering the Excise Report of 1876-77, the Board and Government dwell on the suspiciously low recorded consumption of opium in those districts where poppy cultivation was general. The Government order remarks:—

"In the Meerut division there is no poppy cultivation, except in Jaunsar-Bawar, and little or none of the opium produced there finds its way into districts of these provinces. The Benares division, on the other hand, is the home of the poppy. In the Meerut division the Muhammadan population which contributes by far the largest proportion of opium consumers is 1,058,200, and in Benares 889,935. In the Meerut division the revenue derived from opium in 1876-77 was Rs. 1,08,439 and in the Benares division it was but Rs. 54,390, of which the district of Benares alone yielded Rs. 40,590. In Muttra and Moradabad the cultivation of the poppy is prohibited. In Farnkhabad and Badaun it is permitted, with the result that the former districts yield Rs. 29,829 and Rs. 18,655 respectively, and the latter Rs. 1,461 and Rs. 1,750. In 1875 the cultivation of the poppy was abandoned in Jalaun and Jhansi, and the immediate result in each case has been enhanced revenue. The figures speak for themselves. If the rest of the North-western Provinces yielded as much revenue in proportion to their population as the Meerut division, the revenue from opium would be Rs. 6,71,000 instead of Rs. 3,66,000. In other words, it seems probable that licensed cultivators annually deliver to the Opium Department nearly 900 maunds less than their fields have produced; and thereby inflict on the revenue of these provinces a loss exceeding three lakhs of rupees a year. The best means of checking these frauds is under the consideration of the Government and the Board in a separate correspondence. But in the meantime the Board should impress on district officers the necessity of punishing with the utmost severity cultivators convicted of embezzling produce and persons convicted of illegally purchasing it from them."

11. In the following year a table was prepared showing the registered consumption per 1,000 of population in districts where:—

- (a.) Poppy cultivation was permitted everywhere.
- (b.) Was permitted in part.
- (c.) Was prohibited.

The average incidence appeared to be:—

	N.W.P.	Ou h.
(a.)	10 chatt.	2 chatt.
(b.)	13 "	10 "
(c.)	35 "	12 "

The Excise Commissioner estimated that if the entire illicit consumption were displaced by duty paid opium, the additional revenue would be in the North-western Provinces, Rs. 216,168 and in Oudh Rs. 168,402 or Rs. 384,570 in all.

12. Besides this retention of opium by cultivators for illicit purposes there were circumstances to show that contraband opium was introduced from foreign territory. Consignments sometimes of a large amount were captured on their way from Nepal, while it was observed that the abolition of the custom's line in 1878-89 was followed by an increased smuggling of Malwa opium and a fall in the recorded consumption in the border district of the Agra division. In 1869

the Bengal Government and in 1871 the opium agent had called attention to the smuggling into both the North-western Provinces and Punjab of Hill opium which had paid no duty. The amount so introduced into these provinces was said to be of inferior quality and limited extent. In 1876 export of Nepal opium through Oudh under pass to Bombay was permitted. This seems to have facilitated smuggling into these parts of India. In 1889 and again in 1890, attention was drawn to the prevalence of this smuggling, and the contraband opium seized in some cases was found not to be crude but concentrated drug fit for use.

The efforts of the administration were steadily directed to the suppression of these various forms of illicit traffic. This object seems to have influenced most of the changes introduced into the system as it existed in 1863. In 1871 the experiment was tried in Oudh of farming out in each district the right to sell opium. This led to an increase in revenue of Rs. 18,000, but the increased consumption of opium was only two maunds. The results were held to show that the farmers themselves must have been selling illicit opium and the system was abandoned in 1872. In 1874 an experiment which originated and had failed in Bengal of selling excise opium at the reduced consistence of 80 degrees and reduced price of Rs. 14 was tried in two Oudh districts. The experiment failed and was discontinued. Complaints were made that the absence of licensed shops, which were practically confined to tahsil head-quarters absolutely compelled people who required opium to purchase illicitly, because they had no reasonable means of procuring the duty-paid drug. In 1867 the retail sale of opium at collectors' offices had been discontinued. In 1873 it was decided to try the experiment in the North-western Provinces of granting licenses for retail vend at important places in those districts where poppy was not grown. The licenses were granted to people of respectable character and no fees at this time were charged. In the case of poppy districts it was feared that these licenses might be used as covers for the collection and sale of crude opium. The rule took effect in all the districts of the Meerut division, in Bijnor, Moradabad, Muttra, and Agra. The reports of succeeding years show that it was successful.

13. An examination of the recorded purchases of excise opium by the persons licensed to sell *chandru* and *madak* left no doubt that illicit opium was largely used by them in the manufacture of these preparations. The nature of the business facilitated such frauds. Illicit and excise opium can easily be discriminated in their ordinary state, but once prepared for smoking in the shape of *chandru* or *madak*, recognition of illicit opium becomes impossible, and this circumstance gave dishonest dealers impunity in storing smuggled opium. To put some check on these malpractices which defrauded the revenue and by cheapening encouraged the use of *chandru*, an experiment was tried in one district in 1872-73 of binding the *chandru* contractor to purchase a minimum amount of excise opium fixed considerably below the quantity which it was known must actually be consumed. The plan was found successful, it was followed by the displacement of illicit opium, and the restriction of unlicensed smoking places. In the next few years it was extended to all *chandru* and *madak* shops throughout the provinces.

14. In 1877 the excise system generally of these provinces came under revision by a committee of officers appointed for the purpose. The success of the limited grant of retail licenses in 1873 warranted an extension, under proper safeguards, to districts where poppy was grown. The experience of other branches of excise, where various systems of licensing had been tried, led also to the conclusion that a considerable revenue might advantageously be raised from fees for retail sale. In the case of country spirits the experiment had been made of issuing licenses, first at nominal fees and when that failed at moderate fixed fees and excluding the competition of open auction. Both schemes proved a disastrous failure. If licenses were granted to all applicants the number of shops became excessive. If the number of shops was strictly limited the arrangement amounted to making a money grant, sometimes very large, to the favoured licensees. In both cases a considerable revenue was handed over to the vendors which properly should accrue to Government. Some shops from their position enjoy greater advantages than others, and this advantage, it was found, could only be taxed by setting the licensees up to auction. Such an arrangement for opium had been

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suggested by district officers some years before. The committee recommended that instead of retail sale being allowed on free licenses, such licenses should be put up to auction; in opium producing tahsils only with the special authorisation of the Board for each person licensed; in other places with the Divisional Commissioner's sanction, provided that the shops could be properly supervised and that their number did not exceed the demand. The treasurer or his agent were still to be allowed to sell opium at a rate not exceeding Rs. 16 per sir at the tahsil head-quarters; other licensees were allowed to purchase at Rs. 15, and sell at what price they could, the treasurer's sale being regarded as a check on the sale of adulterated opium, and on the demand of such exorbitant prices as would encourage illicit traffic.

The system extended also to Oudh, which was amalgamated with the North-western Provinces in 1877, though Oudh excise was not brought under the Board of Revenue till 1883. It proved successful. The license fees in the first year amounted to Rs. 56,959, though the issues of opium actually decreased owing to the famine which prevailed that year in the United Provinces. There was, however, some reason to fear that these licenses might be used as a cloak for the sale of illicit opium. It was therefore decided to extend to opium shops the arrangement which had been found to work well in the case of chandu shops, of requiring the licensed vendor to purchase a certain fixed minimum amount of excise opium. With a view to check the licensing of shops in places where they were not actually wanted, the Board were empowered to fix a minimum sum below which no license would be given.

15. It may here be noted that the system of requiring fixed minimum purchases of excise opium was found to act as a very useful check on illicit traffic. It was rendered more effective in 1887 by a clause in the license empowering the collector in the case of short purchases to resume the license if no satisfactory explanation were forthcoming. In 1889 objections were raised by critics of the administration. The condition was relaxed for 1890 in districts not producing poppy, and under the orders of the Government of India was everywhere withdrawn with effect from the year 1893-94, now current. In a few cases at the recent settlements where the stipulation had been retained by an error of the local officials and a re-sale was ordered, it was found that the licensees were willing to pay substantially higher fees when the condition was not enforced. There has not yet been sufficient time to ascertain the result of this return to the *laissez faire* policy.

16. While these measures were introduced by the Excise Department, the attention of the Opium Department was forcibly drawn to the large amount of opium obviously kept back by the cultivators. Various measures were devised to minimise this by more active and systematic supervision, by utilising the Land Revenue Records, and by securing the co-operation of the revenue with the opium officials, in order to ascertain the actual out-turn of each cultivator's field and to weed out those whose returns were so abnormally low as to justify the suspicion of fraud. Under rules framed by the Bengal Government in 1877, the local opium officer (sub-deputy agent) was required to report his movements to the collector (ex-officio deputy agent). Officials of the Opium Department were instructed to watch the proceedings in opium cases before the criminal courts; and further licenses were refused to guilty cultivators or even to whole villages where irregularities were frequent. Cultivation of poppy was prohibited in the vicinity of large towns including Lucknow, Fyzabad, Furakhabad, Benares, and Cawnpore, and many others where the facilities for smuggling were pre-eminently great. The forms of licenses to opium cultivators were expressly adapted to permit easy check of the areas and produce, and generally the efforts of the department were directed to stop the embezzlement of opium and its illicit sale by cultivators. The Opium Commission of 1883 suggested various remedies to suppress contraband traffic and other illegal practices.

17. The Opium Act of 1878 and the rules made under it caused no substantive change in the system then in force in these provinces, but the new punitive provisions of the Act greatly assisted the enforcement of the law. Under the Act which it superseded first offences had been only punishable with fine. Act I. of 1878 made offences connected with opium punishable with rigorous imprisonment up to one year as well as with fine. The

legal limit of retail sale and possession of opium was at the same time reduced from five to three tolas. It was observed that after the Act had been a short time in force the number of convictions began to fall, because habitual offenders had received long terms of imprisonment; and the fear of like punishment acted as a deterrent to others.

18. The result of these measures was, that in spite of a large increase of the poppy area and its extension to new districts, the sales of excise opium steadily increased, while a large and growing revenue was gained from the license fees for retail sale which have the immediate effect of increasing the retail price to consumers. This growth of revenue and recorded consumption has been carefully watched, and its causes ascertained. A similar and even greater development of other branches of the excise revenue lends support to the view that the decided increase of general prosperity in the provinces has been followed by a larger outlay on such luxuries as exciseable commodities. There seems little doubt that this cause has contributed to the growth of the revenue from opium, just as it has contributed to the growth of the revenue from spirits and hemp drugs. But a reference to the annual reports and proceedings leave no doubt that even a more potent cause has been at work. The development of excise revenue is mainly due to better administration, and does not by any means imply a corresponding extension of the habit of opium consumption. It is due to the more effective check exercised by the Opium and Excise Departments over poppy cultivators and licensed vendors.

19. In 1883 the Government of India in order to increase the supply of Bengal provision opium, commenced the issue of Malwa opium for excise purposes. The Malwa opium was at first much disliked and there were many complaints of its quality and weight. This circumstance coupled with a large extension of poppy cultivation and a large average out-turn arrested the sale of excise opium for several years; its place being taken by illicit drug of local growth. In 1886-87, Malwa opium was withdrawn and Bengal opium again made available for sale. The issues at once improved and only in 1887-88, when the crop was unusually large and productive it fell back to the old level.

20. In spite of the improvement which has taken place it is abundantly clear that the recorded consumption is still much below the actual consumption, and it may yet be possible to add largely to the revenue by displacing cheap illicit opium while actually contracting the general use of the drug. But it may be at once admitted that no repressive measures can possibly succeed in preventing a considerable illicit traffic. The conditions of the country effectually negative such an idea. The sources of supply are too numerous and the means of smuggling too easy and its results too lucrative to render prevention possible. Even if no opium at all were produced within the provinces, the demand would be supplied from the product of foreign states lying along our borders. The vexatious and harassing system of espionage which would follow any effective measure of repression would be absolutely intolerable. It has been deemed better to endeavour to control the use of opium by granting reasonable facilities for obtaining it in a legal way wherever a real demand for it has been shown to exist.

21. The Treasury price of opium has, as already stated remained unchanged since 1861. The nominal price was Rs. 16 per sir, but as Re. 1 discount was granted to all licensed vendors, it was practically issued at Rs. 15. The possibility of increasing this price had been several times considered, but it was thought that any enhancement would lead to a larger consumption in the shape of illicit opium. In fact, some officers advised a reduction of the price, and the experiment of issuing opium of a lower consistence at Rs. 14 was actually tried in two Oudh districts in 1871, but proved unsuccessful.

In 1892 a further inquiry was undertaken in connexion with the orders of the Secretary of State, contained in his Despatch of the 17th December 1891. A good deal of difference of opinion was found to exist among local officers, many of whom feared the stimulus which an enhanced price would give to contraband trade. The large revenue gained from license fees since their first imposition in 1877-78 had practically the same effect as an addition to the Treasury price, and gave reason to believe that a cautious and gradual rise would not be attended with any very serious risk, though it might involve a loss of license fees. In view of the different retail rates found to actually prevail in

different parts of the provinces, it was deemed inadvisable to impose a uniform issue rate everywhere. Differential rates were accordingly fixed as follows:—

	Rs.
In 12 Eastern districts	16
In 25 Central "	17
In 11 Western "	18

This involved a rise of Rs. 1, Rs. 2, and Rs. 3 according to the class. The official vendors alone receive a discount of Re. 1 as before to cover waste and expenses.

These rates came into force on the 1st July 1893. There has not yet been time to form an opinion on the results of the scheme. At the following annual settlements there was a fall in license fees substantial in itself but not commensurate with the anticipated increase of sale profits. The effects on consumption remain to be seen.

22. In 1892-93, the rules governing the vend of chandu and madak were altered. The legal limit of retail sale and possession was reduced from three tola to one tola, and consumption on the premises was prohibited. It was decided to reduce the number of licensed shops for that year to the narrowest possible limits, and to abolish them altogether in the following year. This policy was carried into effect, and there has been no licensed shop for the manufacture or vend of these preparations since the 30th September 1893.

23. The history of opium-smoking in these provinces may be specially noticed. Opium-eating has been practised for centuries, but the habit of smoking appears to be of very recent origin. The two forms in which opium is prepared for the purpose are known as madak and chandu. A brief description of the method of manufacture and use of each is appended.

CHANDU.

Opium, broken into small pieces is mixed with ashes of the previous smoking of the chandu pipe. These ashes are known as "inchi." The proportion is generally two parts of opium to one of "inchi." A little water is added and the mixture is slowly boiled and stirred till it becomes of a uniform consistency. To this is added water in the proportion of four or five parts to one part of opium. The whole is boiled and strained through a cloth several times till reduced to the original weight of the opium used. The refuse contains the more insoluble part of the opium and most of the "inchi." The preparation is now ready for smoking. The pipe is a hollow stem of bamboo, closed at one end and with a mouthpiece at the other. If thick it is known as "bambo" if thin as "nigali." Near the closed ends is an opening (chúla) for receiving the bowl (dawát). The bowl is made of clay and is solid except for a small hole passing through the centre. It is wide at the top and slopes in towards the bottom, to which a brass holder [Sakat (socket)] is attached that fits into the "chúla." A small lamp is required: it consists of a burner covered by a glass shade generally made from the upper part of a bottle, which is so adjusted over the burner that the flame almost reaches the orifice at the top of the shade, represented by the neck of the bottle. The attendant (or the smoker himself) picks up a small quantity of the chandu on a wire (thák), and heating it for a moment over the lamp fashions it into a pill (chinta). This pill is then placed in the hole in the bowl of the pipe. The smoker lies down generally on his left side, takes the pipe in his hands and holds it, with the bowl inclined somewhat downward close to the flame of the lamp. He then takes a long pull at the pipe and inhales as much of the smoke as he can. He retains the smoke a second or two and emits it with one puff. The "chinta" is exhausted by a single inhalation. After the smoke is finished the ashes "inchi" are scraped from the bowl and stem to be used in the preparation of more chandu. About four "chintas" weighing in all one masha (the twelfth part of a tola or 15 grains), are used by an habitual smoker at one sitting; but it is said that a very seasoned smoker can get through as much as a tola (180 grains). Some skill is required both in the preparation of the chandu, and in the adjustment of the "chinta" and the lamp.

MADAK.

24. Opium is mixed with from 8 to 16 times its weight in water and boiled and strained. A small quantity of sugar, one-tenth or 12th, is sometimes

added. The whole is boiled till reduced to one and half times the quantity of opium used. This syrup is then mixed with from one to three times its weight of leaves desiccated by parching and reduced to powder, but not actually calcined. The most expensive leaf used is "pan" which costs more than twice as much as the opium; but guava leaves, babul leaves, cardamum husks, even coccoanut fibre or grass are used. The leaf is broken up into fine pieces mixed with the opium liquor, and the whole formed into pills. Flavouring matter or essences are said to be sometimes used. Madak is smoked in an ordinary tobacco pipe in the same way as tobacco, but a bowl of a special make (called maira or mahra) is generally used instead of the ordinary "chillum." It is quite flat and the madak pill is placed over the hole with a piece of burning charcoal.

25. Chandu is considered more potent in its effects than Madak. This I believe is due, first to the circumstance, that it contains a larger proportion of pure opium extract. Madak contains from one to three parts of foreign matter in addition to the opium. Chandu is pure opium with the addition of a very small quantity of its own ash. The ash seems to be added chiefly as a basis to regulate the combustion of the opium which is said to burn too quickly if "inchi" is not added. Probably any other carbon would do this as well, but "inchi" is selected because it is said to improve the flavour of the chandu, and because a certain amount of the less volatile oils or other constituent parts of the opium may have escaped combustion in the first smoking. In the second place, in chandu smoking, the whole or as nearly as possible the whole of the volatile matter reaches the smoker's mouth and lungs, but in the madak pipe some of the properties may be lost in passing through the long stem and the water in the bowl.

26. The habit of smoking opium seems to have come to India from the further East. It spread into these provinces from that direction and so recently as 1863 was confined to the eastern districts, and to those large cantonments in other parts where it would naturally be first introduced by the movements of troops and their followers. Originally the only form known was madak. Forty years ago madak smoking and opium-smoking were synonymous terms in these provinces. It may be safely surmised that the habit first arose from adding opium to the tobacco pipe or impregnating tobacco with opium liquor. The form of pipe and the method of preparation point clearly to this origin.

27. Chandu and its use are believed to have been of Chinese origin. In 1865 the Commissioner of Excise when introducing the Bengal returns reported that it was unknown in these provinces. The name first appears in the Excise Report for 1871-72, where an account of it is transcribed from the Bengal Excise Report of the preceding year. It is stated that it had already become known in many districts, and was gaining ground among the town population, especially where the Mohammadan element was strong. At that time the consumption of madak in the town of Cawnpur was estimated to be rather less than two and a half times the consumption of chandu. The habit of opium-smoking in one form or another had spread to almost every district of the North-western Provinces. From this time chandu finds increasing mention in the annual reports as the form in which opium was usually smoked and madak gradually disappeared. In 1883-84 it was stated that madak was then hardly consumed at all. I cannot say that its use has been even now entirely discontinued, but it has certainly been reduced to narrow limits. A short time ago, when I had occasion to inquire about the two drugs in Agra, a place where opium-smoking is very prevalent, but one man was forthcoming who was acquainted with the method of preparing madak. In Oudh the manufacture and sale of both preparations was included in the farm of hemp drugs down to 1873 when the rules provide for separate contracts with a limited number of retail shops.

28. Up to 1863 the sale of madak and other non-medical preparations of opium was absolutely prohibited in the North-western Provinces. In spite of this prohibition, however, the habit of madak smoking began to spread in the province. It was carried on in private and it was found impossible to prevent the contraband manufacture and sale of the drug. After the Mutiny the attention of Government was drawn to the prevalence of the practice and the necessity for taking some measures to repress it. The policy of absolute prohibition having failed, it was considered

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advisable to recognise the sale of madak with a view of bringing it under proper control. A provision to this effect was included in the rules of 1863, and collectors were empowered to grant licenses. The number granted was to be as small as possible, and the localities of the shops to be chosen with particular regard to their careful supervision. Such licenses were granted for the first time in 1862-63. They were confined to 15 districts, nearly in the Benares and Allahabad divisions; besides the cantonments of Meerut and Shahjahanpur. The license fees that year amounted to Rs. 13,663, but rose to Rs. 19,230 in 1863-64 when the arrangements were in better working order. As already remarked, the large sums paid in several places indicate the prevalence the habit had obtained, and the extent of the contraband trade now brought under taxation. The control was extended to some districts of the Agra and Jhansi divisions, but the revenue remained about stationary till 1869-70. Its increase from that year onward coincides with the introduction of chandu, which seems to have seized the popular taste much more rapidly and completely than madak. In 1871-72 it had become necessary to recognise and bring under control the trade in 28 districts, or portions of districts. In the reports for that year prominent attention was drawn to the spread of opium-smoking and its deleterious effects. The Board of Revenue would have recommended the utter suppression of both manufacture and sale of these undoubtedly noxious and demoralising preparations if they believed that any such prohibition would effect any other result than that of driving the madak and chandu vendors to illicit manufacture and sale, and their customers to illicit purchase. They held that since it was not possible to prevent their manufacture and sale, madak and chandu should be made as expensive as possible to the consumer, by taxing the sale and compelling the use of only duty-paid opium. With the concurrence of the Excise Commissioner who was in favour of placing the narrowest restrictions on the trade the farms and licenses were discontinued in several districts and localities. The revenue continued to grow and in 1874-75 the Excise Commissioner (Mr. Halsey) reported that most officers were of opinion that this revenue must eventually fall away, as people were acquiring the habit of manufacturing at home sufficient for their wants. It would be a good thing he thought if the manufacture for sale were entirely forbidden. It encouraged smuggling and every form of idleness and vice, and was physically, morally, and socially to be deprecated. The Government order on this pointed out that the tax operated as a check on consumption, and that if home manufacture were increasing, the licensed shops, evidently, did not stimulate consumption, but failed to satisfy the demand. This view was taken in the following year by the next Excise Commissioner (Mr. Robertson). He agreed in deprecating the use of chandu on social, moral, and physical grounds, but did not think that forbidding its manufacture for sale would stop its consumption. He feared facilities would be provided for its private manufacture, and proffered the policy of effective control to the policy of ineffective prohibition.

29. For the next few years this policy was pursued, and vigilance was employed to repress illicit trade and secure the use of only duty-paid opium by the licensed vendor. It was found that both these ends were aided by requiring the license to purchase a certain amount of opium from the Treasury. It then became his interest to assist in detecting those unlicensed rivals who could under-sell him by using illicit opium. In 1882-83 the Board of Revenue drew particular attention to the growth of the revenue from chandu and madak, which had now reached Rs. 46,243 in the North-western Provinces, though it was stationary in Oudh. The district reports gave indications that the habit of opium-smoking was on the increase, and all authorities agreed on its injurious results. The Government directed the Commissioner of Excise and the Board to consider measures to restrict the use of the drugs. This was done in next year's report (1882-83) where the Excise Commissioner (Mr. Cadell) gave a very full account of the extent and growth and consequences of the habit, and discussed the best means for checking it. "It is comparatively easy," he said, "to prevent the extension by needless encouragement of this degrading vice, but it is difficult to suggest any means altogether unobjectionable of lessening the existing evil. Of late years sufficient care has not been taken to insist on men paying large license fees taking a

"suitable quantity of excise opium, and to restrict the number of shops in towns with regard to the proportion of licit opium to fees. Greater care is now being taken, and it rests chiefly with district officers to see that in the centres of population in which it is necessary to maintain chandu shops, they are not needlessly close to each other. The most obvious means of repressing the growth of the practice is by repressing smuggling, and in this way making the drug an expensive one. . . . It is no part of the province of Government to open a chandu shop on the chance of a demand arising, the shop should be established only to meet a considerable existing demand, and where this does not exist it should be closed. . . . The general opinion is that the vice is of comparatively recent growth, and that except in cities it has not taken wide root. The general opinion, in which I concur, is that, except where the demand is considerable, licenses should be refused, and that the chandu smoker should be left to make up his own chandu and smoke it at home."

Some officers were in favour of the immediate or gradual suppression of all licensed houses, and some opposed such a measure on the ground that the vice would be driven into private houses where it could not be regulated, and would be more injurious to society. "The most practical question at present," said Mr. Cadell, "is which is the least injurious to the people at large, that the manufacture and sale of chandu should be licensed and regulated or that Government should refuse to recognise the vice and drive it into private houses with the likelihood that, in some cases at all events, places for the illicit manufacture and vend of the drug will spring up. It is hoped that the measures experimentally adopted during the current year will afford ground for safer conclusions than are at present possible. In the meantime the policy which has been adopted is this, that in larger centres of population, where there is a considerable existing demand, the sale must be licensed and regulated; that where the demand is trifling and of recent growth, the evils of private consumption should be faced rather than the popularization of the vice should be risked, and that above all things the speculative opening of new shops should be stringently prohibited. With reference to this as to other branches of excise, the best service which a friend to temperance can render is to aid in the suppression of the trade in the illicit substitute for the fully-taxed article. Illicit chandu can be sold at less than half the price of the taxed drug, and the more lax our administration is, the more certain is the vice which is so generally deplored, to flourish and extend. The absolute prohibition of the sale of chandu has already been tried in these provinces without success."

On this the Government orders were:—

"The total prohibition of the practice has been tried and failed. It is absurd to attempt to make the private use of chandu penal; but the public use of it should be discouraged in every way. New licenses should not be granted without careful inquiry as to the need for them, in order to prevent the opening of illicit shops, and it seems desirable to reduce the chandu and madak shops to the lowest possible scale. It is understood that considerable reduction has been made during the current year (1883-4) and that more will be made next year."

These instructions were carried out.

30. The Government orders on the report for 1883-84 referring to the subject says:—

"The Commissioner writes that repressive measures would meet with universal approval among respectable natives. So far as can be judged, this seems to be the fact; and it is noticeable that the district officers who have alluded to the subject seem to be almost unanimously in favour of repression. The Board have directed the Excise Commissioner to ascertain by what means a check can be laid on the consumption of this drug. . . . Sir A. Lyall is desirous of doing all that is possible to check the increasing consumption of this pernicious drug. The vend of chandu should be put under regulations as rigorous as the law will permit; the number of shops should be very closely restricted, and severe penalties should be imposed in cases of illicit manufacture. As already observed, the law does not allow of absolutely prohibiting private consumption, and such prohibition would probably

be in a great measure futile, besides being somewhat beyond the province of excise administration. But in the matter of shops the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner considers that, as a rule, a chandu shop should only be licensed where local circumstances render it tolerably certain that its place would otherwise be supplied by contraband trade, and his Honour is prepared to accept the loss of income which may be involved in carrying out this principle. District officers, in short, should be distinctly authorised and required to check, by all means in their power, the spread of acknowledged chandu consumption, provided they do not do so at the expense of fostering illicit vend and use."

In the following year a further large reduction of shops was effected, and seems to have met with universal approbation. It was declared by the Board that the total abolition of shops would undoubtedly foster the contraband trade, but licensed shops would be abolished in all places where, but for their existence, a shop for illicit sale would in all probability be established. No bad results appeared to have followed these reductions, but there were no grounds for believing that the habit of opium-smoking had sensibly decreased, and it was believed that illicit practices still prevailed in some places. Regulations were made to ensure more complete supervision of the remaining shops. The Government repeated its injunctions to continue the policy of restriction.

31. Next year (1885-86) a further and very large reduction was made in the number of shops which fell from 284 to 112. In 15 districts there were no licenses granted at all. The revenue also fell off considerably. The measures appeared from the district reports to have met with general approval. Some officers expressed apprehension that the private manufacture and use of chandu was increasing; but Government considered that the functions of public officers could not extend to preventing this. All that could be done was to restrict the number of chandu shops and of persons directly interested in the trade.

32. In 1886-87 the number of shops was again reduced to 74. There was reason to fear that the contraband trade was extending, and it was suggested that further reductions might foster illicit vend and use. In 1887-88 the number of shops had fallen to 57. "But," the Government order remarked, "the receipts rose by Rs. 8,000. It is noteworthy that in 1884-85 the amount of drugs taken was much greater than in 1887-88; and that the shops were four times as numerous, whereas the receipts were less than those of the latter year. This implies a large amount of very careful supervision, and the figures rebut the contention of those who charge the Government with encouraging consumption. In 25 districts of the provinces there are now no shops licensed for the sale of these drugs. The way in which the license fees keep up in the face of these sweeping reductions is remarkable. The avowed policy of the Government is to check in every possible way the consump-

tion of these noxious drugs, always provided that illicit vend and use are not fostered thereby. In the current year the number of shops has been further reduced from 57 to 50. Gradual reduction is obviously the right policy."

33. The district reports of that and the following years (1888-89 contained numerous indications that the habit was not dying out, and that private or illicit manufacture and use was spreading. The Board suggested that the reductions had gone far enough, and that a re-allocation of the existing shops was required. The Board and the Commissioner were desired to consider the question. The Board in their covering letter on the report of 1889-90, suggested that though it might be necessary to keep up some licensed shops as a check on illicit consumption, yet that it would be well to prohibit the smoking of opium on licensed premises and to confine the contractor's license strictly to manufacture and vend. The Government in its order of 24th July 1891 recognised the importance of the suggestion and desired that the views of district officers and of the Board should be placed before it in the form of a special report. Before this could be submitted the matter was settled. In September 1891 the Government of India issued orders that opium should not be consumed on licensed premises. The settlements for 1891-92 had then been made, and the number of shops reduced to 26. Consumption on the premises was stopped where it was possible to do so that year, and ceased entirely in 1892-93. The number of shops had then been brought down to 14 for the whole provinces, and it was decided to close the remainder on the expiration of the current licenses. This was done and there are at present no shops where chandu can be legally manufactured or consumed.

34. This step was taken with the full knowledge that the licensed shops would be replaced by unlicensed ones; that opium-smoking would still continue; that there was some risk that the absence of publicity might encourage the vice in domestic circles; that illicit opium would be more largely used and a certain amount of revenue abandoned. In spite of these drawbacks and dangers it has been deemed better to try the experiment of again prohibiting the public manufacture and sale or consumption of these drugs, in the hopes that it may prevent the spread of the habit among people by whom and in places where it is not at present practised. Many experienced officers doubt the wisdom of the measure, and those who favour it do so with some hesitation, as possibly the lesser of two evils.

The experience of the last year does not, it must be noted with regret, give any indication that the habit of opium-smoking has perceptibly decreased. Though consumption on licensed premises was stopped, an unlicensed trade sprang up before long, which, in spite of constant vigilance, it has not been possible to suppress, and it is only in rare cases that convictions have been secured. It will take some time before the full effect of this second attempt at the total prohibition of opium-smoking can be known.

APP. IV.
—
N.W. Prov.
Excise.

STATISTICS of OPIUM for NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES and OUDH.

Year.	Area under Poppy Cultivation in Bighas.	Number of Districts wholly or partly under Poppy Cultivation.	Average Out-turn per Bigha.	Quantity of Opium consumed, in Maunds.				Revenue derived from Opium, in Rupees.			Number of Shops.		Population.	Incidence of Population per Shop.	Incidence of Consumption per Annum, in Tolas per 1,000 of Population.	Number of Convictions for Breach of Opium Laws.		Remarks.
				Sold to Treasurer.	Sold to Licensed Vendors.	Sold to Chandu-Madak Vendors.	Total.	Price of Opium (excluding Cost Price).	License Fees.		Opium Vendors.	Chandu-Madak Vendors.				Cases.	Persons.	
									Opium.	Chandu-Madak.								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	Bighas.		Seers ch.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.								
1860-61	1,54,125	21	6 6½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1861-62	2,11,454	25	5 4½	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1862-63	2,88,914	36	5 6	—	—	—	624	2,18,574	—	13,662	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Columns 2 and 3.—The figures have been taken from a special statement supplied by the opium agent.
1863-64	3,57,719	36	5 11½	—	—	—	568	1,98,925	—	19,129	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1864-65	2,95,648	26	4 8	—	—	—	—	—	—	19,229	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1865-66	2,27,355	19	5 12	—	—	—	—	—	—	15,862	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1866-67	2,53,584	17	5 6	—	—	—	826	2,89,072	—	16,683	—	—	4,79,05,297	—	—	—	—	
1867-68	2,60,476	19	4 15	—	—	—	966	3,38,276	—	17,679	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1868-69	2,46,938	17	5 5½	—	—	—	876	3,06,301	—	18,185	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1869-70	3,09,945	25	4 12½	—	—	—	874	3,05,968	—	20,519	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1870-71	3,46,499	31	3 10	—	—	—	1,024	3,58,460	—	22,602	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1871-72	3,67,115	34	3 4	—	—	—	1,044	3,63,423	—	23,931	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1872-73	3,45,064	28	3 14	—	—	—	1,051	3,67,840	—	26,123	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1873-74	3,15,803	29	5 6½	—	—	—	1,053	3,68,442	—	27,573	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1874-75	3,46,676	31	4 5	—	—	—	1,100	3,84,988	—	28,588	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1875-76	3,68,305	30	6 5	—	—	—	1,202	4,20,771	—	31,436	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1876-77	3,41,025	28	6 9	—	—	—	1,149	4,02,070	—	32,114	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1877-78	3,27,093	29	5 4	—	—	—	1,069	3,74,167	54,827	42,718	613	265	—	47,839	—	—	—	
1878-79	3,99,519	28	5 11½	—	—	—	1,189	4,16,265	67,458	42,870	564	228	—	53,033	—	—	—	
1879-80	4,33,486	29	4 2½	363	935	—	1,298	4,60,716	75,465	45,883	588	286	—	48,058	—	—	—	
1880-81	4,32,114	35	4 3	401	1,135	—	1,536	5,37,700	84,317	48,947	677	315	—	44,463	111	553	651	
1881-82	4,00,180	36	5 2	382	1,085	—	1,467	5,13,274	93,923	53,539	667	341	—	43,757	106	461	548	
1882-83	4,12,827	36	4 1½	415	949	165	1,529	5,35,017	1,07,098	57,400	707	371	—	40,916	110	405	475	
1883-84	4,14,928	36	6 7½	380	952	165	1,497	5,23,668	1,15,712	57,738	779	324	—	49,989	108	528	620	
1884-85	4,75,193	36	6 9	339	925	210	1,474	5,15,892	1,22,217	55,485	808	248	—	41,768	106	654	721	
1885-86	5,00,840	36	4 14½	361	959	177	1,497	5,24,116	1,27,487	46,863	798	112	—	48,470	108	565	639	
1886-87	4,44,040	36	5 4	—	—	—	1,510	5,28,535	1,26,591	48,051	868	74	—	46,823	109	809	668	
1887-88	4,13,928	36	6 2	370	979	133	1,482	5,19,190	1,31,657	56,081	1,027	57	—	40,689	107	746	680	
1888-89	3,34,871	26	4 4	407	1,106	142	1,655	5,79,346	1,42,988	54,994	1,128	54	—	37,316	120	664	590	
1889-90	3,89,886	26	5 10	422	1,127	154	1,703	5,96,322	1,45,599	49,680	1,159	48	—	36,543	123	641	584	
1890-91	4,13,198	29	4 8	414	1,132	104	1,650	5,76,919	1,59,093	37,268	1,140	26	—	40,227	111	633	538	
1891-92	3,80,502	29	4 3½	416	1,204	84	1,704	5,95,230	1,53,048	32,241	990	26	—	46,166	114	618	514	
1892-93	3,51,871	29	—	473	1,266	44	1,784	6,36,222	1,65,122	9,575	1,027	14	—	45,058	120	—	—	

Columns 2 and 3.—The figures have been taken from a special statement supplied by the opium agent.

Column 8.—The sales to Rampur were:—
1890-91 = 17½ maunds.
1891-92 = 25 "
1892-93 = 18 "

Column 11.—The figures against 1862-63 to 1876-77 are for North-western Provinces only.

Column 15.—The figures have been arrived at by dividing column 14 by the sum of columns 12 and 13.

Columns 17 and 18.—The figures against 1892-93 are not at present available.

STATISTICS OF OPIUM FOR NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Year.	Area under Poppy Cultivation in Bighas.	Number of Districts wholly or partly under Poppy Cultivation.	Average Out-turn per Bigha.	Quantity of Opium consumed, in Maunds.				Revenue derived from Opium, in Rupees.			Number of Shops.		Population.	Incidence of Population per Shop.	Incidence of Consumption, in Tolas per 1,000 of Population.	Number of Convictions for Breach of Opium Laws.		Remarks.	
				Sold to Treasurer.	Sold to Licensed Vendors.	Sold to Chandu-Madak Vendors.	Total.	Price of Opium (excluding Cost Price).	License Fees.		Opium Vendors.	Chandu-Madak Vendors.				Cases.	Persons.		
									Opium.	Chandu-Madak.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
	Bighas.			Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.									
1860-61	1,38,853	13	—	—	—	—	385	1,34,633	—	—	—	—	29,684,347	—	41	—	—	Columns 2 and 3.—The figures have been taken from a special statement supplied by the opium agent. Column 2.—The sales to Rampur were :— 1890-91 = 17½ maunds. 1891-92 = 25 " 1892-93 = 18 " Column 14.—There were two previous censuses before the census of 1872, viz., in 1853 and 1865, and the figures against 1860-61 to 1870-71 refer to census of 1865. Column 15.—The figures have been arrived at by dividing column 14 by the sum of columns 12 and 13. Columns 17 and 18.—The figures against 1892-93 are not at present available.	
1861-62	1,78,836	16	—	—	—	—	419	1,46,839	—	—	—	—		—	—	45	—		—
1862-63	2,41,840	25	—	—	—	—	457	1,60,047	—	13,662	—	—		—	—	49	—		—
1863-64	2,89,908	25	—	—	—	—	488	1,51,692	—	19,129	—	—		—	—	47	—		—
1864-65	2,35,403	15	—	—	—	—	508	1,77,824	—	19,229	—	—		—	—	55	—		—
1865-66	1,93,649	12	—	—	—	—	572	2,00,418	—	15,862	—	—		—	—	95	—		—
1866-67	2,11,536	11	—	—	—	—	704	2,46,399	—	16,683	—	—		—	—	76	—		—
1867-68	2,11,960	14	—	—	—	—	816	2,85,789	—	17,679	—	—		—	—	88	—		—
1868-69	2,27,915	14	—	—	—	—	747	2,61,305	—	18,185	—	—		—	—	80	—		—
1869-70	2,37,971	16	—	—	—	—	750	2,62,557	—	20,519	—	—		—	—	81	—		—
1870-71	2,50,446	21	—	—	—	—	876	3,06,525	—	22,602	—	—		—	—	94	—		—
1871-72	2,63,597	23	—	—	—	—	898	3,14,420	—	23,931	—	—		—	—	93	—		—
1872-73	2,41,974	18	—	—	—	—	931	3,25,893	—	26,123	—	—		—	—	96	—		—
1873-74	2,15,162	18	—	—	—	—	930	3,25,370	—	27,573	—	—		—	—	96	—		—
1874-75	2,36,463	20	—	—	—	—	987	3,45,654	—	28,588	—	—		—	—	102	—		—
1875-76	2,49,038	20	—	—	—	—	1,076	3,76,630	—	31,436	—	—		—	—	112	—		—
1876-77	2,27,432	19	—	—	—	—	1,042	3,64,595	—	32,114	—	—		—	—	108	—		—
1877-78	2,14,485	19	—	—	—	—	972	3,40,095	49,802	35,353	503	202	—	43,662	101	708	1,064		
1878-79	2,61,704	19	—	—	—	—	1,056	3,69,696	62,383	36,972	505	174	—	45,334	109	437	652		
1879-80	2,77,313	20	—	286	823	—	1,109	3,94,601	66,703	38,316	513	225	—	41,710	115	349	476		
1880-81	2,83,573	24	—	326	999	—	1,325	4,63,806	73,680	41,726	592	247	—	38,999	129	336	403		
1881-82	2,57,869	25	—	305	951	—	1,256	4,39,521	83,890	46,243	573	268	—	38,906	123	286	359		
1882-83	2,59,310	25	—	342	813	148	1,303	4,56,005	95,447	48,856	601	288	—	36,805	127	221	283		
1883-84	2,54,755	25	—	316	810	143	1,269	4,43,722	1,03,416	50,190	660	272	—	35,107	124	298	334		
1884-85	2,81,400	25	—	281	789	182	1,252	4,38,218	1,07,535	45,254	686	203	—	47,489	122	427	463		
1885-86	3,03,207	25	—	300	810	149	1,259	4,40,877	1,12,495	39,968	675	87	—	42,939	123	324	373		
1886-87	2,68,482	25	—	—	—	—	1,263	4,42,085	1,09,900	39,964	742	63	—	40,646	123	480	369		
1887-88	2,50,828	24	—	—	—	—	1,246	4,36,126	1,14,907	46,209	891	47	—	34,883	122	436	380		
1888-89	1,94,730	16	—	—	—	—	1,211	4,77,645	1,22,592	41,316	944	47	—	33,017	133	454	392		
1889-90	2,12,336	16	—	—	—	—	1,391	4,87,498	1,24,877	41,318	965	43	—	32,460	136	388	316		
1890-91	2,16,626	17	—	—	—	—	1,364	4,76,923	1,36,074	30,484	961	22	—	34,846	126	361	304		
1891-92	2,03,553	17	—	—	—	—	1,393	4,86,477	1,30,586	29,362	814	22	—	40,974	128	392	334		
1892-93	1,93,783	17	—	—	—	—	1,452	5,18,065	1,40,222	9,575	839	14	—	40,137	134	—	—		
													34,254,254						

APPENDIX.

APP. IV.
N. W. Prov.
EXHIB. 1.

STATISTICS OF OPIUM FOR OUDH.

Year.	Area under Poppy Cultivation in Bighas.	Number of Districts wholly or partly under Poppy Cultivation.	Average Out-turn per Bigha.	Quantity of Opium consumed, in Maunds.				Revenue derived from Opium, in Rupees.			Number of Shops.		Population.	Incidence of Population per Shop.	Incidence of Consumption, in Tolas per 1,000 of Population.	Number of Convictions for Breach for Opium Laws.		Remarks.	
				Sold to Treasurer.	Sold to Licensed Vendors.	Sold to Chandu-Madak Vendors.	Total.	Price of Opium (excluding Cost Price).	License Fees.		Opium Vendors.	Chandua-Madak Vendors.				Cases.	Persons.		
									Opium.	Chandua-Madak.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
	Bighas.			Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.									
1860-61	15,272	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,220,950	—	—	—	—	Column 2 and 3.—The figures have been taken from a special statement supplied by the Opium agent. Column 14.—There was only one census of Oudh previous to the census of 1881, viz., in 1869, and the figures against 1860-61 to 1879-80 refer to that census. Column 15.—The figures have been arrived at by dividing column 14 by the sum of columns 12 and 13. Columns 17 and 18.—The figures against 1892-93 are not at present available.	
1861-62	32,618	9	—	—	—	—	167	58,527	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1862-63	47,074	11	—	—	—	—	185	47,233	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1863-64	67,811	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1864-65	60,245	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1865-66	33,706	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1866-67	42,048	6	—	—	—	—	122	42,673	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1867-68	48,516	5	—	—	—	—	150	52,587	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1868-69	19,023	3	—	—	—	—	129	44,996	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1869-70	71,994	9	—	—	—	—	124	43,411	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1870-71	96,053	10	—	—	—	—	148	51,935	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1871-72	1,03,518	11	—	—	—	—	146	49,003	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1872-73	1,03,090	10	—	—	—	—	120	41,947	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1873-74	1,00,641	11	—	—	—	—	123	43,072	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1874-75	1,10,213	10	—	—	—	—	112	39,334	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1875-76	1,19,267	11	—	—	—	—	126	44,141	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—		—
1876-77	1,13,593	9	—	—	—	—	107	37,475	—	—	—	66		—	—	—	—		—
1877-78	1,12,608	10	—	—	—	—	97	34,072	5,025	7,865	110	63		—	64,856	28	425		495
1878-79	1,37,815	9	—	—	—	—	133	46,569	5,075	5,898	59	54	—	99,300	38	452	513		
1879-80	1,56,173	9	—	77	112	—	189	66,115	8,762	7,567	75	61	—	82,507	54	309	353		
1880-81	1,48,541	11	—	75	136	—	211	73,894	10,637	7,221	85	68	—	74,430	59	217	248		
1881-82	1,42,311	11	—	77	134	—	211	73,753	10,033	7,296	94	73	—	68,190	59	175	189		
1882-83	1,53,517	11	—	73	136	17	226	79,012	11,651	8,544	106	83	—	60,253	64	184	192		
1883-84	1,60,173	11	—	64	142	22	228	79,946	12,296	7,548	119	52	—	66,595	64	230	286		
1884-85	1,93,793	11	—	58	136	28	222	77,674	14,682	10,231	122	45	—	68,190	63	227	258		
1885-86	1,97,633	11	—	61	149	28	238	83,239	14,992	6,895	123	25	—	76,944	67	241	266		
1886-87	1,75,558	11	—	—	—	—	247	86,450	16,691	8,087	126	11	—	83,122	69	329	299		
1887-88	1,63,100	12	—	59	153	24	236	83,064	16,750	9,872	136	9	—	78,536	66	310	300		
1888-89	1,40,141	10	—	75	194	21	290	1,01,701	20,396	13,678	184	7	—	59,622	81	210	198		
1889-90	1,77,550	10	—	78	201	33	312	1,08,824	20,722	8,362	194	5	—	57,225	88	253	268		
1890-91	1,96,572	12	—	69	190	27	286	99,996	23,019	6,784	179	4	—	69,130	72	272	234		
1891-92	1,76,949	12	—	81	220	10	311	1,08,753	22,462	2,879	176	4	—	70,282	78	226	180		
1892-93	1,58,088	12	—	94	238	—	332	1,18,157	24,900	Nil.	188	Nil.	—	67,291	84	—	—		
													11,387,741						
													12,650,831						

STATISTICS OF OPIUM FOR 1892-93.

APP. IV.
N.W. Prov.
Excise.

Districts.	Population.			Poppy Cultivation permitted in whole or part of District or prohibited.	Sales of Opium.	Consumption per Annum in Tolas per 1,000 of Total Population.	Remarks.
	Hindus.	Mohamedans.	Total.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dehra Dún - - -	1,48,339	19,896	1,68,135	Prohibited.	Mds. Srs. 19 6	364	(a.) The area per opium shop (excluding madak-chandu shops) is:—
Sahāranpur - - -	6,76,848	3,24,432	10,01,280	"	56 2	179	sq. miles.
Muzaffarnagar - - -	5,53,884	2,18,990	7,72,874	"	39 9	162	N.-W. P. = 99.3
Meerut - - - - -	10,74,487	3,16,971	13,91,458	"	88 18	203	Oudh = 128.9
Bulandshar - - -	7,70,895	1,79,019	9,49,914	"	51 31	174	United } = 104.7
Aligarh - - - - -	9,22,834	1,20,338	10,43,172	"	71 27	220	Provinces }
Muttra - - - - -	6,50,764	62,657	7,13,421	"	37 5	167	(b.) The incidence of cost price and license fees per seer of opium (including madak-chandu, but excluding sales to Rāmpur and dispensaries) is:—
Agra - - - - -	8,99,363	1,04,433	10,03,796	"	68 36	220	Rs. a p.
Farukhabad - - -	7,59,211	99,476	8,58,687	Whole.	18 35	70	N.-W. P. = 18 12 9
Mainpuri - - - - -	7,20,634	41,529	7,62,163	"	10 10	45	Oudh = 18 0 6
Etāwah - - - - -	6,85,304	42,325	7,27,629	"	27 22	121	United } = 18 10 5
Etah - - - - -	6,29,110	72,953	7,02,063	Part.	28 26	131	
Bareilly - - - - -	7,95,652	2,45,039	10,40,691	"	39 36	123	
Bijnor - - - - -	5,26,908	2,67,162	7,94,070	Prohibited.	30 6	122	
Budaun - - - - -	7,77,309	1,48,289	9,25,598	Part.	11 30	41	(c.) Column 6 against Moradabad, includes 18 maunds sold to Rāmpur. The sales to dispensaries aggregate 23 seers in N.-W. P., and 10 seers in Oudh.
Moradabad - - -	7,78,693	4,00,705	11,79,398	Prohibited.	68 8	136	
Shāhjāhānpur - -	7,89,285	1,29,266	9,18,551	Part.	30 23	107	
Pilibhīt - - - - -	4,02,880	82,486	4,85,366	Prohibited.	17 22	116	(d.) The districts of Ghāzipur, Gorakhpur, Bāsti, Shāhjāhānpur, Budaun, Kheri, and Hardoi though shown as "Part" in column 5 exclude very small areas—in each case in which poppy cultivation is prohibited.
Cawnpore - - - -	11,08,154	1,01,541	12,09,695	Part.	145 4	384	
Fatehpur - - - - -	6,22,096	77,061	6,99,157	"	37 8	170	
Bānda - - - - -	6,65,170	40,662	7,05,832	Prohibited.	24 18	111	
Hamīrpur - - - - -	4,80,439	33,281	5,13,720	"	38 1	237	
Allahabad - - - -	13,48,884	1,99,853	15,48,737	Part.	98 5	203	
Jhānsi - - - - -	6,54,606	29,013	6,83,619	Prohibited.	40 30	191	
Jalaun - - - - -	3,70,860	25,501	3,96,361	"	30 16	245	
Benāres - - - - -	8,33,542	88,401	9,21,943	Part.	140 14	487	
Mirzapur - - - - -	10,86,268	75,240	11,61,508	"	46 3	127	
Jaunpur - - - - -	11,48,605	1,16,344	12,64,949	Prohibited.	38 38	99	
Ghāzipur - - - - -	9,75,183	1,02,726	10,77,909	Part.	15 4	45	
Ballia - - - - -	8,76,112	66,353	9,42,465	Whole.	2 27	9	
Gorakhpur - - - -	26,92,427	3,01,630	29,94,057	Part.	34 18	37	
Bāsti - - - - -	15,10,115	2,75,729	17,85,844	"	9 21	17	
Azamgarh - - - - -	15,02,986	2,25,639	17,28,625	Whole.	13 39	26	
Almora - - - - -	5,51,212	11,969	5,63,181	Prohibited.	4 21	26	
Garhwāl - - - - -	4,04,213	3,605	4,07,818	"	2 18	19	
Naini Tal - - - - -	1,35,361	75,207	2,10,568	"	13 38	212	
Total, N.-W. P. -	2,95,28,533	47,26,721	3,42,54,254	—	1,451 35	134	
Lucknow - - - - -	6,12,794	1,61,369	7,74,163	Whole.	143 24	594	
Unao - - - - -	8,77,716	75,920	9,53,636	Part.	25 7	84	
Rae Bareli - - - -	9,50,566	85,965	10,36,521	Whole.	15 11	47	
Sītapur - - - - -	9,17,774	1,57,639	10,75,413	"	19 38 ³	59	
Hardoi - - - - -	9,98,537	1,14,674	11,13,211	Part.	14 8	41	
Kheri - - - - -	7,85,558	1,18,057	9,03,615	"	29 1	102	
Fyzabad - - - - -	10,78,498	1,38,461	12,16,959	Whole.	27 29	73	
Gonda - - - - -	12,53,804	2,05,425	14,59,229	"	11 13	25	
Bahraich - - - - -	8,30,634	1,69,798	10,00,432	Part.	13 37	45	
Sultānpur - - - - -	9,59,005	1,16,846	10,75,851	Whole.	11 32	35	
Partabgarh - - - -	8,20,057	90,838	9,10,895	"	9 22	34	
Bara Banki - - - -	9,44,968	1,85,938	11,30,906	"	10 29	30	
Total, Oudh - - -	1,10,29,901	16,20,930	1,26,50,831	—	332 11 ³ / ₄	84	
Total, United Provinces	4,05,58,434	63,46,651	4,69,05,085	—	1,784 6 ³ / ₄	120	

APPENDIX V.

STATEMENT of the PROFITS from the CULTIVATION of the POPPY.

(Received from Mr. STOKER, Commissioner of Excise in the North-western Provinces and Oudh.)

Serial No.	Opium Division.	Revenue Districts comprised in an Opium Division.	Total Area of Poppy Cultivation in Acres (after deducting failures) in 1891-92.	Rabi Crop Area in Acres (in 1891-92).	Percentage of Column 4 to Column 5.	Total Out-turn of Crude Opium (including Pas-sewah) delivered (1891-92).	Total Value of Column 7 as paid by the Opium Department.	Estimated value of other Substances, viz., Petals, Trash, Capsules, Seed, and Stock at Rs. 30 per Acre.	Total of Columns 8 and 9.	Cost of Cultivation.				Profits to Cultivators (Column 10 minus Column 14).	Number of Cultivators engaged.	Average Area per Cultivator.	Average Profit per Acre.	Total Land Revenue on the Roll on 1st October 1892.	Total Tenants' 1890-91.	Total Payments made to Cultivators for provision of Opium, Leaves, and Trash.
										Watering, Manuring, and Seed at Rs. 11 per Acre.	Other Labour at Rs. 24 per Acre.	Rent at Rs. 10 per Acre.	Total at Rs. 48 per Acre.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
			Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Mds.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Ac.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Ghazipur	Ghazipur and Ballia	17,581	6,92,517	1.8	2,446	4,89,820	3,77,430	8,66,250	1,78,134	3,01,944	1,23,810	6,03,888	2,62,382	24,338	51	21	17,20,312	35,04,698	5,21,127
2	Azamgarh	Azamgarh	8,294	4,46,756	1.8	1,362	2,72,314	2,48,820	5,21,134	1,16,116	1,99,056	82,940	3,98,112	1,23,022	24,949	33	15	17,37,106	26,39,840	2,92,081
3	Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	16,849	12,22,004	1.4	2,594	5,18,710	5,05,470	10,24,180	1,92,916	4,01,376	1,63,490	7,65,782	2,58,398	59,492	28	15	23,73,713	43,82,881	5,34,326
4	Basti	Basti	16,846	7,23,536	2.3	2,645	5,29,018	5,05,380	10,34,398	2,33,974	4,04,304	1,88,460	8,06,738	2,27,660	59,709	28	14	18,74,687	33,33,157	5,52,955
5	Mirzapur	Mirzapur, Benares, and Allahabad.	10,468	15,19,535	1.2	2,004	4,00,641	3,13,740	7,14,381	1,40,412	2,50,992	1,04,580	5,01,984	2,12,397	22,943	45	20	54,25,331	94,16,531	4,08,039
6	Allahabad	Allahabad and Fatehpur	8,199	11,34,093	1.7	1,417	2,83,404	2,45,970	5,29,374	1,14,786	1,06,776	81,990	3,93,552	1,35,822	18,024	45	17	54,25,331	94,16,531	2,89,473
7	Etawah	Etawah and Cawnpore	5,445	11,34,093	1.7	765	1,53,026	1,63,330	3,16,376	76,230	1,30,680	54,450	2,61,560	55,016	9,977	54	10	46,38,383	82,20,916	1,57,636
8	Fatehgarh	Fatehgarh and Cawnpore	13,715	11,34,093	1.7	2,026	4,05,199	4,11,430	8,16,649	1,92,010	8,29,160	1,87,150	6,58,320	1,58,320	26,801	51	12	46,38,383	82,20,916	4,16,701
9	Mainpuri	Mainpuri and Etah	10,642	7,18,999	1.5	2,010	4,02,056	3,19,260	7,21,316	1,48,988	2,55,408	1,06,420	5,10,816	2,10,500	26,031	40	20	23,64,764	43,77,771	4,11,684
10	Bareilly	Bareilly, Budamn, and Shahjahanpur.	21,177	13,02,507	1.4	3,888	7,77,608	6,36,310	14,12,918	2,96,478	5,08,248	2,11,770	10,16,496	3,96,422	43,609	48	19	35,45,706	75,81,886	7,85,187
Total, N.-W. P.			1,24,206	79,59,946	1.6	21,157	42,30,796	37,26,180	79,59,976	16,84,044	29,80,944	12,42,060	69,17,048	20,89,928	3,15,873	40	16	2,36,80,082	4,35,27,680	43,69,209
11	Lucknow	Lucknow, Unao, and Bara Banke.	20,114	10,66,723	1.9	3,340	6,67,940	6,03,420	12,71,360	2,81,596	4,82,736	2,01,140	9,65,472	3,05,888	46,718	43	15	36,94,791	87,42,756	6,95,574
12	Sitapur	Sitapur, Kheri, and Hardoi	14,742	17,28,395	.8	2,817	5,63,318	4,42,260	10,05,578	2,06,388	3,53,808	1,47,420	7,07,616	2,97,962	40,921	38	20	34,85,592	1,01,46,681	5,64,666
13	Fyzabad	Fyzabad	14,474	4,16,882	3.5	2,471	4,94,098	4,34,220	9,28,313	2,02,636	3,47,376	1,44,740	6,94,782	2,33,561	41,942	34	16	11,46,560	26,91,748	5,99,636
14	Gonda	Gonda and Bahraich	18,073	13,48,404	1.4	2,968	5,92,426	5,60,190	11,52,616	2,54,112	4,48,152	1,86,730	8,38,994	2,63,622	50,296	37	14	24,87,658	81,70,783	6,06,946
15	Partabgarh	Partabgarh and Sultanpur	18,740	6,76,297	2.8	2,867	5,73,335	5,62,200	11,35,535	2,82,990	4,49,760	1,87,400	8,99,520	2,36,015	55,287	34	13	21,85,324	53,47,142	5,93,785
16	Rai Bareli	Rai Bareli	17,973	3,34,132	5.4	2,874	5,74,696	5,39,180	11,13,876	2,51,608	4,31,328	1,79,720	6,62,656	2,51,200	50,376	35	14	12,33,861	31,23,980	6,01,908
Total, Oudh			1,04,715	55,70,743	1.9	17,332	34,65,808	31,41,450	66,07,288	14,68,790	25,13,160	10,47,160	50,19,010	15,88,248	2,85,540	38	15	1,42,19,791	3,82,23,990	35,71,624
Total, N.-W. P. and Oudh.			2,28,921	1,35,30,689	1.6	38,489	76,96,604	68,67,630	1,45,64,264	31,62,744	54,94,104	22,89,210	1,09,36,058	86,28,176	6,01,413	38	16	3,70,90,883	8,17,56,770	79,40,83

At least one-third of the sums shown in column 11, and practically the whole of those shown in column 12 are earnings, not outlay, of the cultivator. They represent the work of himself, his family, and his cattle, which would otherwise have mostly been idle or less profitably employed. This modifies the figures in columns 15 and 18, which represent the minimum average net profits of a tenant wholly employing hired labour. The net earnings of the ordinary cultivator who does not employ hired labour average per acre Rs. 44 or Rs. 45, but vary from district to district according to the out-turn.

The land revenue and rental (columns 19 and 20) are for the entire revenue districts and not merely for those parts in which poppy is cultivated. The proportion of proceeds of poppy cultivation to revenue and rent is therefore understated.

Of the total payments in column 21 Rs. 1,49,637 was recoverable from cultivators, leaving net payments Rs. 77,91,144. Though poppy occupies only 1.6 per cent. of the cold weather crop area, and 8 per cent. of total crop area, the value of the out-turn (column 10) amounts to 17.8 per cent. of the tenant's rental and 39.4 per cent. of the land revenue of the provinces.

APPENDIX VI.

APP. VI.
N.W. Prov.

STATEMENT showing the CASES brought to TRIAL in the NORTH-WEST PROVINCES and OUDH of ILLICIT DEALINGS in CHANDU and MADAK from 1st October 1892 to 30th November 1893.

(Received from Mr. STOKER, Commissioner of Excise, North-west Provinces and Oudh.)

District.	Name, Caste, and Occupation of the Person convicted.	Section and Clause of the Act under which Punishment inflicted.	Nature of Case.	Sentenced to		Amount of Reward paid to Informers and Apprehenders.
				Imprisonment, simple or rigorous.	Fine.	
1	2	3	4	5		6
Shaharanpur	Ahmad Hussain, caste Chepi, fruit-seller.	Section 9 f, Act I. of 1878.	Sale of chandu:—1 tola	-	Rs. a. p. Rs. 50 or one month's rigorous imprisonment in default. 50 0 0	Rs. a. p. 45 0 0
Meerut	Abdul Majid, Pathan	Section 9, Act I. of 1878.	Sale of chandu	Three months' rigorous.	50 0 0	50 0 0
Aligarh	Amtra and Fida Husain, day labourers, Musalmans.	Section 9 f, Act I. of 1878.	Illegal possession of 3½ tolas of chandu.	One month's rigorous each.	Rs. 5 each	10 0 0
Ditto	Sitaram Bania, vendor of victuals.	Sections 3 and 9, Act I. of 1878.	Illegal possession of chandu and madak ½ seer prepared opium and six pills madak.	Four months' rigorous	10 0 0	10 0 0
Ditto	Mussamut Nasiban, caste Bhisti.	Section 9, Act I. of 1878.	Selling madak and chandu without license.	Three ditto	50 0 0	40 0 0
Agra	Faiz Buksh Shaik, labourer.	Ditto	Illicit manufacture and sale of chandu, 1 chittak.	Three ditto	-	20 0 0
Ditto	Mania Bania	Ditto	Illicit manufacture of chandu.	Three ditto	Rs. 25, or one month's rigorous imprisonment in default.	25 0 0
Ditto	Ahmad Ali Sayed, shop-keeper.	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu, 5½ tolas.	One year's rigorous	Rs. 20, or in default two months' rigorous. 25 0 0	20 0 0
Ditto	Bhikhan Kachi	Ditto	Illicit possession of chandu, 2 chittaks.	-	-	15 0 0
Farukhabad	Sallah Khan, Pathan	Ditto	Possession of chandu, 6 mashes and apparatus.	Discharged	-	-
Ditto	Mohamad Hussain, tailor.	Ditto	Illicit possession of opium and ½ phial of chandu, and smoking apparatus.	-	Rs. 10, or in default two weeks' rigorous.	-
Ditto	Chota Lal, Brahman	Ditto	Illicit possession of 18½ tolas of opium, including a phial and 10 tolas chandu, with apparatus of smoking.	Three months' rigorous under section 9 (c), and three months under clause f.	-	20 0 0
Budaun	Maula Baksh, Sheikh, juggler.	Ditto	Illicit possession of chandu, 5 tolas.	-	15 0 0	10 0 0
Shahjahanpur	Mussamut Nanhi and Asad Ali Khan, Pathan, dyer.	Ditto	Sale of 6 tolas 11 mashes of chandu.	Asad Ali, two months' rigorous, and Mussamut Nanhi - Two months' rigorous	5 0 0 } 10 0 0 } 5 0 0 }	15 0 0 } 5 0 0 }
Ditto	Abbas Khan, Pathan, bezzar.	Ditto	Sale of 6 tolas 10 mashes, chandu.	Two months' rigorous	5 0 0	5 0 0
Ditto	(1) Mussamut Rahima, and (2) Khatun, Pathan, tailor.	Ditto	Possession of 5 tolas crude opium, and 1 tola chandu.	One month's rigorous	10 0 0	10 0 0
Pilibhit	Fakher Alan Khan, Pathan, zamindar, and Sukha, bhisti.	Ditto	Illegal possession of 2 tolas 10 mashes of chandu with smoking apparatus.	-	30 0 0 } and 10 0 0 }	10 0 0 }
Cawnpore	(1) Shukna - (2) Jani - (3) Mussamut Nanhi - Ahmad Ali and three others, Mussalmans, &c.	Ditto	Illegal possession of 6½ tolas of chandu.	(1) - (2) - (3) Discharged	75 0 0 } 75 0 0 }	125 0 0 }
Ditto	Mussamut Begum, prostitute.	Ditto and section 39, Act XXII. of 1841.	Illegal sale and possession of chandu, weighing 8 annas, and charas, 6½ annas.	Six months' rigorous	100 0 0	50 0 0
Ditto	Ganesh, goldsmith	Section 9, Act I. of 1878.	Illegal sale and possession of chandu, 8½ annas.	Four ditto	Rs. 25 or month's further in default.	25 0 0
Ditto	(1) Khurshed, beggar - (2) Amir Ali, labourer	Ditto and section 109 Indian Penal Code.	Illegal sale and possession of chandu, 2 tolas 9 mashes with pot.	(1) Three months' rigorous.	{(1.) 100 0 0 } {(2.) 50 0 0 }	100 0 0 }
Allahab	Ahmad Ali, cultivator	Section 9, Act I. of 1878.	Possessing 6 tolas opium and making chandu.	Four months' rigorous	-	3 0 0
Ditto	Khunnoo Syed, shop-keeper.	Ditto	Keeping chandu more than authorised.	Two weeks' rigorous	20 0 0	20 0 0
Ditto	Zamin, Sayed Rangsa-	Ditto	Manufacture and sale of chandu.	Three months' rigorous.	50 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto	Ashrafuddin, Sheikh, ekkadriver.	Ditto	Manufacture and sale of chandu.	Six months' rigorous.	50 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto	Badlu Gararya, Naichaband.	Ditto	Manufacture and sale of chandu.	Two ditto	30 0 0	15 0 0
Ditto	Babu, Pathan, service as mason.	Ditto	Preparing and selling chandu without license.	Two ditto	30 0 0	15 0 0
Ditto	Mussamut Shahzadi, prostitute.	Ditto	Illicit manufacture of chandu, 2½ tolas.	-	30 0 0	20 0 0
Jhansi	Mussamut Hora, dancing girl.	Ditto	Possessing 2½ tolas chandu	Discharged	-	-
Ditto	Chunnu, labourer	Ditto	Possessing 2½ tolas madak	Six months' rigorous	-	-
Ditto	Zulfiqar Ali, bookseller.	Ditto	Illicit manufacture and sale of madak, Rs. 3 ½ a. in weight.	Three ditto	-	-
Ditto	Bucha, labourer. Bechua	Ditto	Illicit manufacture and	Four ditto	20 0 0	-

APP. VI.

District.	Name, Caste, and Occupation of the Person convicted.	Section and Clause of the Act under which Punishment inflicted.	Nature of Case.	Sentenced to		Amount of Reward paid to Informers and Apprehenders.
				Imprisonment, simple or rigorous.	Fine.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	
Jhansi	(1) Kunua, Brahman, weighman.	Section 9, Act 1. of 1878.	Illicit manufacture and sale of madak, 4½ tolas in weight.	(1.) One year's rigorous (2.) ditto	20 0 0	—
Bonares	(2.) Mohan, grain dealer					
Ditto	(1.) Nankhi, Brahman (2.) Lal Mohamad, Joiaha Alahu, Rangrez	Ditto	Sale of kewam and opium	Two weeks' rigorous	25 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto	Valait Ali Khan	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandukewam.	Discharged	—	—
Ditto	Nabboo Khan	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu and opium.	Three months' rigorous.	30 0 0	30 0 0
Ditto	Bhagwan Dass, shop-keeper.	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu and opium.	Three weeks' rigorous	—	19 0 0
Ditto	Husain Ali Dabkai	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu	Discharged	—	—
Ditto	Gulla Bakkal	Ditto	Illicit sale of kewam-madak.	—	25 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto	Mussumat Sarupia, labourer.	Ditto	Illicit sale of kewam-madak.	—	25 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto	Madur Bux	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu	—	30 0 0	30 0 0
Ditto	Laloo, Rangrez	Ditto	Ditto	Two months' rigorous	30 0 0	30 0 0
Ditto	Bhaggu, Kasarwani	Ditto	Illicit sale of madak	One months' rigorous	25 0 0	30 0 0
Ditto	Lachman, Brahman	Ditto	Illicit sale of kewam-opium.	Two months' rigorous	30 0 0	32 0 0
Ditto	Golab, Hajam, and Mangar, Jalaha.	Ditto	Selling chandu without license	(1.) Discharged (2.) five weeks' rigorous.	—	20 0 0
Ditto	Dalmir Khan	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu and kewam.	Six months' rigorous	—	—
Ditto	Abdulla Khan	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu and kewam.	Three ditto	50 0 0 or default four weeks' rigorous	—
Ditto	Hassan Khan	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu	Discharged	—	—
Ditto	Mangu, Kasarwani	Ditto	Illicit sale of madak	Eight weeks' rigorous	20 0 0 in default two weeks' rigorous	20 0 0
Ditto	(1.) Budhu and (2.) Mussumat Gobindi.	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu	(1.) Three months' rigorous, (2.) 15 days' simple.	—	20 0 0
Ditto	Mussumat Ganeshi and Dhanu Singh.	Ditto	Ditto	Three months' rigorous each.	10 0 0 each.	25 0 0
Ditto	Salig Singh, silk merchant.	Ditto	Illegal sale of chandu, 13 mashas.	Discharged	—	—
Ditto	Parotam Ahir	Ditto	Illegal sale of chandu, 5 weight, chandu, 5 mashas.	Six weeks' rigorous	—	—
Ditto	Jallo, Rangrez	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu	One year's rigorous	100 0 0	100 0 0
Ditto	Rama Nath Chakurbatti	Ditto	Ditto	Discharged	—	—
Mirzapur	(1.) Mockan, and six others.	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu, 17 pice weight with vessel.	—	40 0 0	20 0 0
	Shankar, Sonar, and three others.	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu, and possession of illicit opium, Rs. 4½ in weight.	(1.) Two months' rigorous. (2.) One month's rigorous. (3.) One month's rigorous.	10 0 0 2 0 0 2 0 0	10 0 0
	Sheikh Asad Ali, and four others.	Ditto	Illicit sale of chandu, Rs. 14 18a. in weight, with vessel.	(4.) Discharged - (1.) Three months' rigorous. (2.) Six weeks' rigorous.	10 0 0 5 0 0	15 0 0
	Jamna Kasera, and four others.	Ditto	Illegal possession of chandu, Rs. 4½ in weight.	(3.) Discharged - (4.) Six weeks' rigorous. (5.) Six weeks' rigorous.	— 5 0 0 5 0 0	—
Jaunpur	Afghan Khan, juggler	Ditto	Illicit manufacture and sale of 1½ tola chandu.	Discharged	—	—
Gorakhpur	Ramjan Khan, service	Ditto	Illegal possession of chandu, 1½ tola.	—	5 0 0	—
Ditto	Babu Khan, service	Ditto	Illegal possession of chandu, 4 mashas.	Three months' rigorous.	—	—
Ditto	Subrat Julaha	Ditto	Illegal possession of chandu, 1 seer madak, ½ seer kufa.	Four months' rigorous	20 0 0	20 0 0
Lucknow	Mussumat Nazirjan, and others.	Ditto	Possession and sale of chandu, 1 tola.	Six ditto	20 0 0	20 0 0
Ditto	Karim Khan, Pathan	Ditto	Possession of opium and chandu; opium, 2½ tolas, chandu, 5 tolas.	Three ditto	—	20 0 0
Ditto	Manjo Wasikadar	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu.	—	70 0 0	20 0 0
Ditto	Karim Buksh	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu	—	20 0 0	—
Ditto	Wasir Jaincha	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu; opium, 4½ tolas; chandu, 2½ tolas.	Four months' rigorous	—	20 0 0
Ditto	Shankar Zardos	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu, 4½ tolas.	Eight ditto	15 0 0	20 0 0
Ditto	Mohamad Hussain Sayad	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu, 8 mashas chandu.	Four ditto	—	—
Ditto	Murli Tell	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu, 2 tolas.	One year's rigorous	50 0 0	25 0 0
Ditto	Mayah Hussain	Ditto	Possession of opium and sale of chandu, 2½ tolas.	Ditto	100 0 0	10 0 0
Kheri	Gur Parshad Shah, and five others.	Ditto	Possession of opium, and sale of chandu.	Ditto	43 0 0	—
Bahraich	Jhabbu Khan, labourer	Ditto	Illegal sale of chandu	Six months' rigorous	—	—
	Majju, labourer	Ditto	Ditto	Discharged	—	—

APPENDIX VII.

APP. VII.
Rae Bareilly.

NOTE ON POPPY CULTIVATION in the RAE BAREILY DISTRICT by Mr. D. C. BAILLIE, Settlement Officer.

1. The Rae Bareilly District is the most important as regards poppy cultivation in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. The accompanying Statements A. and B. compare the area under poppy, and the income to cultivators from the poppy crop, with the total cultivated area and the rental and land revenue of the district. Poppy is in general, but by no means invariably, grown on land which has been fallow throughout the rains. Its importance as regards the area occupied is indicated by a per-centage figure lying between that shown in the Statement A. as on the total crop area and that on the total cultivated area. At present poppy probably occupies an area equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total cultivation.

2. As regards income the past five years have on the whole been unfortunate; the best of them, 1889-90, is as compared with previous years only average. In Statement B. I have taken into account only licit income from poppy cultivation. The illicit income, especially to the less reliable class of cultivators, is by no means negligible. As regards the best class of cultivators, the income from sale of illicit opium is not large, their dependence on the opium cultivation being too great to permit them to run any risk in selling illicitly. Almost all cultivators probably keep back a comparatively very small quantity of opium for medical use in their own families. Statement B. shows that in a year of average prosperity like 1889-90 poppy, though in extent less than 4 per cent. of the cultivation, pays the whole of the land revenue of the district and 40 per cent. of the rental. A rough estimate of the total value of the agricultural produce of the district shows that the poppy crop in an average year may be valued at nearly 9 per cent. of the sale price of the total produce, deducting the rental and working expenses. The available surplus from poppy bears a far higher ratio to that for the other crops of the district, but I am not prepared to estimate what proportion.

3. It is therefore clear that a most serious loss would be incurred by the cultivators, and through the cultivators by the landholders of the district, were poppy cultivation abolished—unless it were possible to provide a substitute crop or crops to take its place, by the introduction or extension of which the district surplus produce could be raised to the extent it would fall from the abolition of poppy. Is this possible? In my opinion it is not. The special features of opium cultivation which render it so specially valuable to Indian cultivators are (1.) the high value of the crop per unit of area occupied; (2.) the comparatively small amount of labour required, and the fact that labour on poppy is mainly necessary at seasons when the cultivator has time to spare, and that for the best class of opium cultivators the labour devoted to opium cultivation costs little or nothing. Land for poppy is prepared and the seed is sown after the rest of the spring crops are down and before irrigation has begun. The opium is extracted after cane has been pressed and irrigation of spring crops completed, and just before the reaping of the opium harvest is begun in earnest. The weeding and extraction of the juice is done by the families of low caste cultivators, and requires no hired male labour whatsoever. It might be considered possible to abolish opium cultivation without loss were either of two courses possible: (a.) to grow a substitute crop with the same available surplus of income, and with the same advantages on the same area; (b.) by extending the cultivation of the more valuable crops over a larger area than they occupy at present.

4. The only crops now grown in these provinces to any extent which can compare in value per unit of area with poppy are (1.) cane, (2.) tobacco, (3.) vegetables. As regards cane there can be no doubt of its value to the Indian cultivator, and of its being suited to the system of agriculture: providing work for the cultivator who has good bullocks in the hot weather, and being pressed when work in irrigating the rabi slackens. For an eastern district it is not, however, nearly so paying as opium. It wants far more male and bullock labour than opium, and provides much less for women and children. It interferes also to a considerable extent with the late watering of the rabi

crops. A still more fatal objection to the idea that it can be adopted as a substitute for opium is to be found in the fact that cane is uncertain in the extreme, except in stiff clayey soil with ample irrigation. The greater part of the area of the Rae Bareilly District is of light soil, in which cane is liable to be destroyed by insects, and in which cane cultivation, though tried time after time, has been a failure. A local bar to the cultivation of cane is almost insuperable in half the district. Cane is considered unlucky, and to grow it likely to cause the death of a son. The result of this superstition has been that though many attempts have been made to introduce the cultivation of cane in the Kanpuriya parganas of this district, the area under it is still infinitesimal, and it makes no progress, even though several of these parganas are, in soil, well suited to its growth. In Rae Bareilly at least any great extension of cane cultivation is impracticable for many years. (2.) Tobacco need only be briefly mentioned. It is now grown on almost as large an area as it can be grown on. It can be grown at a profit only on old village sites where the soil is impregnated with salt. It is never grown elsewhere, and its cultivation cannot extend, even did the demand admit of it. (3.) The area under vegetables is very small, and yet it is sufficient to meet the demand. They take far more labour than poppy, and as they have to be carried to bazars or towns to be sold, are grown for sale only by a small class.

5. It has now to be considered whether it is possible to extend the cultivation of the more valuable crops, such as wheat, over a considerably larger area than they now occupy. For wheat in this district the area to make up for loss from poppy would have to be doubled. It may be at once said that this is impossible, as the small size of the holdings in the district, and the large cultivating population which has, as a first charge, to be fed from the holdings, has made the restriction of the area under the cheap food grains used by the cultivators and labourers themselves impossible.

6. To estimate the effects of the abolition of opium cultivation in the district it is necessary to inquire more clearly into the circumstances of opium cultivation and opium cultivators. The loss would not be spread uniformly over the district and its population. Opium is of the highest importance to certain classes of cultivators only. It is of the highest importance in probably less than 50 per cent. of the villages of the district. The loss would, therefore, being restricted in area, fall with extreme severity on certain classes and areas. I am unable to give district figures showing exactly the distribution of opium cultivation, but how important the cultivation is to certain classes will be clear from Statement C., in which figures are collected from certain villages in tahsil Salon, in which poppy cultivation is of high importance. Some of these villages are exceptional, but they are exceptional only that in them are collected an unusually large proportion of the close cultivating castes which grow poppy best. The circumstances of the individual cultivators in these villages are similar to those of cultivators of a similar class throughout the district. It will be observed that throughout these villages the area of the holdings is extremely small, and the rental even for a high rented district like Rae Bareilly (the district incidence per acre being Rs. 5-12) the rent is in general very high, and for the opium cultivators the proportion of income from opium very large. These circumstances are general amongst the castes which cultivate opium throughout the district.

7. What is considered a fair rent in India is, I believe, the surplus produce after defraying cost of production and maintaining the cultivator and his family in the standard of comfort to which they are accustomed. A large holding would mean a large surplus and therefore a comparative high rent, and a comparatively high standard of comfort. Reducing the size of the holding without reducing the rent would lower the standard of comfort. Reducing the value of the produce would have the same effect (if rents did not at once fall) of greatly reducing the standard of comfort of the cultivators. The figures for some of the villages in Statement C. indicate how severe would be

APP. VIII.
Rae Bareli.

the effect on the people affected. In Jasauli, for instance, it would imply the loss of one-fifth of the income of the village as a whole, and a considerably larger proportion for many of them. There is not, in my opinion, the least doubt that the removal of the income from opium cultivation would reduce almost the whole of the Murais, Lodhs, and Kurmis, and a large proportion of the Ahirs and Chamars in this district from the condition of comparatively well-to-do people to that of day labourers living from hand to mouth, or force them to emigrate, not in itself a bad thing, but a course which would be followed only after years of suffering. As to what the tenants say themselves I have frequently made notes. Murais told me that in the Nawabi they, with difficulty, paid low rents and lived in poor circumstances, and that since they have taken to opium cultivation they have been able to live in comfort and give their daughters a suitable portion. Several men have told me that if opium cultivation were abolished "nán nán laske narjaenge" (our small children will die). The effect on high caste tenants will be by no means so great. Opium cultivation is expensive for them, and the profits therefore smaller. They would lose a small surplus they now find useful, and they would lose a resource in time of trouble by which they can now raise some funds. Of this resource we have an excellent illustration this year. Since the opium settlements were made part of the autumn crop turned out to be a failure, and many of the tenants are hard up. They have in consequence taken to opium, and every village is sowing in excess of the area contracted for.

8. Landlords would be affected by the fall in rents of the opium-growing tenants, whose small holdings could no longer pay the rents they now do. Land revenue would have to fall also. It is difficult to estimate the loss which would accrue in this way to Government, but it would certainly be close on to two lakhs of rupees.

9. It may be asked in what Rae Bareli is peculiar in that opium cultivation is so necessary to it. There are western districts which grow no opium, and yet in which rent is quite as high as in Rae Bareli. The difference is in the size of the holdings. In Bulandshahr a tenant holds probably three times as large an area as a tenant does here. The large holding, as already re-

marked, can pay a full rent with ease, whereas a small holding could not. Rae Bareli is one of the districts in which the pressure of agricultural population is most dense. It is distinguished from the eastern districts in which I have served by a difference in the incidence of the rent, which fully explains the greater extent to which tenants here have taken to opium cultivation.

10. Several points in connexion with opium cultivation have not been referred to above, but deserve notice. One of them is the system of advances, which plays a most important part in connexion with the collection of rent and revenue in the district. About a lakh of rupees are distributed annually in August, at a time when both tenants and landlords are worst off for ready money. The autumn rent collections would suffer from the absence of these advances, and many tenants, now free from debt, be driven to get their seed from grain-lenders, on condition of repaying it six months afterwards with interest at 50 per cent.

11. An opinion appears to prevail that the influence of Government officers has to be exerted to get tenants to cultivate. Here at least the opposite is the case, and tenants who are prevented from cultivating make the greatest efforts to regain permission to do so. To induce cultivators to take up on a large scale a system of cultivation the advantages of which are not clear to them requires more influence than Government officers, without positive compulsion, could exert. Many officers in positions of very much more influence than the opium employes have tried to promote cane cultivation, but have altogether failed.

12. The opinion of the tenants of the district as to opium cultivation has already been referred to. They thoroughly realise its importance to themselves.

13. Landholders I find often fail to understand the intimate connexion between poppy cultivation and rent. Some of them, by no means the best, object to the opium officers inquiring minutely into the circumstances of their tenants, and trying to aid oppressed tenants. The more intelligent landlords I have consulted entirely agree with the opinions I have above recorded. I have never yet met tenant or landlord who was prepared to suggest how the loss of opium revenue was to be compensated for, or expressed any willingness to bear his share of the burden.

STATEMENT A.

STATEMENT comparing the AREA under the POPPY CROPS in the RAE BARELI DISTRICT for the past Five Years, with the total Crop and other Areas.

Year.	Poppy.	Total Crop Area.	Total Cultivated Area.	Crops only.	Per-centage on whole Crops.	Per-centage on Cultivated Area.	Per-centage on Rabi Crop Area.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.			
1888-89 (96 fasli) *	22,559	827,393	597,180	370,199	2.72	3.77	6.09
1889-90 (97 fasli) -	25,449	833,211	594,011	357,891	3.54	4.28	7.11
1890-91 (98 fasli) -	26,132	803,993	586,219	354,419	3.25	4.45	7.37
1891-92 (99 fasli) -	21,847	785,132	582,563	334,132	2.78	3.75	7.53
1892-93 (1,300 fasli)	21,061	785,748	581,146	332,266	2.67	3.62	6.33

EXPLANATION OF VARIATIONS.

(1.) Reduction of cultivation was ordered in 1890, and was effected by excluding cultivation unprofitable to the Department in general, by high caste tenants, in land not properly prepared or suited for poppy.

(2.) A bad year in poppy cultivation tends to reduce the area cultivated in the succeeding year. The last three years have all been poor.

(3.) A bad year for other cultivation tends to raise the poppy area in the succeeding year or harvest, e.g., loss of several crops during the autumn just passed has

induced cultivators throughout the district to sow opium largely in excess of their engagements to make up for the loss sustained.

(4.) Settlement operations being in progress has induced landowners, as far as possible, to keep down the cultivation in their villages. A large poppy area is a sign of rent-paying capacity, and they are unwilling that the area should be up to average whilst settlement measurements and inspection are in progress.

(5.) Variations as a rule affect only the inferior poppy cultivation by high caste tenants

STATEMENT B.

STATEMENT showing the LAND REVENUE, RENT, and VALUE of POPPY in the RAE BARELI DISTRICT for the past Five Years.

APP. VII.
Rae Bareli.

Year.	Land Revenue.	Departmental Payments for Opium.	Add Value of Seed at Rs. 10 per Acre.	Total Value of Poppy.	Proportion to Land Revenue.	Proportion to Rent.	Rental Demand.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			Rs.
1888-89	12,40,030 3 5	7,22,917	2,25,590	9,48,507	76.49	30.99	30,59,963
1889-90	12,43,731 14 5	10,90,503	2,54,480	13,44,983	108.14	43.94	30,60,553
1890-91	12,41,689 3 5	7,46,492	2,61,320	10,07,812	81.16	32.82	30,70,265
1891-92	12,39,865 12 5	5,74,696	2,18,470	7,93,166	63.97	26.37	30,11,644
1892-93	12,44,709 13 5	6,78,934	2,00,620	8,79,554	70.66	29.06	30,26,616

REMARKS.

(1) Variations in area have been explained under Statement A.

(2) Variations in produce are due to the somewhat precarious nature of the poppy crop:—

(a) It is ruined by even a slight hailstorm which would not materially deteriorate other crops.

(b) It is sensitive to frost.

(c) It is particularly sensitive to rain. Over irrigation, or rain after irrigation, is very injurious.

Rain whilst the poppy is in flower injures the crop by preventing full fertilisation; rain while the poppy is being extracted wastes off a large part of the yield of opium.

(3) The last three years have been particularly unfortunate for poppy. 1889-90, the yield of which was considerably higher than in any other year above shown, was only, as compared with preceding years, an average one.

STATEMENT C.

Giving figures regarding OPIUM CULTIVATION in certain typical VILLAGES in the RAE BARELI DISTRICT.

Village.	Total Cultivated Area.	Tenant Area.	Number of Tenants.	Average Area of Holding.	Number of Opium Tenants.	Poppy Area.	Per-centage of Poppy on Cultivated Area.	Rental		Land Revenue.	Estimate of Value of Produce.	Value of Poppy Crops.		
								Rs.	Rs. a. p.			Opium Payments.	Seed.	Total.
1. Jasauli	152	100	32	3	23	18	11.84	Rs. 908	Rs. a. p. 9 1 2	Rs. 295	Rs. 3,866	Rs. 1,306	Rs. 190	Rs. 1,496
2. Katra	1,017	1,125	187	6	176	108	10.61	6,807	5 0 9	1,802	27,221	5,483	1,161	6,644
3. Negohan	153	151	56	3	46	19	12.41	1,072	7 1 7	325	4,927	1,191	221	1,412
4. Shukrullapur	215	160	60	2½	48	23	10.23	1,098	6 13 0	400	6,512	899	310	1,209
5. Mohanganj	343	348	163		71	19	5.53	2,169	6 8 8	865	7,976	1,062	490	1,572
6. Khanpur or Beerbhanpur.	363	403	300	1½	63	45	12.39	3,987	8 9 9	658	18,399	855	517	1,372
7. Besaia	650	654	410	1½	101	46	7.07	3,632	5 8 10	1,417	14,986	1,285	792	2,077
8. Matika	382	393	172	2½	94	52	13.61	2,885	7 5 5	1,000	13,691	1,621	598	2,199
9. Beoli	494	346	168	2	70	47	9.71	2,983	8 7 6	1,125	15,130	1,000	644	1,644
10. Basulpur	1,272	1,160	269	4	200	153	12.02	7,376	6 4 11	2,240	35,540	4,738	1,786	6,524

APPENDIX VIII.

APP. VIII.
Lucknow Shops.

(Handed in by Mrs. J. G. HAUSER.)

The Lucknow OPIUM SHOPS, January 10th, 1894.

The seven shops visited during the day were all about alike, from 6 to 10 feet square. The floor of mud, some 3 feet above the level of the road, all very dirty. The shopkeeper sat on a bit of mat with two or three packages of opium and a cash box beside him, also some bits of paper for wrapping the opium as sold.

In the first shop in Agha Mirki Deori were three men beside the shopkeeper, one of them particularly miserable as to clothing, health, and scarcely enough spirit to sit up. He held a Mahomedan rosary in his fingers which he dropped two or three times from sheer stupidity. Lives by begging, and uses one anna a day of opium when he can get so much money. The other women were middle-aged and very thin.

Other purchasers came up, one of them a young man

belonging to a Nawab's family. He receives Rs. 7 a month pension, looked most wretched and was obliged to rest his head on the platform while his opium was weighed out, then hastened away to use it.

One man said he used daily one anna of opium and halfpice of parched grain; would rather have opium than food. All pronounced the habit very bad, and would be glad to be rid of it that they might expend the money for food. Said it was the fault of their parents who had given it to them in childhood. The shopkeeper said that as long as opium was sold it would be used, but it would be "sab log ko bahut faida"—a great benefit to the people if the shops were closed. He took pains to uncover his license board, which was covered for the time with a blanket. The license board is seen in all the shops. A boxwala, an itinerant notions vendor, who lived in the neighbourhood, came

APP. VIII.
Lucknow Shops.

up with his two children to see what we wished in such a place. He and his children looked healthy and happy. He said he did not use opium, not even gave it to his children, and his comfortable, cheerful appearance was in strong contrast to the miserable creatures about us.

At second shop in Ahyagunj about a dozen men sitting in the shop, some eating parched grain, and some stirring their opium in small bowls preparatory to drinking. Many more buyers came up. One of them, a most miserable, middle-aged man, his clothing in rags, his countenance besotted. He spent two pice daily on opium. On being asked how his family lived, he said that he earned rupees two a month, spent one for opium, two annas for rent, and had 14 annas, or less than two pice a day to feed himself and daughter. He regretted the little food, but could not live without the opium. What must the daughter suffer, who had not even the effect of opium to dull the pangs of hunger. A cleanly dressed, grey haired old man, intelligent looking, but very thin, came up for his daily allowance of one anna of opium because it was his taqdir, fate, but the habit was no good, only very bad, entirely bad, an evil "Shaitani"—from the devil, and they would be much better off if they never had opium, but as a slave of the habit what could he do, who would cure him? He was greatly grieved at the increased cost. In the King's time, Wajid Ali Shah, which he remembered, opium was four rupees a seer, and many used it. Now it is Rs. 20 a seer, and very many more people use it; this in reply to a direct question. On asking why it is so much dearer, the shopkeeper particularly, and others joining, explained, "Sarkar ke liye" for the Government, and also that since the smoking shops had been closed, the shopkeeper had been obliged to raise the price to meet the license. The old man said that it cost him an anna to produce the desired intoxication. If the Government prohibited the sale they then would suffer and thousands would die. I pointed to the eight or ten children standing around, and laughingly ask, "Would it not be better if such old opium slaves as yourself should die, that these children may be saved," to which with a laugh and shrug he answered, "Beshak," without doubt. By all the crowd, both in the shop and on the street, the custom of the mothers giving opium to their children was greatly denounced, and yet saying, "What could a poor woman do with a crying baby."

At two shops in the Chauk, no customers, as it was the busiest time of the day.

At a shop near entrance of Hosainabad only two men sitting in the shop, but an hour or more later, on returning from Rais Manzil, there were eight or more buyers, mostly very miserable. One young man, comfortably dressed, with an intelligent face, but showing the effect of opium, on being asked why he took it, answered, "Nasha"—drunkenness. He was smoking a hukka, and between whiffs stirring the opium with water in a bowl. A miserable bhisti—water carrier,—with wretchedest rags for covering was sitting on the ground in front of the shop devouring a half pice worth of parched grain. Our coachman who had been waiting for us outside the Rais Manzil, has just seen this water-carrier buy seven pice of opium and a half pice of corn. The people about said this was his daily custom, and his appearance was ample evidence of truth. He was too eager over the corn, and too besotted to tell what his family had to eat. An old woman came along carrying a hukka and coal stand, such as is used in selling smokes to passers-by. This was her means of livelihood. Her flowing rags were miserable, and her countenance haggard. She bought her daily allowance of four pice of opium. Her veil and the great folds of her divided skirt were burned in dozens of places. The bystanders said that she was usually so stupid from opium that she was constantly dropping the lighted coals on her dress, to which statement she assented. Some blamed their mothers for giving them the habit, others began for illness, and could leave off if they

would, and gladly go to a hospital where they could be assured of cure.

In the Rais Manzil, a sort of refuge for the aged members of the former noble families, we first met two old women, mother and daughter, the latter a grey-haired woman. They live on a small pension granted the mother. One of them takes a pice of opium in four days, and greatly regretted the habit, because of the expense. It was began on the doctor's order for sickness. They would do anything to be free from the bad habit, but could not give it up without some medicine to carry over the illness that would result from stoppage. It is very hard for Europeans to realise that a quarter of pice daily can be any appreciable loss in supplying food, but these two women expressed their loss emphatically, wailing that they had only the feeble mother's pension to live on, with "no one to take them by hand" or foot, only in God is our hope." When it is possible for a person to maintain existence on a pice a day, a quarter of a pice even counts.

At another house in Rais Manzil lives an old opium-eater, aged about 60, with his wife. They receive Rs. 5 a month, and he spends Rs. 2 for opium. He began using opium shortly after the Mutiny. He had just had his dose of opium and was finishing his noonday meal, so his eyes were bright and he at his best, and talked a great deal. He pointed to his worn poor clothing, to the wretched tatters and rags which served for bedding, to the misery of the damp place where he, who had once been a man of means and influence, was obliged to live, and all on account of his opium habit. He would gladly leave it off if any medicine could be given which would cure him. If he lessened his dose to any extent, or did without, in two or three days dysentery would set in, and probably death. He complained greatly that he could afford but one meal a day for himself and wife, he was heavily in debt, and could not work either with opium or without it.

Shop in Aminabad, eight or ten people sitting in the shop, among them two women. Many came to buy; those in the shop mostly too stupid to talk. One or two talked, saying that opium was only a harm. On asking how some of the most miserable buyers got money, the reply was by begging. Many go out at night to beg as they are quite sleepless, and during the day too dull with opium.

Another shop in Aminabad full of men sitting, some evidently having taken their dose, others preparing it in a little bowl. Crowds were coming and going. I have often passed this shop and wondered what the people were so eager about as they stood in front. One rather young man of most haggard appearance, came up and offered his pice, then was obliged to sit on the ground until his opium was weighed. A bright young man who belonged to the neighbourhood and knew the people began telling about them. I asked him how the wretch at our feet was ever able to get money for opium. The reply was he never works, his sister dances and earns the money for both, giving her brother two annas a day for opium. Another buyer belonged to a class of Brahmin priests and gets his money by begging, others were night beggars. One very pretty, well-dressed girl of eight or nine came into the miserable crowd to buy for someone in the house. A mother came to buy for her baby, and a father for his baby, carried by an elder boy that already looked a physical wreck, an elderly man from Rais Manzil for opium which his wife would have for her baby; and many others of all shades of misery.

In conversation later with a company of Mahomedans, men who are much interested in the daily news of their country, they said, "We know that there are many people who care for our good, but the Government cares only for the revenue and not for the people."

JENNETTE G. HAUSER.

January 11th, 1894.

APPENDIX IX.

APP. IX.
Punjab Excise.

(Handed in by Mr. T. GORDON WALKER, Commissioner of Excise in the Punjab.)

MEMORANDUM ON THE SYSTEM OF EXCISE ON OPIUM IN THE PUNJAB, WITH DETAILS OF CONSUMPTION, &c.

OPIUM SUPPLY.

The system of excise with regard to opium which is in force in the Punjab differs (at least so far as the matter of supply is concerned) a good deal from that in other provinces. The main feature of the Punjab system proper is that the production of the drug is subject, until it comes into the hands of the licensed vendors, to taxation in the shape of an acreage duty on poppy cultivation only. The cultivation of the poppy is controlled, but there is no interference with the manufacture of the drug. The rest of the taxation is taken in the form of license fees payable by the dealers.

The above may be accepted as describing the original, and what is still the principal, feature of the system. But it has been somewhat obscured and the system a good deal complicated by developments intended to meet certain special circumstances. In the matter of supply (1) the produce of our own districts has been for long supplemented by (2) opium produced in the territories of the Kashmir State and in the petty Hill States under the political control of the Punjab Government, and (3) opium imported from foreign territory beyond the Indus to the west. Opium from these two latter sources is practically treated as if it had been produced in the province, or rather it is more favourably treated, because it pays no acreage duty. I may here mention that proposals were made two years ago and are still under the consideration of higher authority for levying an import duty on (2). The supply of (3) is very small. The other sources of licit supply are (4) Malwa opium, of which the import by dealers is allowed to a defined extent on payment of a reduced duty at the Ajmere scales; and (5) a comparatively limited quantity of excise opium is supplied by the Bengal Government for issue to licensed vendors. There has, besides the above, been till within the last three or four years, a very considerable illicit import of opium from Nepal and Malwa.

3. These various sources of supply will be examined in detail; but I may first give the following explanation with regard to opium from sources (2) and (3) enumerated above. The definition of Punjab-grown opium in the existing rules [1 (xiii)] is to this effect:—“Punjab-grown opium means (1) opium manufactured from the poppy plant grown in those parts of the Punjab in which the cultivation of the plant is permitted, and (2) opium manufactured from the poppy plant grown in Kashmir or in any Native State under the political control of the Punjab Government, except the States of Bahawalpur and Loharu, the Bahawal, Kanti Narnaul, Kanaundh, and Dadri parganas of the Nabha, Patiala, and Jind States, and the Nahar villages of the Dujana States.” The reason for these exceptions is that the tracts enumerated adjoin directly the territory of the Rajputana States without the intervention of Punjab districts. Rule 26 provides that “Punjab grown opium may be imported by licensed vendors farmers and holders of licenses for wholesale vend . . . from Kashmir and from all native States or parts of native States under the political control of the Punjab Government, excepting the States of Bahawalpur, &c.” (as above).

Again, under Rule 25 (iii) “opium produced in foreign territory situated to the west of the Indus may be imported by licensed vendors and farmers and holders of licenses for wholesale vend . . . after they have procured from the Deputy Commissioner of the district in which they are licensed to sell opium a written permit authorising such import.” The result of the arrangements described in the above definition and in the rules quoted is that opium from sources (2) and (3)

comes into our districts free of duty and becomes, at all events so far as our system of excise is concerned, undistinguishable from (1). With regard to (2) at least it may be said that opium from this source is part of the home-grown supply.

4. Another point which I may mention is that the opium falling under heads (1), (2), and (3) is not all retained for consumption in our districts. A very considerable portion of it finds its way through any districts into the territories of the native States under the political control of the Punjab Government which are situated in the plains. This transport is specially provided for by the Provincial rules.

Part of the home-grown supply exported to Punjab native States.

CULTIVATION OF THE POPPY AND PRODUCTION OF OPIUM AND POPPY-HEADS IN PUNJAB DISTRICTS.

5. The cultivation of the poppy is permitted (under a license taken out free of charge for each crop) throughout the Punjab, except in the district and parts of districts noted in the margin* (the old “Delhi territory”), in which it has for long been prohibited. The total area under poppy cultivation has usually been from 12,000 to 15,000 acres; but there are really only five opium-producing districts, viz., Umballa, Simla, Kangra, Shahpur, and Dera Ghazi Khan. In the remaining districts in which the plant is grown opium is either not extracted, or if it is extracted, only a small quantity of the drug becomes available for sale by licensed vendors, the rest being surreptitiously disposed of; and the produce is consumed in the shape of poppy-heads (post), either illicitly or after passing through the hands of licensed vendors. The cultivator may either dispose of his poppy crop standing to license holders, or extract the opium himself, and dispose of this or of the produce in the shape of poppy-heads to licensed wholesale or retail vendors; but consumption of home produce is now a punishable offence. The home-grown supply of opium has, according to the estimates, varied from 1,200 to 2,000 maunds per annum according to the season; and the whole consumption of post or poppy-heads, the sale of which is covered by the same licenses as that of opium, is met from the area under poppy in British districts and adjoining native States. The cultivation of the poppy was subject to an acreage duty at the rate of Rs. 2 per acre throughout the province from 1860, when this system was first introduced up to 1839. Under the present rules (1839) power has been taken to enhance this duty up to Rs. 8 an acre; and in view of the illicit practices prevailing in connexion with the cultivation of the crop, the duty has been raised to Re. 4 an acre (or Rs. 1 for every quarter of an acre or fraction thereof) in 21 districts; while in the five opium-producing districts (and in Gujrat, as to which see paragraph 9) it still remains at Rs. 2 an acre.

6. Thus in six districts poppy cultivation is allowed at the old duty of Rs. 2 an acre (8 annas for every quarter of an acre or smaller area). In four entire districts and parts of two others it is entirely prohibited. In the rest of the province the acreage duty has been enhanced by Punjab Government Notifications, No. 1003, dated 20th May 1839, and No. 745, dated 8th April 1891, to the rate of Rs. 4 an acre (Re. 1 for every quarter of an acre or smaller area). Dealing with the first of these groups, the following details of area and produce during the last 10 years may be given:—

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District.	1883-84.		1884-85.		1885-86.		1886-87.		1887-88.	
	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.
Umballa - - -	4,535	794	2,720	476	2,737	479	3,174	574	3,598	630
Shahpur - - -	2,872	479	8,621	489	3,127	425	2,173	350	2,077	330
Kangra - - -	1,843	250	1,651	224	1,326	117	1,419	173	1,538	160
Dera Ghazi Khan	760	107	803	100	428	51	314	40	497	75
Simla - - -	295	12	247	19	188	14	320	17	222	15
Gujrat - - -	385	16	442	20	229	28	159	7	132	7
Total - - -	10,690	1,658	9,484	1,328	8,035	1,114	7,559	1,161	8,064	1,217

District.	1888-89.		1889-90.		1890-91.		1891-92.		1892-93.		Average Produce per Acre in Seers.
	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	Area in Acres.	Produce of Opium in Maunds.	
Umballa - - -	4,026	632	4,916	858	3,223	712	3,599	941	3,316	508	6
Shahpur - - -	3,151	473	4,005	840	3,535	707	3,946	779	3,213	642	8
Kangra - - -	1,946	247	1,662	236	1,773	232	2,001	209	1,294	96	3
Dera Ghazi Khan	689	110	749	110	521	100	617	95	509	70	5
Simla - - -	247	32	261	19	253	21	255	24	182	8	2
Gujrat - - -	237	12	235	12	158	5	141	6	85	3	1
Total - - -	10,296	1,566	11,828	2,075	9,463	1,777	10,559	2,054	8,599	1,327	—

District in which the poppy is grown, but no opium produced.

7. With regard to the 21 districts in which the acreage duty has been enhanced, the following figures show the total area in acres under the crop in each of the past 10 years:—

1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.
5,028	3,625	3,208	4,123	4,023	5,195	2,630	2,578	2,084	1,258

In the last Excise Report I described the state of affairs with regard to poppy cultivation in those districts as follows:—"Even allowing for the fact that the season last year was unfavourable, it seems to me a fair conclusion that the measures already taken have led to the reduction of this area within very limited dimensions; and I should not be surprised if there was a further contraction. Two or three years hence it will be possible to speak with greater certainty on this point; and in the meantime I am not prepared to recommend the virtual prohibition of cultivation by a further enhancement of the acreage duty. It would be a mistake, I think, to take immediate action in this direction. The more gradually such a change is introduced the less likely is it to be felt and regarded as a grievance."

In several of these districts the area under the crop is really nominal. The details for 1892-93 are as follows:—

No.	Name of District.	Area in Acres under Poppy.
1	Lahore - - - - -	346
2	Jullunder - - - - -	275
3	Amritsar - - - - -	102
4	Hoshiarpur - - - - -	87
5	Sialkot - - - - -	81
6	Hazara - - - - -	66
7	Gujranwala - - - - -	51
8	Montgomery - - - - -	44
9	Gurdaspur - - - - -	40
10	Rawalpindi - - - - -	29
11	Ferozepore - - - - -	28
12	Jhelum - - - - -	27
13	Mooltan - - - - -	23

No.	Name of District.	Area in Acres under Poppy.
14	Ludhiana - - - - -	21
15	Peshawar - - - - -	17
16	Jhang - - - - -	9
17	Bannu - - - - -	5
18	Karnal - - - - -	3
19	Muzaffargarh - - - - -	2
20	Kohat - - - - -	1
21	Dera Ismail Khan - - - - -	1

The total out-turn from the area under poppy in these 21 districts was in 1892-93 shown as 13 maunds. How much was illicitly consumed it is impossible to say.

8. It may here be observed once for all with regard to figures of produce that it is a consequence of the provincial system not involving any direct interference with the manufacture of the drug, or any direct taxation on it, that there is no standard of quality, so that in dealing with questions of out-turn, price, &c. it is practically impossible to give any accurate information. Thus in the Umballa district the wholesale price of opium last year was said to be Rs. 7 a ser. But of every ser purchased by the licensed vendors from the producers at this price 30 or 40 per cent. is made up of impurities, while there is a considerable loss of weight by dryage; so that by the time it is refined and ready for sale to the consumers it has cost Rs. 12 or Rs. 13 a ser.

9. In dealing with the questions of poppy cultivation and the manufacture of opium it is necessary to keep a group of districts dealt with in paragraph 6 entirely distinct from those dealt with in paragraph 7. In the latter we are proceeding in the direction of imposing a prohibitive acreage duty, while in the former things have been allowed to remain as they have been from the first. The figures given in paragraph 6 will show that the greater part of the home-grown supply comes from the two districts of Umballa and Shahpur. A considerable quantity is produced in the Kulu sub-division of the Kangra district and in the Rajanpur sub-division of the Dera Ghazi Khan. The area under the crop and the out-turn of Simla are considerable only with reference to the small total area of that district (the total population is 44,642); while it has practically been decided to treat Gujrat like the other districts mentioned in paragraph 7.

10. With regard to the 21 districts in which cultivation is permitted subject to the payment of an enhanced duty, it will be observed that the area is made up principally by the central districts of the province (Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur). In an Appendix (II.) I have given a brief historical account of the growth of the present system. Here it will be sufficient to state that until quite recently it had been the custom, from time immemorial, we may say, for the agricultural population of these districts to grow patches of poppy for the purpose of supplying what was required for their own consumption and that of their friends in the form either of opium or of poppy-heads. On such consumption there was, under native rule, no taxation at all, while there was no sort of restriction on the cultivation of the crop. Since annexation in 1849 the only direct taxation has been in the form of a light acreage duty. Moreover, although it was not contemplated that such a practice should be recognised, the criminal courts of the province held that under the Provincial Opium Rules in force up to 1889 consumption of his produce by a grower was not an offence. The existing opium rules which came into force in 1889 contained two important provisions, (1) distinctly forbidding the consumption by a grower of his produce, and making such consumption expressly an offence, and (2) giving the Local Government power to enhance the acreage duty up to a maximum rate of Rs. 8 an acre. The object of this latter provision was "to meet the case of those districts in which, although there is a large area under poppy cultivation, the produce of the crop is consumed by the growers or otherwise surreptitiously disposed of principally in the form of 'post or poppy-heads.'" Since the new rules were passed in 1889 the acreage duty has been enhanced to Rs. 4 an acre (or as any area less than a quarter acre pays the full duty for a quarter really to something over Rs. 5) with results, so far as the area under the crop is concerned, which have been already described in paragraph 7. It seems not at all unlikely that the cultivation of the poppy will, with the duty at the present rate of Rs. 4 an acre, be practically abandoned as unprofitable. In considering the question of poppy cultivation in these districts the circumstances referred to above must be kept in mind that the agricultural population affected (which is largely composed of Sikhs) have been for a very long time accustomed to grow the crop, and that they would certainly resent actual prohibition. The plan of "taxing out" the cultivation appears to me to be a very safe way of dealing with the matter, because it is gradual in its operation and at all events appears to leave an option. It is too early to speak with certainty; but (see the figures in paragraph 7) it seems very probable that the result of enhancing the acreage duty up to half the maximum limit will be to leave a very small portion of the cultivation remaining a few years hence. The necessity for proceeding gradually in such a matter in the Punjab at least, and of avoiding sudden change where the prejudices of a population like that of our Sikh districts are involved will, I think, be apparent. With regard to the last few districts in the list at the end of paragraph 7, these might at any time be included in the list of districts in which cultivation is prohibited if it is considered that anything will be gained by doing so. As to the others, I think it will be safest to respect the objection noticed, although it may appear sentimental, and to avoid the appearance of giving offence.

11. The object of this memorandum is to give an account of the existing arrangements in the Punjab, and any detailed discussion with regard to possible improvements in those arrangements would be out of place here. It may, however, be mentioned that many years ago experiments were made with a view to seeing whether it would be possible to introduce the Bengal system of a Government monopoly. The result was at once to show that that system could not be worked in the Punjab. Apart from other considerations affecting the questions, and they are very many, it may be noticed that the whole business is on much too small a scale to make it possible to work a monopoly profitably, while the areas producing opium are far apart from each other. One peculiar fact about the Punjab opium that may be mentioned in this connexion is its comparatively very high cost of production. A grower or manufacturer of opium in the Punjab could not sell his produce profitably at a lower price than Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 a ser, taking the standard of quality of Government excise opium. Good Shahpur opium (Kachkara) will usually fetch this price. It is this fact that accounts for the result that Malwa opium with a duty of Rs. 3 a ser can compete with the home-grown drug, and in many districts actually undersells it. Even excise opium, of which the cost price on issue from the factory is Rs. 7-4 would probably at a wholesale price of Rs. 12 (or perhaps even Rs. 13) compete successfully with that produced in the Punjab.

Another circumstance that may be referred to is the comparative importance of the poppy crop to the agricultural population of the tracts in which it is grown. It may in a sense be said to be their most important crop, because, although the area under poppy in a holding is usually very small, the produce is so valuable (Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 an acre) and can be converted into cash more readily than any other form of agricultural produce. It supplies in most cases the cash required to pay the Government revenue demand, with something over for the expenses of the grower. As an instance of the importance of the crop, the following may be given. In 1889 a recommendation was made by the Local Government to have the prohibition against cultivation which had been (really by mistake) extended to a portion of the Karnal district removed, because it was found that the withdrawal of the permission had seriously affected the prosperity of the tract (see letter, No. 331, dated 11th February 1889, from the Punjab Government to the Government of India).

It is certain that if any attempt were made to enhance the acreage duty in the opium-growing districts the burden of the taxation would fall on the people who are least able to bear it, i.e., the cultivators; and no steps in this direction have ever, so far as I am aware, been contemplated. No plan has so far been devised of imposing a direct duty on the drug produced in the districts under reference, all the taxation being taken in the form of a low acreage duty and of license fees, the incidence of the latter being, as will be seen further on very high.

12. The only other general facts with regard to the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium that it seems necessary to mention here are that the cultivator either extracts the opium himself or sells the standing crop to a middleman. The cultivator or middleman can only sell his produce to a licensed (wholesale or retail) vendor, and this is the way that it comes into the market.

OPPIUM FROM KASHMIR and the HILL STATES and from FOREIGN TERRITORY to the WEST of the INDUS.

13. There is a large import of opium produced in Kashmir territory (Jammu) and the Hill States under the political control of the Punjab Government. This is favourably treated in the matter of taxation even in comparison with the supply of the drug manufactured in our own districts, for it is not subject to an acreage tax and pays no import duty on entering our territory. As already stated, proposals were submitted to Government in 1891 (by Mr. R. M. Dane, Officiating Commissioner of Excise) for imposing an import duty on this opium. Mr. Dane collected and submitted the

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following statistics of import from this source during the five years 1885-90 :—

Native States from which Imported.	Quantity Imported in Maunds.				
	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.
Kashmir - - -	76	106	173	135	142
Chamba - - -	20	24	1	1	1
Mandi - - -	30	23	1	9	10
Suket - - -	5	2	—	3	9
Nahan - - -	105	33	—	34	38
Rampur Bashahr	66	53	69	109	234
Theog - - -	52	92	54	85	78
Balsan - - -	11	8	1	12	51
Jubbāl - - -	11	12	65	84	174
Other Hill States of Simla.	146	11	40	24	30
Kalsia - - -	—	—	—	5	—
Total - - -	622	364	404	501	767

Mr. Dane, in his report observed "the opium grown in these States is classed at present as Punjab-grown, and there are, therefore, no statistics available to show what becomes of it as distinguished from the local produce when it passes into our districts." It will be seen that the quantity of opium coming in from this source is very considerable. Rampur (Bashahr), Theog, Balsan, and Jubbāl are very petty States, under the control of the Deputy Commissioner, Simla. In these, at all events, and, so far as I am aware, in Kashmir, there is absolutely no restriction on cultivation or production. The produce of the four small states mentioned just above and of the other Simla Hill States passes through Simla, a large proportion of it going direct to Patiala and the other native States in the plains; and the remainder, in the first instance at least, to our districts.

With regard to opium coming from independent territory west of the Indus, it is sufficient to say that there is an occasional consignment of the drug brought in from Kabul. Statistics recently collected show that the extent of this during the 16 years 1869-85 was 86 maunds, of which 60 maunds, however, came in during the single year 1882-83. As a rule the import does not exceed 2 or 3 maunds per annum, and in many years there is no import at all.

MALWA and EXCISE OPIUM.

14. The question of the import of Malwa opium into the Punjab has always been considered by the Provincial Government as of very great importance. The home-grown supply has from the first been insufficient for requirements of the province (including the native States in the plains), and in addition to the opium coming from the sources referred to in the preceding paragraph there was a large import from the Rajputana States (Malwa) and Nepal. Up to 1880 this was subject to no duty. From that year the licit supply from Nepal was cut off entirely. The policy with regard to the conditions under which the import of Malwa opium since 1880 should be permitted may be said to have varied a good deal apparently, according as the views of the Supreme or of the Local Government have prevailed. There has always been a strong demand for this drug in our cis-Sutlej (i.e., south and west of the Sutlej) districts, and specially Ludhiana and Ferozepore, and in the territories of the Phulkian States adjoining. Up to the passing of the Opium Act, 1878, and the framing of rules under that Act by the Local Government in 1880 (Punjab Government Notification, No. 2, dated 3rd January 1880), Malwa opium appears to have come into the province very much as Kashmir, &c. opium now does. No. 32 of the rules published with the above Notification, however, provided that a licensed vendor importing Malwa opium must pay to the opium agent at Indore or Ajmere "the duty for the time being leviable on Malwa opium imported into the Punjab." In submitting the Excise Report of the year 1880-81, Sir James Lyall (as Financial Commissioner, Punjab, made certain remarks on the effect of the change introduced.

The attention of Deputy Commissioners had been drawn to the rule quoted above, "and especially to that part of it which subjected the importation of Malwa opium to a heavy duty" (the full duty of Rs. 700 per chest, or Rs. 10 a ser), while "the term Malwa opium" had been interpreted as including opium grown in "all States belonging to the Rajputana Agency" (paragraph 22 of the Report). The result of the change was a general dislocation of the provincial arrangements. "The Financial Commissioner still thought that the best solution of the difficulty lay in the import of a limited quantity of Malwa opium into the Punjab at reduced rates of duty." This view was accepted for the time, and "the annual import of 1,200 maunds of Malwa opium from the Indore and Ajmere Agencies on payment of one quarter of the full duty" was agreed to (paragraph 12 of Government Review of the Excise Report for 1881-82). From the financial year 1885-86, however, this policy was reversed; and the privileged treatment of Malwa opium coming into the Punjab was withdrawn. During the three years 1885-1888 this source of supply was practically stopped by the imposition of the full duty of Rs. 700 a chest, and the licit importation ceased, while a great stimulus was given to smuggling, and with effect from 1st April 1888 it was found necessary to revert to the old arrangement. A reference to a map of the province will explain our difficulties in connexion with this matter. Not only is there a long straggling frontier adjoining the Rajputana States, Alwar and Bharatpur, which it is practically impossible to guard efficiently, but we have inside the province the territories of Patiala and the other Phulkian Chiefs inextricably mixed up with our own. It has always been the recognised policy of Government to avoid interference in all matters of detail connected with the internal administration of these States, so that when an illicit consignment of opium was safely across a few intervening miles of our territory and into that of one of the protected States, it was beyond our reach. Although we might ask for and obtain the promise of their co-operation in the direction of checking the illicit trade, the State authorities had really no interest in keeping it out, even if they did not actually connive at its introduction. Once inside their territories it was practically impossible to keep it out of our own districts. Sir James Lyall, in the Excise Administration Report of 1880-81, from which I have already quoted, observed "to check smuggling direct from Rajputana into the Punjab will be difficult, while to stop smuggling through native States dependent on the Punjab Government will be impossible." Some idea of the extent of the illicit trade in Malwa opium during the period of practical prohibition may be formed from the occasional seizures of contraband consignments. Thus the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon in 1886 made a seizure of upwards of 140 maunds of Malwa opium, of which the avowed destinations were in Patiala and Jind territory.

15. It is quite certain that the full duty on Malwa opium (Rs. 700 a chest, or Rs. 10 a ser) is prohibitive for the Punjab. This fact has now been recognised, and the policy has (I hope I may say permanently) been accepted of allowing its import at such a reduced duty as to put it on something of an equality with the home-grown drug. When Government abandoned in 1888 the experiment of keeping out Malwa opium, it supplemented the change with a very important measure. It recognised that the cis-Sutlej native States were under the same necessity as ourselves in the matter of obtaining a supply of Malwa opium, and provision was made for this, the duty realised of the opium being credited to the native States importing it. The existing rules (passed in 1889) provide for the import through the scales at Ajmere, where the duty is levied, of opium for the Punjab districts and the native States at a reduced duty. Rule 28 is as follows:—"S many maunds of Malwa opium as the Government of India may determine may be yearly imported into the Punjab on payment of a duty, herein-after called the reduced duty, of such amount per chest of 140½ lbs or half chest of 70½ lbs., as may from time to time be fixed by the Government of India and notified in the 'Gazette of India.' Such opium, after deduction of the amount which the Local Government may reserve for import into the native States under the political control of itself, will be allotted annually by the Financial Commissioner to the various districts of the Punjab." The reduced duty has been fixed at Rs. 210 per chest (Rs. 3 per ser); and the maximum for

import into the province is, during the current year, for import into our districts 400 chests (701 maunds), for import into the native States, 150 chests (263 maunds).

16. The history of the policy of Government in regard to excise opium is also a varied one; but it seems scarcely necessary in view of the relative importance of the two subjects to follow it in the detail in which Malwa opium has been dealt with. The following description will therefore perhaps suffice. It was apparently supposed that when the import of Malwa opium, except at the full duty, was stopped in 1885, it would be possible to substitute, to some extent at least, excise opium for it in consumption. But there was never any great readiness on the part of the Bengal Government to furnish the required supply, and the price at which it was offered to vendors was too high to bring it into the market. The real cause of the inability of the Punjab vendors to pay as much (wholesale price) for excise opium as those in the North-western Provinces did not, strangely enough, occur to anyone, viz., that under the provincial system, as established the incidence of taxation in the shape of license fees was so much higher in the Punjab than in the North-western Provinces. If the Punjab vendor who paid Rs. 5 in license fees was charged even as low a price as Rs. 12 a ser for excise opium, he would be contributing as much to the revenue (though he might not seem to be doing so) as the North-western Provinces vendor who paid Rs. 15 per ser for his opium and Rs. 2 in license fees. Unfortunately attention was only directed to the wholesale price charged for opium. This is a matter to which I shall have to revert later on. A supply of Malwa opium manufactured at the Ghazipur factory was for some years furnished to the Local Government at a price of Rs. 10-8. a ser, the opium being issued from the treasuries to retail vendors at the price (usually) of Rs. 15 a ser. The consumption of this opium may be said to have been practically confined to the districts south and east of the Sutlej. The manufacture of Malwa opium at the Ghazipur factory has now ceased, but under arrangements made with the Government of Bengal in November 1889, 200 maunds of Benares opium manufactured at Ghazipur are supplied at a cost of Rs. 7-4. a ser, plus freight from Ghazipur to the Punjab. This opium is issued to licensed vendors in the districts of the old Delhi division at Rs. 15 a ser, and a limited quantity has been sold at a somewhat reduced price in a few other districts. It should be explained that it was at first (through a misapprehension, I think) considered necessary to manufacture a special preparation of the Malwa drug for consumption in the Punjab, but this, like other details of the past, is really of no practical importance. Under the existing arrangement, then, which has been in force since 1889, the Bengal Government supply that of the Punjab with ordinary excise opium up to a limit of 200 maunds per annum at the usual factory price of Rs. 7-4. a ser. This limit of 200 maunds has so far been found more than sufficient for the requirements of the province. In the districts of the old Delhi division (Delhi, Rohtak, Hissar, Karnal, Gurgaon) there is a demand for excise opium, and it can be disposed of from the treasuries there at the full price of Rs. 15 per cake of a reputed ser weight (no allowance being made for discount, dryage, and the like), which is the price charged in the North-western Provinces. Elsewhere in the Punjab there is practically no demand for it at this price. The experiment has been tried at Lahore, and one or two other places, of lowering the prices to Rs. 13 a cake, but this is only a temporary measure, and it has had very partial success.

17. The following statistics of the consumption of Consumption of Malwa and of Malwa and of excise opium excise opium. (quantity in maunds) in each of the last 10 years are given at this place in illustration of what has been written in the preceding paragraphs (14-16):—

Year.	Malwa.	Excise.
1883-84	278	—
1884-85	445	—
1885-86	10	—
1886-87	—	80
1887-88	—	123
1888-89	96	104
1889-90	192	93
1890-91	386	96
1891-92	395	98
1892-93	474	113

As already explained, the import of Malwa opium during the period 1883-1885 was permitted subject to a duty of Rs. 175 a chest. During the period 1885-1888 it was entirely stopped by the full duty; and since 1888 it has been permitted, subject to a duty of Rs. 210 a chest. The supply of excise opium commenced in 1886-87.

18. It may be convenient at this point to make a comparison between the incidence of direct taxation on the various classes of opium. Incidence of direct taxation under existing arrangements on the various classes of opium which have been dealt with in the preceding paragraphs. A licensed vendor is at liberty to obtain his supply from any one of the sources mentioned that he finds it most profitable to do so, the incidence of the license fees being therefore the same on all sorts. On opium falling under classes (2) and (3) (see paragraph 2), i.e., imported into our districts from Kashmir, the Hill States and from independent territory to the west of the Indus, there is at present no direct taxation by us, and, so far as I can learn, there is none by the authorities of the Kashmir and native Hill States. Opium produced in our districts may be said to pay in direct taxation the acreage duty which is levied at the rate of Rs. 2 an acre; and the incidence of this comes to six annas or eight annas a ser. These are the facts that really determine the rate of duty that we can impose on Malwa opium, and the price at which excise opium is saleable. We find that there is a very considerable demand for the Malwa drug, subject to a duty of Rs. 3 a ser (as compared with six annas or eight annas a ser paid by that produced in our own districts) in consequence of the high cost of production of the latter. Any considerable enhancement of the duty over this figure, the home-grown supply being treated as at present, could have but one effect, viz., that of driving Malwa opium out of the market to a greater or less extent, and replacing it by the lightly taxed home-grown drug. Excise opium, the cost price and carriage coming to about Rs. 7-8, pays in direct duty, when sold at Rs. 15 a cake, Rs. 7-8., and, even where the price is reduced to Rs. 13, the incidence of direct taxation is Rs. 5-8.

CONSUMPTION.

Home-grown supply and total consumption in the province. 19. The excise returns show the production of opium in our own districts during the last 10 years as follows (in maunds):—

Year.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.
Produce	1,787	1,396	1,150	1,209	1,282	1,572	2,117	1,813	2,083	1,341

As explained in paragraph 8, no great reliance can be placed on these figures as showing the actual out-turn, because there is no uniform standard of quality for the drug. The loss of weight by dryage and by the process of refining to which the crude opium is subjected before sale to consumers amounts to something between one

half and one third. The same remark applies to opium coming from Kashmir and the Hill States. It is an incident of our system that we can have no reliable statistics of the quantity available for consumption except in the case of Malwa and excise opium where we have a distinct record of the weight and of the destina-

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tion of every ser which enables us to follow it to the consumer. Again, as was pointed out by Mr. Dane (see paragraph 13 above), we have no means of distinguishing how much of the total quantity made up by the produce of our own districts and what comes in from Kashmir, &c. is retained for home consumption, and how much passes on to the native States in the plains.

Of consumption in our own districts we have statistics that are to some extent reliable (absolutely so with regard to the Malwa and excise drugs) of the weight of opium, refined for sale, which is retailed to consumers. The following are details (in maunds) for the last 10 years:—

Kind of Opium consumed.	Year.									
	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.
Excise - - -	—	—	—	80	129	104	93	96	98	113
Malwa - - -	278	445	10	—	—	96	192	386	395	474
Other - - -	867	746	1,147	1,106	965	995	1,150	949	1,072	986
Total -	1,145	1,191	1,157	1,186	1,094	1,195	1,435	1,431	1,565	1,523

Up till within the last four or five years, and especially during the period (1885-1888) when the import of Malwa opium at a reduced duty was stopped, there was certainly a very considerable consumption of contraband opium—not less than several hundred maunds per annum.

20. The following is a classified statement of the Distribution of consumption by districts and of the consumption of

last 10 years as shown in the excise returns. In giving these figures I would again repeat that it is an unavoidable incident of our open system of supply that we can have no very trustworthy statistics of consumption. In the case of excise and of Malwa opium we can tell the exact quantity going into consumption annually, but for returns of the consumption of the home-grown drug we must rely on the accounts which the licensed vendors are bound by law to keep.

STATEMENT showing the CONSUMPTION of OPIUM of all descriptions in each DISTRICT of
the PUNJAB during each of the last 10 years (1883-84 to 1892-93).

STATEMENT showing the CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM of all descriptions in each

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No.	District.	Population (1881).				Consumption		
		Muhamm- dans.	Sikhs.	Hindus and others except Sikhs.	Total.	1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.
						Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.
1	Hissar	162,708	19,043	479,036	660,787	23 30 0	28 31 0	26 19 9
2	Rohtak	79,510	159	473,940	553,609	6 2 6	6 12 13	8 0 0
3	Gurgaon	198,610	127	443,111	641,848	6 0 0	6 0 0	8 0 0
4	Delhi	149,830	970	492,715	643,515	51 10 0	43 13 0	38 23 0
5	Karnál	156,183	8,036	458,402	622,621	50 0 0	41 21 0	34 0 0
6	Umballa	304,123	68,442	694,698	1,067,263	75 35 0	71 26 0	83 0 0
7	Simla	6,935	202	35,808	42,945	13 0 0	7 0 0	9 0 0
8	Kángra	39,148	738	690,959	730,845	13 6 12	15 3 12	13 36 14
9	Hoshiárpur	290,193	59,784	551,404	901,381	41 13 0	47 23 4	58 0 12
10	Jullundur	358,681	90,320	340,634	789,555	77 0 0	77 0 0	75 0 0
11	Ludhiána	213,954	127,143	277,738	616,835	88 13 8	129 8 8	59 3 0
12	Ferozepore	354,650	181,219	211,321	767,190	171 35 0	200 0 9	166 0 0
13	Mooltan	435,301	2,085	113,978	651,964	27 11 3	25 32 13	25 4 0
14	Jhang	326,910	1,477	64,909	395,296	5 39 12	4 34 0	5 30 0
15	Montgomery	830,495	11,967	84,067	426,529	13 23 8	19 35 0	20 34 0
16	Lahore	599,477	125,591	199,038	924,106	115 0 0	87 19 15	109 25 0
17	Amritsar	413,207	216,337	263,722	893,266	98 0 0	97 18 0	107 24 0
18	Gurdáspur	391,400	72,395	359,900	823,695	84 0 0	98 0 0	96 0 0
19	Siálkot	669,712	40,195	302,241	1,012,148	24 0 0	28 0 0	33 0 0
20	Gujrát	607,525	8,885	72,705	689,115	6 0 0	5 1 0	6 33 0
21	Gujránwála	452,640	36,159	128,093	616,892	39 17 0	34 9 0	26 3 0
22	Shahpur	357,742	4,702	59,064	421,508	5 11 0	4 23 8	5 17 0
23	Jhelum	516,745	11,188	61,440	589,373	12 0 0	12 0 0	10 17 0
24	Ráwalpindi	711,546	17,780	91,186	820,512	41 9 4	36 20 2	47 14 0
25	Hazára	362,264	1,377	19,390	383,031	6 34 1	4 22 7	6 34 5
26	Pesháwar	546,117	3,103	43,454	592,674	24 40 0	35 17 0	36 29 0
27	Kohát	169,219	2,240	10,081	181,640	4 0 0	4 0 0	5 0 0
28	Bannu	301,002	790	30,785	332,577	4 2 13	4 8 10	4 18 3
29	Dera Ismail Khan	385,244	1,691	54,714	441,659	6 14 15	5 0 1	7 22 0
30	Dera Gházi Khan	315,240	1,326	46,780	363,346	3 33 2	4 7 2	5 11 13
31	Muzaffargarh	292,476	2,788	43,341	338,605	6 13 12	6 10 0	8 2 0
	Total	10,409,307	1,120,259	7,198,654	18,818,220	1,145 26 0	1,190 37 15	1,156 32 13

APPENDIX.

DISTRICT of the PROVINCE during each of the last 10 Years (1883-84 to 1892-93).

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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
of Opium in the Year.							Average Consumption of the 10 Years.	Average Consumption per 100 of the Population in Ounces.	Average Consumption per 100 of the Population in 1892-93 in Ounces.	Remarks.
1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.				
Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.	Mds. s. c.			
19 2 0	17 24 0	15 37 0	24 33 0	27 13 0	26 38 0	27 4 0	23 31 2	4.6	4.4	
9 26 0	9 29 7	12 19 14	15 14 11	12 20 0	13 32 0	15 4 0	10 36 2	2.5	3.3	
6 1 0	4 34 0	5 26 0	6 33 0	7 15 0	9 10 0	10 28 0	7 2 10	1.4	2.0	
41 0 0	48 7 0	50 18 0	48 80 0	59 29 0	60 8 0	39 34 0	50 5 3	9.9	11.9	
40 23 8	22 10 5	30 10 0	22 22 15	28 0 9	39 4 8	48 39 8	35 29 4	7.3	9.2	
78 21 0	59 34 8	79 15 8	87 14 3	94 23 0	126 7 0	134 12 0	89 2 13	10.7	16.6	
9 34 0	9 13 0	9 13 12	8 18 13	9 35 5	11 14 0	10 23 1	9 31 0	29.0	30.3	
15 22 6	17 2 10	13 23 0	11 35 0	14 0 0	14 23 0	13 9 0	14 8 4	2.5	2.2	
68 38 7	47 34 12	48 28 0	72 33 13	71 22 0	76 37 5	58 34 15	59 10 10	8.4	7.5	
77 0 0	77 18 0	78 21 0	89 0 0	93 18 0	90 5 0	93 33 2	82 33 8	13.4	13.2	
68 36 4	71 25 0	97 10 4	170 21 1	184 11 8	193 36 2	199 6 3	126 9 2	26.1	39.3	
181 0 0	130 0 0	159 32 0	240 0 0	262 25 0	245 34 0	222 19 0	197 38 8	25.9	32.1	
23 8 0	24 17 9	23 11 0	25 22 0	19 0 0	22 26 0	19 0 0	23 21 4	5.4	3.8	
5 17 0	5 30 0	5 31 3	5 30 7	6 10 6	6 4 7	4 32 8	5 25 15	1.8	1.4	
15 20 8	13 0 0	17 0 0	14 34 0	19 7 3	20 34 7	20 24 6	17 21 5	5.2	5.3	
106 14 0	104 33 3	104 24 0	83 7 10	100 35 9	146 8 9	1 5 0	110 25 5	15.3	17.6	
113 9 0	86 6 8	129 20 0	168 18 0	113 18 0	116 9 0	140 3 11	117 0 10	16.7	18.0	
95 0 0	132 0 0	99 0 0	105 0 0	85 0 0	107 30 2	73 0 8	97 19 1	15.1	9.9	
38 0 0	40 0 0	41 0 0	60 0 0	48 0 6	53 0 0	41 37 0	40 27 11	5.1	4.8	
7 12 8	7 8 0	6 26 13	8 3 11	9 32 9	9 16 0	8 15 6	7 18 14	1.4	1.4	
29 35 13	30 17 6	30 2 2	32 25 10	34 34 8	35 25 0	35 26 0	33 35 9	7.0	6.6	
7 35 0	7 23 0	6 35 0	6 6 0	6 27 0	7 0 0	7 0 0	6 17 13	1.9	1.8	
13 0 0	11 18 0	15 4 0	14 9 0	13 13 0	13 25 0	17 14 0	13 10 0	2.9	3.6	
41 19 1	45 26 0	38 5 0	38 12 8	36 15 8	40 24 0	37 25 5	40 13 1	6.3	5.4	
8 24 9	8 12 15	10 28 13	6 12 15	10 35 4	11 27 0	11 0 0	8 23 4	2.8	2.7	
23 13 0	29 37 0	30 2 2	27 20 0	25 0 0	24 20 0	24 0 0	28 24 13	6.1	4.3	
6 0 0	5 15 0	4 25 0	4 30 0	4 32 0	7 25 0	6 20 0	5 10 11	3.7	2.7	
3 1 4	6 12 9	5 9 4	4 8 2	3 10 0	4 6 2	4 18 0	4 12 8	1.6	1.5	
8 30 1	10 14 5	9 8 10	11 1 6	9 0 10	8 38 0	7 27 11	8 15 12	2.4	2.0	
10 15 0	9 29 0	10 9 0	12 38 0	10 16 4	13 6 0	11 23 0	9 6 3	3.2	3.7	
8 0 0	8 28 0	7 38 11	7 39 11	8 23 2	8 13 8	9 24 15	7 38 12	3.0	3.2	
186 4 11	1,102 33 2	1,196 5 2	1,435 15 7	1,430 1 5	1,565 27 2	1,522 27 4	1,366 12 1	9.3	9.3	

PP. IX.
Jab Excise.

In this statement the figures of population given are those of the census of 1881, except in column 19, where the figures of the census of 1891 are taken. The annexed two maps may be of use as illustrating the distribution of consumption over the province. Looking at the figures of the first and last years of this decade, it might appear that there had been a very considerable increase of consumption. This increase is, however, more apparent than real, and is due principally to the substitution of licit for illicit consumption and partly also to more correct statistics since the creation of an excise department five years ago. The best proof of this is, I think, to be obtained by a comparison of the figures of the two years 1888-89 (1,196 maunds) and 1889-90 (1,435 maunds). It is, of course, absurd to suppose that the consumption in Ludhiána increased from 97 to 170 maunds, and that in Ferozepore from 160 to 240 in a single year. In these two districts, which have always depended on Málwa opium for the principal part of their supply, the reported licit consumption was only 201 maunds in 1887-88, during which year the licit import of the Málwa drug was practically stopped. The arrangement for allowing the import at the present reduced rate of duty came into force rather late in 1888-89, and its full effect was not seen till the following year, when the reported licit consumption rose to 410 maunds, i.e., more than 100 per cent. It is quite clear, I think, that these districts will have Malwa opium; and, if there is no arrangement for a licit supply the drug will find its way in from native territory. As remarked by Sir James Lyall, it is impossible to keep it out.

21. The high incidence of consumption in the Simla district is due to the fact that

The same continued. the census was taken at a time (February) when the hill stations and cantonments which the district contains are nearly empty. Leaving it, therefore, out of account, the districts in which the consumption was heaviest are (average of 10 years):—

Districts.	Ounces per 100 of Population.
Ferozepore	33.9
Ludhiána	26.1
Amritsar	16.7
Lahore	15.3
Gurdáspur	15.1
Jullundur	13.4
Umballa	10.7

These seven districts contribute 881,487 or nearly 80 per cent. of the total Sikh population of the province (1,120,259). A comparison of the figures in column 18 with those in column 4 of the statement given in the preceding paragraph will show that there is a close connexion between the strength of the Sikh element in the population and the consumption of opium. Without going very deeply into this matter, I may express the opinion that the explanation of this is to be found in the fact that with the Sikhs opium-eating takes the place of tobacco smoking, in which their creed forbids their indulgence.

22. Opium-eating is the almost universal form of

consumption. The use of post or poppy-heads infused as a drink is practically confined to the Sikhs and ordinary Játs of the central districts (Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdáspur, Siálkot, and Jullundur). The practice of opium-smoking (madak and chandu) is of comparatively recent (and at all events in the Punjab proper, of foreign) origin. Except in the case of Delhi it may be said to have been introduced by down-country people (from the North-western Provinces) coming into the province as servants and camp followers, and it never spread beyond a few centres in the neighbourhood of cantonments or large civil stations. When Government took up the question of stopping the licensed sale of this form of the drug, licenses were held at 15 places. The licenses were separate, but they were disposed of along with those for the retail of opium. Some doubts were felt by Government with regard to the probable effect of closing the licensed shops; but orders were passed in 1884 that licenses should not in future be issued in Delhi, Lahore, and Pesháwar. The shops at Ludhiána, Ferozepore, Gujrát, Gujránwála, Jhelum, Hazára, and Kohát were closed from 1st April 1889; while the remaining five at Umballa, Amritsar, Siálkot, Ráwal-

pindi, and Bannu were closed in the following year, and since 1st April 1890 the licit sale of the drug in the form in which it is used for smoking ceased. It was of course to be expected that the practice would be carried on surreptitiously, that is, the practice of smoking opium in company; and the place of the one licensed shop at each of the centres mentioned was usually taken by several private "chandu khanas." The difficulty in dealing with these is that if a few people meet on private premises to smoke opium, each contributing or using his own preparation for the purpose, and no payment being made, there is no offence committed. With a view to discourage the practice by making its indulgence more difficult the quantity of the preparation (madak or chandu) which could be legally possessed by a person at one time has now been reduced from 3 tolahs to 1. The following remarks on the subject which appeared in the Government review of last year's Excise Report may be quoted: "The reports regarding the effect of the measures adopted against opium-smoking are satisfactory. In suppressing the establishments in which, as a matter of business, facilities were provided for those already disposed to smoke opium and temptations were held out to others to acquire the practice, and limiting to 1 tolah the amount of any preparation of opium which a private person may possess, we have gone as far as, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, it is legitimate for a Government, and especially for a foreign Government like ours, to go towards repressing a vice of this kind. If, as has been suggested by some, we were to attempt to interfere with the smoking of opium in private houses the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease."

LICENSING ARRANGEMENTS AND RETAIL PRICE.

23. Consumers of opium can only obtain the drug from licensed retail vendors; the latter get their supplies either direct from the producers (and in the case of excise opium by purchase from the Treasury), or through the medium of wholesale dealers. A licensed vendor (wholesale or retail) wishing to import Málwa opium must obtain a permit from the Deputy Commissioner of his district which certifies that he is authorised to import a certain quantity of the drug. On the strength of this he purchases the quantity required from the local merchants, brings it to the scales at Ajmere, where it is weighed and the duty levied, and exchanges his permit for a pass which covers the import to his own district. In the case of home-grown opium (including that coming from Kashmir, &c.) transport from the district of purchase to that of vend is regulated by a system of passes.

The following is a description of the arrangements for licensing vend.

Licenses, for which a small fixed fee is charged, are granted by Deputy Commissioners to persons who purchase standing crops from the cultivators or extract the drug, or to wholesale dealers who purchase opium or poppy-heads from the cultivators or the licensees just mentioned. It is through these wholesale dealers who can only sell to each other or to licensed retail vendors that the produce of the opium-producing districts is for the most part distributed to the retail vendors of other parts.

Two systems of licensing retail vend are provided for by the rules. Under the first (Rule 52) the number and locality of the shops in each district are fixed beforehand, and the license fees payable for the right of selling at one or more than one of these shops is determined by the result of a public auction held before the commencement of each official year. The second system is that of farming the fees (Rule 59); and under this the fees leviable in a district, or in part of a district, on licenses for the retail sale of opium may be let in farm for a term not exceeding five years. Under this latter system power is given to make such reservations or restrictions with respect to the grant of licenses by the farmer as may be thought fit; and in practice the number and sites of the shops are fixed by the Deputy Commissioner for the few districts where the arrangements are under this rule.

24. The following statistics of the number of licenses in each of the last 10 years may be given.

Details of the number of licenses.

STATEMENT showing the number of WHOLESALE and RETAIL LICENSES for VEND of OPIUM
in each of the last 10 Years in the PUNJAB (1883-84 to 1892-93).

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STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of WHOLESALE and RETAIL LICENSES for VENDOR

No.	Name of District.	Population, 1891.	Number of Wholesale Licenses including Licenses for purchase of standing Crop.										
			1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	
1	Hissar - - -	776,006	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	Rohtak - - -	590,475	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	Gurgaon - - -	668,929	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	Delhi - - -	638,689	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Karnál - - -	683,718	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	Umballa - - -	1,033,427	96	81	81	85	79	91	81	143	147	131	131
7	Simla - - -	44,642	39	35	26	28	26	33	29	71	65	33	33
8	Kángra - - -	763,030	69	42	39	37	34	33	27	95	70	59	59
9	Hoshiárpur - - -	1,011,659	8	5	5	5	5	5	6	9	9	8	8
10	Jullundur - - -	907,583	5	4	2	3	5	2	2	4	2	—	—
11	Ludhiana - - -	648,722	1	2	1	4	4	2	—	—	2	—	—
12	Ferozepore - - -	886,676	3	2	2	3	5	—	2	4	4	—	—
13	Mooltan - - -	631,434	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2
14	Jhang - - -	436,841	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
15	Montgomery - - -	499,521	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
16	Lahore - - -	1,075,379	2	2	3	3	2	1	2	2	4	2	2
17	Amritsar - - -	992,697	24	20	20	15	10	8	8	14	16	16	16
18	Gurdáspur - - -	943,922	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
19	Siálkot - - -	1,119,847	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1
20	Gujrát - - -	760,875	5	6	6	1	3	2	3	2	2	1	1
21	Gujránwála - - -	690,169	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	1
22	Shahpur - - -	403,588	201	132	92	124	153	110	269	269	269	269	269
23	Jhelum - - -	609,056	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24	Ráwalpindi - - -	887,194	1	2	2	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	—
25	Hazára - - -	516,388	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	Pesháwar - - -	703,768	2	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27	Kohát - - -	203,175	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	Bannu - - -	372,276	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29	Dera Ismail Khán - - -	486,201	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30	Dera Gházi Khan - - -	404,031	31	36	32	27	23	25	2	—	—	—	—
31	Muzaffargarh - - -	381,095	2	1	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total - - -	20,960,913	497	385	319	346	336	318	458	575	872	380	380

of OPIUM in each of the last 10 Years in the PUNJAB (1883-84 to 1892-93).

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Number of Retail Licenses.										Average Population per Retail License in 1892-93.	Remarks.
1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.		
87	58	79	69	42	38	51	59	54	52	14,523	
13	13	16	15	16	16	15	15	15	15	39,365	
5	5	5	5	27	27	27	27	26	22	30,406	
44	44	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	41	15,578	
39	39	39	34	33	37	41	48	48	43	15,900	
81	81	81	81	81	81	73	70	72	86	13,965	
5	5	5	7	7	5	7	7	7	5	8,928	
5	5	5	5	107	107	108	108	77	77	9,779	
55	55	55	55	55	56	56	56	56	56	18,065	
78	78	77	76	76	76	76	76	76	76	11,942	
1	2	1	91	99	107	107	108	106	105	6,178	
207	192	169	164	167	167	175	175	174	175	5,067	
108	108	108	108	108	108	108	108	76	76	8,308	
32	32	32	36	36	36	37	38	39	39	11,201	
31	31	31	31	31	31	33	33	34	34	14,692	
135	135	135	138	138	138	138	135	134	135	7,966	
29	29	29	29	29	156	156	156	150	150	6,618	
14	14	14	14	70	70	87	87	87	87	10,849	
13	13	13	13	80	80	80	80	80	80	13,998	
5	5	5	5	19	19	19	19	19	19	40,046	
65	67	66	66	66	66	66	67	66	66	10,457	
3	3	3	3	14	14	14	14	12	12	41,162	
			4	39	39	39	39	39	39	15,617	
			7	81	79	79	109	92	92	9,643	
			8	75	75	80	26	26	24	21,512	
4	4		7	29	29	29	31	29	29	24,268	
7	7		1	2	1	2	2	3	3	67,726	
3	3		2	9	9	13	13	11	11	33,843	
7	7		6	31	31	31	31	31	26	18,700	
1			4	46	47	54	54	54	54	7,482	
2			63	63	63	68	68	51	51	7,472	
1,177	1,138	1,106	1,185	1,717	1,849	1,910	1,901	1,785	1,780	11,799	

APP. IX.
Punjab Excise.

These figures are taken from the annual Excise Returns, and the following explanation with regard to the increase in the number of retail licenses shown in the year 1887-88 and onwards is necessary. Previous to that year, it had been the practice in several districts, where one person had the monopoly of a number of different shops, to show him in the returns as holding only one license for them all; and in fact he did hold a single license, which covered several shops. From 1887-88 a separate license has been given for each shop; and the returns of the last six years in the above statement show the actual number of shops licensed, while those of the previous four years show only the number of licensed vendors in a good many districts. Thus, in Kangra there were 107 shops in 1886-87 as well as in 1887-88; but in the former year the entry is five, because all the shops were in the hands of five licensees. So also with Amritsar, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, and other districts. In most districts there has actually been a reduction in the number of licensed shops in the course of the last 10 years.

25. A very important point that has invariably, I may say, been lost sight of in comparing the system in force in the Punjab with that in other

provinces is the comparatively large amount of taxation which is, under the existing provincial system, taken in the form of license fees. It is only by comparing the total amount of taxation that the drug pays before it comes into consumption, that a just idea of the relative merits of the systems in force in any two provinces, so far as the principle of minimum consumption with maximum revenue is concerned, can be arrived at. It has repeatedly been objected to the Punjab system, practically without contradiction, so far, that it encourages "cheap opium." This is a matter that requires to be noticed in some detail; and I think that a closer examination of the facts will show that there has been a good deal of misapprehension with regard to them. Because the wholesale price of the drug in the Punjab is comparatively low, it has been concluded that the retail price is much lower than it ought to be; and the real incidence of the taxation has been lost sight of. The statement on the next page shows for the last 10 years total amount of revenue derived from excise on the drug in Bengal, the North-western Provinces and the Punjab.

Incidence of license fees on consumption.

Province.	Head.	Revenue derived during the Year of										Remarks.
		1883-84.	1884-85.	1885-86.	1886-87.	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	
Lower Provinces of Bengal.	License fees from retail vend of opium.	Rs. 3,18,065	Rs. 3,23,671	Rs. 3,22,871	Rs. 3,35,909	Rs. 3,76,688	Rs. 4,09,679	Rs. 3,83,365	Rs. 3,95,219	Rs. 4,44,167	Rs. —	Details of consumption in maunds for the last complete year (1891-92): Bengal. North-western Provinces and Oudh. Punjab.
	Gain on sale proceeds of excise opium.	15,92,416	15,60,261	15,35,107	15,69,842	16,08,230	15,98,455	15,76,121	16,00,093	16,74,658	—	
	Total - - -	19,05,481	18,83,932	18,57,978	19,05,751	19,84,918	20,08,134	19,59,486	19,95,312	21,18,825	—	
North - western Provinces and Oudh.	License fees from retail vend of opium.	1,15,712	1,22,217	1,27,488	1,26,591	1,31,658	1,42,983	1,45,599	1,59,094	1,53,048	—	*The amount paid on account of discount at the rate of Re. 1 per ser has been excluded from these figures.
	Gain on sale proceeds of excise opium.	4,63,824	4,56,838	4,64,220	4,68,136	4,59,865	5,13,146	5,28,201	5,11,559	5,28,126*	—	
	Total - - -	5,79,536	5,79,055	5,91,708	5,94,727	5,91,523	6,56,134	6,73,800	6,70,653	6,81,174	—	
Punjab	License fees from retail vend of opium.	3,53,475	3,37,858	3,26,471	3,23,647	3,12,818	3,17,687	3,24,284	3,48,528	3,48,055	3,59,147	
	Gain on sale proceeds of excise opium.	—	—	—	13,598	23,160	18,588	18,189	26,607	28,694	31,996	
	Duty on Málwa opium -	27,825	42,350	4,200	—	—	9,625	29,400	47,670	48,615	58,380	
	Acreage duty - - -	41,195	84,786	29,238	29,972	31,794	40,560	36,806	36,681	36,404	28,210	
	Total - - -	4,22,495	4,14,994	3,59,909	3,67,217	3,67,772	3,86,460	4,08,679	4,59,486	4,61,768	4,77,733	

PP. IX.
Excise.

Thus the consumption in the Punjab pays more than double the taxation under this head (license fees) that the consumption in the North-western Provinces does, and till recently it paid more than was realised from this source in Bengal. Taking the figures of the last complete year (1891-92) for the three provinces, we have the following result :—

Province.	Total Consumption in Sérs.	Amount levied in License Fees.	Incidence of License Fees per Sér.
Bengal - - - -	80,232	Rs. 4,44,167	5.5
North-western Provinces and Oudh.	68,156	1,53,048	2.2
Punjab - - - -	62,627	3,48,055	5.6

So that the consumption in the Punjab pays an average of 5.6 per sér in taxation under this head as compared with 5.5 and 2.2 respectively in Bengal and the North-western Provinces. The importance of this matter will be shown in the next paragraph. It may be mentioned that the reason for the comparatively high incidence of license fees in the Punjab is to be found in the history of the origin of the present system (see Appendix II.). Under that system the taxation of opium has from the first been levied almost entirely in the form of license fees, while in other provinces the revenue has been derived mostly from a direct duty on the drug.

26. In the case of excise opium Government fixes the wholesale price to be charged at the Treasury. For most of the opium of this kind consumed in

the Punjab the full price of Rs. 15 is charged. The quantity sold in Lahore and two or three other districts at the reduced price of Rs. 13 has been small. The price of Malwa opium is usually Rs. 7 to Rs. 9 a sér on the spot, varying according to season and quality, and with the duty, carriage, &c. it costs the importer Rs. 11 to Rs. 13 a sér. Punjab opium without any direct duty except that on cultivation, costs at least Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 a sér wholesale. It is in considering the price at which the drug can be purchased by the consumer that the importance of the subject dealt with in the preceding paragraph comes in. Owing to the heavier incidence of the license fees, excise opium, even if issued in the Punjab at a price of Rs. 13 a sér, is actually more heavily taxed by the time it reaches the consumer than the same opium for which the full price of Rs. 15 is paid by a licensee in the North-western Provinces. Thus, when we issue opium at Rs. 13 a sér from the Lahore Treasury the licensed vendor has to pay Rs. 13 as the price and Rs. 5-4-3 in license fees, a total of Rs. 18-4-3; the corresponding figures for the North-western Provinces being Rs. 15 and Rs. 2-3-3, total Rs. 17-3-3. For all the districts (the first five in the statement below) in which opium is issued at the full price of Rs. 15 a sér the incidence of price + license fees is upwards of Rs. 20 a sér. The retail price charged to the consumers is determined by (1) the wholesale price which the vendor has had to pay, and (2) the amount that he has to pay for his license. There is enough competition for the licenses in most places to keep down the rate of profit which the vendor derives from the business.

The annexed statement, taken from the annual Excise Returns, shows for each district in the province the incidence in 1892-93 of the license fees, with the wholesale and retail prices charged :—

STATEMENT showing the INCIDENCE of LICENSE FEES on OPIUM, with the WHOLESALE and RETAIL PRICES during the YEAR 1892-93.

Division.	District.	Consumption of Opium in Sérs.	Demand on account of License Fees.	Incidence of License Fees per Sér.	Wholesale Price per Sér.	Total Cost per Sér.	Retail Price per Sér.
			Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Delhi	Hissar - - - -	1,084	9,579	8 13 5	15 0 0	23 13 5	16 10 0
	Rohtak - - - -	604	4,222	6 15 10	15 0 0	21 15 10	23 0 0
	Gurgaon - - - -	428	3,642	8 8 2	15 0 0	23 8 2	25 0 0
	Delhi - - - -	2,394	16,000	6 10 11	15 0 0	21 10 11	21 4 0
	Karnál - - - -	1,960	11,953	6 1 6	14 0 0	20 1 6	25 0 0
	Umballa - - - -	5,372	23,820	4 6 11	7 0 0	11 6 11	12 0 0
	Simla - - - -	423	4,470	10 9 0	11 0 0	21 9 0	22 13 9
Jullunder	Kángra - - - -	529	6,775	12 13 0	11 0 0	23 13 0	22 0 0
	Hoshiárpur - - - -	2,355	14,144	6 0 1	12 0 0	18 0 1	28 0 0
	Jullundur - - - -	3,753	18,041	4 12 11	10 14 5	15 11 4	16 8 0
	Ludhiána - - - -	7,966	16,159	2 0 5	13 0 0	15 0 5	17 5 4
	Ferozepore - - - -	8,899	40,410	4 8 8	10 15 0	15 7 8	15 11 0
Lahore	Mooltan - - - -	760	16,900	22 4 0	16 0 0	38 4 0	35 0 0
	Jhang - - - -	192	2,129	11 8 5	11 13 9	22 15 2	23 0 3
	Montgomery - - - -	824	4,583	5 9 0	13 4 0	18 13 0	20 6 0
	Lahore - - - -	5,925	31,228	5 4 3	12 12 0	18 0 3	19 0 0
	Amritsar - - - -	5,604	31,995	5 11 4	10 3 10	16 3 4	18 0 0
	Gurdáspur - - - -	2,921	15,465	5 4 9	11 10 8	16 15 5	16 4 7
Ráwalpindi	Siálkot - - - -	1,677	12,263	7 5 0	12 0 0	19 5 0	20 0 0
	Gujrát - - - -	335	2,364	7 0 10	12 8 0	12 8 10	20 0 0
	Gujránwála - - - -	1,429	8,379	5 13 9	12 8 0	18 5 9	20 0 0
	Shahpur - - - -	280	1,290	4 9 9	12 0 0	16 9 9	18 0 0
	Jhelum - - - -	694	3,110	4 7 8	12 0 0	16 7 8	20 0 0
	Ráwalpindi - - - -	1,505	20,400	13 3 11	13 0 0	16 8 11	29 0 0
Pesháwar	Hazára - - - -	440	4,545	10 5 3	13 0 0	23 5 3	30 8 0
	Pesháwar - - - -	960	10,464	8 14 5	13 0 0	23 14 5	27 0 0
	Kohát - - - -	260	3,120	12 0 0	14 0 0	26 0 0	28 0 0
Derajat	Bannu - - - -	178	2,710	15 3 7	14 0 0	29 3 7	32 0 0
	Dera Ismail Khan - - - -	308	6,880	22 6 6	12 5 0	34 11 6	33 2 2
	Dera Ghazi Khan - - - -	463	7,177	15 9 0	10 4 0	25 12 0	29 0 0
	Muzaffargarh - - - -	385	5,070	13 2 8	16 0 0	29 2 8	36 0 0
	Total - - - -	60,907	3,59,282	5 14 4	11 11 5	17 9 9	18 14 4

The figures of the important district of Umballa are vitiated by the fact that the wholesale price shown is that of crude opium. Taking the standard of excise opium, the wholesale price there is certainly not less than Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 a ser; but I have left the figures as they appear in the Excise Returns.

Apart from the above statistics, the recognised price of opium, what is actually charged for the drug as sold by the licensed vendor is usually 4 annas or 5 annas a tolah (i.e., Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 a ser) except in the frontier districts, where it is higher. I doubt if inquiry at any ordinary licensed shop in the province will show that it is lower than this, unless here and there in the vicinity of native territory, where the price is forced down by the

competition of the vendors in that territory. It is by such inquiry, rather than by calculations like those given above, that the price actually charged to consumers can be ascertained. If a purchaser asks for a rupee's worth of opium he will in most districts get 3 or 4 tolahs according to the extent of the competition in the neighbourhood; but sales are usually of very minute quantities, and the price charged is then a good deal higher, at the rate, probably, of 2½ tolahs for the rupee (Rs. 30 a ser). In the frontier districts, and in one or two others where there is keen competition for the monopoly, and the incidence of license fees is consequently high, retail prices are also a good deal higher.

APP. I.
Panjab Es.

STATEMENT giving DETAILS of CONSUMPTION of OPIUM, REVENUE derived

APP. IX.
Punjab Excise.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
—	Name of District.	Population (Census 1891).				Consumption of Opium (in Sers).			
		Muhammads.	Sikhs.	Hindus and others except Sikhs.	Total.	Málwa.	Excise.	Other.	Total.
1	Hissar - - -	199,010	22,151	554,845	776,006	—	874	210	1,084
2	Rohtak - - -	85,515	154	504,806	590,475	—	604	—	604
3	Gurgaon - - -	209,931	102	458,896	668,929	—	428	—	428
4	Delhi - - -	149,741	382	488,566	638,689	273	1,080	1,041	2,394
5	Karnál - - -	171,712	8,037	503,969	683,718	614	121	1,225	1,960
6	Umballa - - -	300,856	93,679	638,892	1,033,427	3,035	—	2,337	5,372
7	Simla - - -	7,152	517	36,973	44,642	—	—	423	423
8	Kangra - - -	39,709	1,461	721,860	763,030	—	—	529	529
9	Hoshiárpur - - -	328,668	70,709	612,282	1,011,659	—	—	2,355	2,355
10	Jullundur - - -	413,469	110,790	383,324	907,583	1,023	—	2,730	3,753
11	Ludhiána - - -	226,687	141,603	280,432	648,722	5,558	—	2,408	7,966
12	Ferozepore - - -	404,977	226,361	255,338	886,676	5,115	15	3,769	8,899
13	Mooltan - - -	503,962	2,832	124,640	631,434	—	—	760	760
14	Jhang - - -	344,433	3,941	88,467	436,841	—	—	192	192
15	Montgomery - - -	361,923	16,032	121,566	499,521	—	332	492	824
16	Lahore - - -	645,083	152,023	278,273	1,075,379	—	421	5,504	5,925
17	Amritsar - - -	452,237	261,452	279,008	992,697	3,342	—	2,262	5,604
18	Gurdáspur - - -	459,039	85,837	399,046	943,922	—	—	2,921	2,921
19	Siálkot - - -	685,342	49,872	384,633	1,119,847	—	—	1,677	1,677
20	Gujrát - - -	669,347	19,018	72,510	760,875	—	—	335	335
21	Gujránwála - - -	476,494	45,316	169,359	690,169	—	—	1,429	1,429
22	Shahpur - - -	417,661	9,777	66,150	493,588	—	—	280	280
23	Jhelum - - -	542,645	15,169	51,242	609,056	—	—	694	694
24	Ráwalpindi - - -	768,368	27,470	91,356	887,194	—	400	1,105	1,505
25	Hazára - - -	488,452	3,609	24,226	516,288	—	—	440	440
26	Pesháwar - - -	654,443	9,125	40,200	703,768	—	240	720	960
27	Kohát - - -	187,661	4,474	11,040	203,175	—	—	260	260
28	Bannu - - -	337,269	1,062	33,945	372,276	—	—	178	178
29	Dera Ismail Khan - - -	420,189	2,840	63,172	486,201	—	—	308	308
30	Dera Gházi Khan - - -	349,587	1,424	53,020	404,031	—	—	463	463
31	Muzaffargarh - - -	327,727	2,715	50,653	381,095	—	—	385	385
	Total - - -	11,628,290	1,389,934	7,842,689	20,860,913	18,960	4,515	37,432	60,907

A.

from it, &c., in each DISTRICT of the PUNJAB during the Year 1892-3.

APP. IX.
Punjab Excise.

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Licenses.		Average Population per Retail License.	Revenue.					Remarks.
Number of Wholesale Licenses, including Purchase of Standing Crops.	Number of Retail.		License Fees.	Duty on Málwa Opium.	Gain proceeds on Excise Opium.	Other Items.	Total.	
—	52	14,923	Rs. 9,579	Rs. —	Rs. 6,773	Rs. —	Rs. 16,352	
—	15	39,365	4,222	—	4,812	—	9,034	
—	22	30,406	3,642	—	3,317	3	6,962	
1	41	15,578	16,000	840	8,370	—	25,210	
—	43	15,900	11,261	1,890	938	—	14,089	
131	86	13,965	24,475	9,345	—	—	33,820	
33	5	8,928	4,583	—	—	—	4,583	
59	77	9,779	7,070	—	—	—	7,070	
8	56	18,065	14,184	—	—	—	14,184	
—	76	11,942	18,041	3,150	—	—	21,191	
—	105	6,178	16,159	17,115	—	—	33,274	
—	175	5,067	39,960	15,750	86	2	55,798	
2	76	8,308	16,910	—	—	3	16,913	
—	39	11,201	2,129	—	—	—	2,129	
1	34	14,692	4,588	—	1,909	2	6,499	
2	135	7,966	30,668	—	2,111	—	32,779	
16	150	6,618	32,075	10,290	—	—	42,365	
1	87	10,849	15,470	—	—	—	15,470	
1	80	13,998	12,268	—	—	—	12,268	
1	19	40,046	2,369	—	—	5	2,374	
1	66	10,457	8,200	—	—	—	8,200	
92	12	41,162	1,663	—	—	—	1,663	
—	39	15,617	3,110	—	—	—	3,110	
1	92	9,643	20,405	—	2,300	—	22,705	
—	24	21,512	4,545	—	—	—	4,545	
—	29	24,268	10,464	—	1,380	—	11,844	
—	3	67,725	3,120	—	—	—	3,120	
—	11	83,843	2,710	—	—	—	2,710	
—	26	18,700	6,880	—	—	—	6,880	
27	54	7,482	7,312	—	—	—	7,312	
3	51	7,472	5,085	—	—	—	5,085	
380	1,780	11,799	359,147	58,380	31,996	15	449,538	

T. GORDON WALKER,

ANNEXURE B.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of the SYSTEM of EXCISE on OPIUM
in the PUNJAB.

1. Before annexation there was no interference of any sort with the cultivation of the poppy or the manufacture and consumption of opium. On annexation (1849) the Board of Administration made the first attempt at taxation by disposing to farmers of the monopoly of retail vend over fixed areas, the producers being allowed to sell to none but the farmers. In 1853 a proposal was started to substitute for this system of taxation by license fees the levy of an acreage duty on poppy cultivation at the rate of Rs. 2 an acre, the grower being allowed to dispose of his produce as he liked, i.e., direct to consumers. This proposal was carried into effect by Mr. Cnut in 1860, the system being applied to the four divisions (as then constituted) of Umballa, Jullundur, Amritsar, and Lahore (except the hill districts of Simla and Kangra).

2. The original object of the acreage system was either lost sight of or abandoned. It was later on decided that free sale was not the intention, but that producers must sell to the licensed vendors (see Punjab Government Notification, No. 58, dated 17th April 1869). From that time the system has been a combination of cultivation, subject to an acreage duty and taxation by means of license fees.

3. In 1873 new opium rules were introduced by the Punjab Government, and they perpetuated the system, as above described, of an acreage duty combined with license fees. The acreage system was (Rule 2) extended to the whole province except the Delhi and Hissar divisions (as then constituted).

4. The home-grown supply of the Punjab was apparently never sufficient for the requirements of the province; and it was supplemented by import from Nepal, the Rajputana States, Malwa, Kashmir, and the native States under the political control of the Punjab Government. On this import there was no restriction. From 1880 the licit import from Nepal was absolutely stopped, and that of Malwa opium practically so by subjecting it to the payment of the full duty of Rs. 700 per chest, or Rs. 10 a seer (see No. 32 of the rules passed in 1880).

5. During the period 1880-1888 there has been a good deal of uncertainty, and several changes of policy in regard to the sources from which the home supply should be supplemented. The alternatives were (1) Malwa opium at a reduced duty, and (2) Government excise opium from the Bengal factories, and the uncertainty is scarcely surprising, as the Local Government had to feel its way in the matter. From 1880 to 1885 the import was permitted of Malwa opium at the reduced duty of Rs. 175 a chest (Rs. 2-8 a sér) up to a maximum of 1,200 maunds per annum. In 1885 this arrangement was stopped, and a trial was given to the plan of substituting excise opium. From 1888 the present arrangement was introduced. This is a combination of the two plans, i.e., the import of Malwa opium up to a fixed limit per annum (400 chests or, roughly, 700 maunds in 1892-3 for consumption in Punjab districts) was permitted at the reduced duty of Rs. 210 a chest (Rs. 3 a sér); while the Bengal Government agreed to supply up to 200 maunds of excise opium at the usual cost price of Rs. 7-4 a sér.

6. A good deal of misapprehension has been shown in the discussions with regard to the policy of the Local Government in respect of excise and Malwa opium; and this seems to have arisen principally from losing

sight of the facts stated in the above outline as to the origin and history of the system. The Local Government has always looked for its revenue to the license fees rather than to direct taxation on the drug. The system of taking most of the taxation in this form had become firmly established, i.e., a comparatively low wholesale price of opium, with comparatively high taxation in the form of license fees. The following illustration of the misapprehension entertained with regard to the provincial system may be given. In 1886 the finance committee write in their report of the provincial system in the following terms:—

“While Government can supply opium to consumers who are willing to pay Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 a sér for it, it is clearly a fiscal loss to supply the Punjab consumers with opium at half the price.”

There never was any question of supplying the consumers with opium at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 a sér. That was the highest wholesale price that the licensed vendor would then, it was supposed, pay for excise opium, because he had to pay in addition such a large amount in licensed fees. The actual retail price was little, if at all, below that prevailing in the North-western provinces (it was actually Rs. 22 in 1885-86, and Rs. 24 in 1886-87); only more of the taxation was under the established system taken in the form of license fee. Thus:—

Year.	Wholesale Price per Ser.	Incidence of License Fees per Ser.	Total Taxation per Ser.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1885-86 - -	10 0 0	7 0 0	17 0 0
1886-87 - -	13 8 0	6 12 0	20 4 0

7. The opium rules of 1873, referred to in paragraph 3 above, remained in force till 1880, when new rules, framed under the Opium Act of 1878, were introduced. While dealing with the sources of supply from outside the province, in the manner described in paragraph 4, these rules left the arrangements with regard to opium produced in Punjab districts as they were. The rules of 1880 contained some grave defects, the most important being that which was discovered by the criminal courts, that it was no offence for a producer to consume his own opium. It was found that, although large areas were cultivated with poppy in the central districts (Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdáspur, and one or two others), little or some of the produce found its way into the hands of the licensed vendors, being consumed by the growers, or surreptitiously disposed of by them. After a good deal of discussion the existing rules were finally passed in 1889. These removed the defect with regard to consumption by producers, making it expressly an offence, and prohibiting disposal otherwise than to licensed vendors, while at the same time power was taken to enhance the acreage duty which had hitherto remained at the rate originally fixed of Rs. 2 an acre up to a maximum of Rs. 8 an acre. The object of this provision was to enable Government to deal with the cultivation in those districts where consumption by producers and other illicit practices were most rife. The steps taken in this direction are described in the body of the memorandum.

(Signed) T. GORDON WALKER,
Commissioner of Excise.

ANNEXURE C.

COPY of a LETTER, No. 265, dated 10th May 1887, from GOVERNMENT, PUNJAB, to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA.

No. 265, dated Lahore, the 10th May 1887.

From W. M. YOUNG, Esq., Secretary to Government, Punjab, to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Foreign Department.

In continuation of my telegram, No. 283, of the 23rd instant, I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to

address you on the subject of opium arrangements in the Punjab. The consideration of the Ajmere Opium Rules could not be conveniently separated from the more general question of the opium system which should, at least for the present, be adopted in this province; and this question is largely, if not mainly, a political one.

2. This general question has also been for a good many months an open one. In former years the Punjab used to obtain part of its supply from Nepal and

native States to the south and east of the province, but both of these sources were closed by the proceedings of 1878 to 1880, which resulted in the prohibition of the import and transport of opium from Nepal and the imposition of the practically prohibitive duty of Rs. 700 per chest on the opium of Rájputána and Central India. It was at first intended to meet the requirements which cultivation in the Punjab could not supply by obtaining opium from the Gházipur factory. But experience showed that the price which could be obtained for this article in the Punjab was very much below what it would fetch in the Calcutta market or if exported to China; and on this and other grounds, more particularly because it was feared that, unless the duty of Rs. 700 per chest were reduced, opium would be smuggled into the Punjab from the Rájputána States to the south of the Punjab border, the Government of India in August 1881 agreed to permit as a temporary measure the import, under proper safeguards, of Málwa opium up to 1,200 maunds a year, on payment of one-fourth of the prescribed duty or Rs. 175 a chest, that is, Rs. 2-8 a ser. A report was required upon this experiment and furnished in January 1884. It was then decided to give up the quarter duty system and to revert to the plan of obtaining opium from Gházipur. Difficulties again arose about the price; and Sir Charles Aitchison, when inquiring last summer as to the desirability and possibility of extending the cultivation of the poppy in the Punjab, recorded the opinion that the arrangement for the purchase of opium from the Gházipur factory appeared to have in it elements of failure. The subject attracted the attention of the finance committee, who have made certain proposals which will be noticed below. Finally, in May, June, and July last the active inquiries of Mr. Maconachie, the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon, established the fact that recently an extensive opium trade had been secretly carried on between parts of the Jeypore State and certain portions of Patialá and Jind which are landlocked by the British territories of the Punjab. Three contraband consignments were seized, one of 72½ maunds at Sahúwas in Jind territory; one of nearly 57 maunds at Narnaul in Patialá territory; and one at Alwar of more than 12½ maunds. Altogether upwards of 140 maunds were stopped on the way up to Jind and Patialá. Information received this month suggests that the smugglers having sustained a severe check on the Gurgaon and Rohtak border are now intending to make their passage further west across the old Sirsa district at one or other of its two narrow parts, viz., below Sirsa or near Dabwáli. Though this opium was being smuggled into Jind and Patialá, it would have found its way in part into surrounding British districts. The complete stoppage of the legitimate import of Málwa opium has, as other information shows, made it very difficult for the Sikh States to supply their contractors.

3. The finance committee was not acquainted with the particulars of the smuggling cases, and the note of the committee, communicated to this Government for opinion by the Government of India in the Department of Finance, with its letter, No. 4460, dated the 3rd December last, does not advert to the political aspects of the matter. A copy of the note is annexed for facility of reference, and it will be seen that the proposals of the committee are contained in the 16th and 17th paragraphs of its paper. This note was sent to the Financial Commissioner for report, who has promised to reply after making inquiries and consulting local officers. A detailed reply to the note will be sent hereafter, but from his knowledge of the subject the Lieutenant-Governor is confident that it will be found that there are difficulties of a local nature in the way of the adoption of the suggestions made in the note, and that all events no immediate changes can be made without risk of serious loss. The inelasticity of the opium revenue in the Punjab in recent years upon which the committee remark is probably due to changes and uncertainties in the legitimate supply of opium caused by the orders of the Government of India with regard to import of Nepal, Gházipur, and Málwa opium. Uncertainties as to supply, of course, have a most depressing effect on the Punjab system of contracts.

4. In the Lieutenant-Governor's judgment, the situation requires that, without waiting to decide as to possible future changes of system, prompt action should be taken, first, to ensure a sufficient supply to opium both for Punjab districts and for the Phulkian States; and, secondly, to stop the smuggling that has commenced on a serious scale. There is no chance of putting this down without the co-operation of the

Phulkian States, and it is impracticable to ask their co-operation unless we are prepared to say definitely what is to be our own system of supply, at least in the immediate future, and how we propose to assist them to get a supply.

5. The main proposal of the finance committee virtually amounts to a suggestion that the opium system which is in force in Bengal and the North-western Provinces shall be introduced into the Punjab. To remit the acreage tax, and to require the cultivators to sell to the Government only at a fixed price, would imply the existence of an Opium Agency, as the committee itself substantially admits. It has, however, always been held that the operations of the Opium Department ought not to be extended to the Punjab; and when the special conditions of opium production and supply in this part of India are understood, there appear to be strong reasons for this opinion. With regard to our position in relation to native States in and round the Punjab, and the Hill States in particular, it would, Mr. Lyall considers, be very difficult to change our system. This has been felt all along, or we should have changed it long ago. If the finance committee's proposal were adopted we should be obliged to have an Opium Department in the Punjab, working not only in the plains, but in Kulu and Kotgarh, and dealing with all the petty Hill States and with Kashmir and Afghanistan as the Opium Department deals with Nepal. On the Rájputána side also we should have a constant struggle to prevent smuggling, where outlying tracts or parganas of the Sikh States march with the Northern States of the Rájputána Agency. Moreover, in the interests of the North-western Provinces, poppy cultivation is prohibited in the districts of the old Delhi Division. Elsewhere it is much scattered; there is a good deal in the hills, some in Shahpur, some in Umballa, Lahore, and Amritsar and the Southern Derajat, and little patches in a great number of districts in every direction.

6. As to the various alternative courses mentioned in the 17th paragraph of the note, Mr. Lyall supposes that they have been enumerated for the purpose of ensuring that none of the bare possibilities of the case shall be overlooked in the discussion. In selecting from these alternatives the committee repeats the proposals already made in paragraph 16. One suggestion, namely, that cultivators should pay acreage tax and sell to licensed vendors only, is merely a description of the existing system; another, that licensed vendors should purchase duty-paid opium in Málwa, is known to be impracticable, because for the purposes of the Punjab market the full duty is prohibitive. Mr. Lyall, as already stated, does not think that any of the proposals of the finance committee could be accepted without considerable risk of loss of income; and the main proposal would involve extra expenditure—perhaps large expenditure—on establishment. In the present state of the provincial finances, Mr. Lyall feels that he would not be justified in running the risk; and for additional outlay he has not the funds. On the whole, therefore, it seems to him inevitable that for some time to come we must maintain the existing system, which has at least the merits of being locally understood and of having been in practical operation for many years.

7. If this conclusion is accepted, it remains to be decided from what source the Punjab is to obtain the supply required over and above its home production. Here Mr. Lyall must frankly own that he thinks it was a mistake to abandon the quarter-duty system. He is anxious, as already said in my telegram of the 23rd instant, to see that system revived; and unless it is revived he can suggest no satisfactory basis for the communications with Punjab native States, which, if we are to suppress the contraband trade, are eminently necessary. Mr. Lyall himself as Financial Commissioner proposed the quarter-duty system to the Punjab Government in 1880; and in his secretary's letter written on that occasion it was said:—

“Unless the pass duty is remitted or reduced the supply of Málwa opium is practically stopped like that of Nepal. If the open and lawful import of Málwa opium from Central India and Rájputána is stopped in this way, Mr. Lyall anticipates that two things will happen. In the first place a strong trade in smuggled Málwa opium will grow up all along the very frontier of the Punjab and Rájputána; the people are born smugglers, and our licensed vendors will themselves be engaged in the business, and will not therefore be able to help us to check it. Now that the said hedge is done away with, the Financial Commissioner does not see

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how opium smuggling once established could be stopped in such a country. Moreover, the fact that the protected Sikh States own territory on and near the border mixed with our own would add to difficulty. In the second place, the price of opium is likely to rise considerably in the Punjab, and the Financial Commissioner does not think this is, on the whole, desirable. Such a rise will reduce the bids for monopolies of retail vend, and a very large proportion of the benefit to the producer will go to the Hill States, from Kashmir to the Jumna, which grow opium. Moreover, a rise in price will be very unpopular with the Sikhs, who in some parts of the Punjab are opium eaters almost to a man. They firmly believe that moderate doses are necessary for their health and certainly it does not seem to do most of them harm. They often complain already that we have made opium both dear and bad by our system of excise."

8. Mr. Lyall still holds the opinions thus expressed, and recent events have certainly justified his anticipation that smuggling would result from shutting off the Rájputána supply. It is, he thinks, impossible to stop this smuggling, unless we keep a way open for lawful import. He has referred to the papers of 1884, which show the reasons why the concession of allowing the import of 1,200 maunds of Malwa opium at a quarter duty was, at the request of this Government withdrawn. It was supposed that consumers disliked the Malwa opium and that there was little demand for it; and Colonel Davies, the Financial Commissioner, mistakenly laid stress on "the loss of three-fourths of the duty formerly realised." Of course consumers do not like the Malwa opium as much as the first-rate Ghazipur excise opium or some other kinds; but they cannot always get the kinds they prefer or afford to buy the best opium if it is available. The Punjab used to get its opium partly home-grown; partly from the Punjab Hill States and Afghanistan; and, as said above, Malwa and, through the North-western Provinces, from Nepal. The Malwa kind was not generally liked, but was drawn on when other kinds were scarce. It never paid duty, so there was no such loss as in 1884 the Financial Commissioner supposed. With the closing of the Nepal and Ghazipur supplies the demand for Malwa opium was sure to increase, and the only way to prevent wholesale smuggling was to allow a supply in a lawful way at a moderate cost, and to give the Sikh States their fair share of this supply. The demand, it is true, when the quarter-duty system was in operation, did not exceed three or four hundred maunds a year, but it would have increased to some extent. The quarter-duty system was disliked by the Punjab buyers, who had previously paid no duty, and this checked the demand at first. The limit of 1,200 maunds was, of course, fixed as a maximum, and it was not supposed that there would be any advantage to Government if that limit were reached. However, the question of demand has been practically settled by events; we should not have captured 140 maunds of contraband Malwa opium last summer unless there had been an effective demand for this article on the part of consumers.

9. It is necessary, no doubt, to meet the objection that the Ghazipur opium being preferred, the whole of the Punjab demand for an outside supply might be met from the Ghazipur factory. The reply is that if the price fixed for this commodity is adequate with reference to the price obtainable for it in other markets it becomes unsaleable in the Punjab. If, on the other hand, it is supplied to the Punjab Government at cost price, as at Rs. 10-8 a ser, the price now fixed for future consignments, there may, indeed, be no loss in British districts; for the deficiency in price may be covered in part by the rates at which the article is sold and in part by higher sales of licenses for retail vend and better income from license fees. But in foreign territory there would be serious loss, and the Lieutenant-Governor could not expect the Government of India to agree to this Government sharing the Ghazipur supply on present terms with the Sikh States, whose requirements must nevertheless be admitted as an important factor in the whole problem. We are, Mr. Lyall thinks, morally bound to consider the loss of revenue to these States and the inconvenience to their opium consumers caused by shutting off the Nepal and Malwa supplies under the orders of the Government of India in 1878 to 1880. Yet if we give these States Ghazipur opium practically at cost price, the whole of the excise profits will be theirs, not ours; and the concession would be an extravagant one, far exceeding the limits of any legitimate claim to consideration.

10. All these reasons led the Lieutenant-Governor to make the recommendation expressed in my telegram of the 23rd instant. If that is accepted, permits would be given to some of our licensed vendors or farmers and to agents of the Phulkian States; and these men would take their permits to the collector under the Ajmere Rules, who would give them a special order in writing under Rule 5 (2), armed with which they would buy either in Ajmere territory or outside in Rájputána and bring in the opium to the Ajmere scales, and then get a pass for the Punjab on payment of quarter duty. It might be arranged that the passes given should be few in number and on Ajmere only, not on Indore. Should the Government of India so desire, the maximum amount of Malwa opium to be imported in this way from the Ajmere scales might be reduced to, say, 500 maunds, which would probably be sufficient. These points settled, the Lieutenant-Governor would then arrange with the Sikh States the maximum amount per annum for which each State might ask for permits and the Deputy Commissioner to whom it should send the persons it might authorise to apply for permits. The Sikh States would, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, agree readily enough; they might demur to the quarter duty a little, but not strongly. They have never had any authority under any rules or understanding to grant import passes which would hold good through British territory. The arrangement would therefore be advantageous to them; and in consideration of their being allowed to share in the Malwa supply, as well as on the general ground that their excise arrangements must not conflict with those of the British Government, they would be urged to co-operate with us in the suppression of smuggling and to forbid the passage of opium into British territory from their outlying parganas along the Rájputána border. There would be no need, so far as the Sikh States are concerned, to revise the prohibitions issued by the Jeypore, Ujwar, and Bikanir States against the passage of opium into the Punjab and Punjab native States. These prohibitions would be quite consistent with the principle that Rájputána opium for the Punjab must be brought to the Ajmere scales. The case of Bahawalpur is somewhat different; and Mr. Lyall would be disposed to allow the passage of Bikanir opium into Bahawalpur territory on condition that (1) it should not pass through British territory, and (2) the Bahawalpur State would allow no opium to pass out of its territory to the British or foreign territory of the Punjab. To this extent it would probably be advisable to make an exception to the principle above mentioned; but before any final proposal is put forward in this behalf, Mr. Lyall would communicate with the Bahawalpur Darbar and ascertain its wishes and particulars of the Bahawalpur opium trade, which is not extensive. Having arranged in this way for the Malwa supply, Mr. Lyall would like to combine with it, for use in British districts only, a small supply, not to exceed 200 maunds, of opium from Ghazipur at Rs. 10-8 a ser as already agreed to. The orders therefore of the Government of India in the Finance Department, communicated to this Government by its endorsement, No. 1570, dated the 30th June 1886, would hold good. It would be necessary, however, for the Government of India to issue a notification similar to the Notification of the Finance Department, No. 1001, dated the 12th May 1882 (cancelled by Notification, No. 1178, dated the 1st June 1885), to the effect that in exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Opium Act, 1878, the Governor General in Council directs that duty at the rate of Rs. 75 shall be levied on each chest of opium of 140½ lb. avoirdupois net weight imported into the Punjab with effect from the date of the issue of the notification. I am accordingly to request that this may be done. The Lieutenant-Governor requests that the whole arrangement may at any rate be made for one year certain, and till there has been time to communicate fully with the native States and to obtain and consider local opinions on the proposals of the finance committee. If, however, the Government of India is willing to sanction the present scheme as a permanent one, subject to the understanding that it may, if necessary, be modified after considering the finance committee's note and after ascertaining the views of the States concerned and working out the detailed arrangements, the Lieutenant-Governor would prefer that course.

11. In regard to the omission up to the present time to come to some understanding with the Sikh States on the subject of opium, Mr. Lyall feels that some explanation is called for. As Financial Commissioner, Mr. Lyall recommended in March 1882 that the Patiala,

Jind, and Nabha Darbars should be addressed; but the Punjab Government then felt precisely the same embarrassment that Mr. Lyall has himself experienced on the present occasion. There was obvious difficulty in commencing negotiations with the States before we had put our own system straight and were ready with detailed rules for working it. Sir Charles Aitchison, therefore, decided that when certain amendments in the rules had been made and sanctioned by the Government of India, he would address the native States and explain to them the exact provisions which would effect them in the matter of import and transport of opium. Mr. Lyall accordingly submitted a draft revising the opium rules, and in a letter, No. 1233, dated the 21st November 1882 (extracts from which are appended), explained fully the methods by which he proposed (as he proposes now) to give the Sikh States their fair share of the quarter-duty supply. The draft was sent on to the Government of India, which, however, was not satisfied with its form, and called for a revised edition. The Financial Commissioner was then desired to recast the draft, and he has not yet re-submitted it. Mr. Lyall is sorry that the Government of India was not prepared to sanction the draft temporarily

until a better draft could be prepared. He believes that the rules, though imperfectly drafted, would have been understood by the local officers and would have worked well enough; and he thinks that both then and still more now they were urgently wanted.

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12. Intermediately the Financial Commissioner was instructed to omit from the revised draft of the rules the provisions relating to the quarter-duty supply of Malwa opium. He has now been asked to insert them again in accordance with the proposals made in this letter, and to submit his revised draft with the least possible delay. On receipt of it Mr. Lyall will lose no time in sending it on to the Government of India for approval; and he hopes that should it still be found to be somewhat rough from a technical point of view, the Government of India may nevertheless be able to pass it for a year at least, if Mr. Lyall can say that it will be understood and will prove workable.

13. On hearing that the proposals made in this letter are generally approved, Mr. Lyall will at once communicate with the Sikh States and Bahawalpur on the subject of opium.

14. A list of enclosures is annexed.

APPENDIX X.

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[Handed in by KHALIFA SYAD MUHAMED HASSAN, C.I.E., on behalf of the Patiala State.]

MEMORANDUM ON THE OPIUM QUESTION IN THE PATIALA STATE.

PRIOR to Sambats 1906-7=1849-1850, no particular duty was levied on opium and poppy, nor was any kind of restriction placed (on its sale or cultivation), and as a natural result of this freedom in trade, the consumers of opium and poppy used to get these articles very cheap. Poppy was sold at the rate of 15 to 19 seers per rupee, and after separating the seed from it there remained between 8½ and 9½ seers of pure poppy-heads, and purified opium was sold at 8 to 10 tolas per rupee.

2. People used to take poppy in this way. For nearly 10 or 12 hours poppy-heads were soaked in water, then strained through a cloth after squeezing them, and the decoction drunk either in the morning or evening, or twice a day, with or without sugar. Opium was taken in pills, as it is eaten in these days also.

3. The habit of drinking a decoction of poppies (post) is a very ancient one, and very injurious to health, because to take a tumbler full of an intoxicating decoction every morning and evening, regardless of seasons and thirst or hunger, impaired digestion and weakened the organs of the body. The injurious effects of this decoction are generally admitted. It appears from old historical works that during the Moghal Empire such princes as were suspected of making political disturbances, and whom it was considered, advisable to keep under confinement, were forced to drink this poppy decoction in order to debilitate them and to destroy their material spirit, so that there be no longer any fear of their making disturbances.

4. Since the native States have followed the British system of excise administration, and have imposed a duty on opium and poppy, &c., which has been enhanced from time to time, partly owing to this, and partly because of the change for good in the habits of the people, the practice of taking the decoction of poppy (post) has nearly died away during the last 42 or 43 years, and its place has been taken by opium. But notwithstanding this, the price of poppy-heads has not fallen, and in these days poppy-heads without seeds are sold at 2½ seers per rupee. The high price of this drug is partly due to the increased duty mentioned above, and partly because opium is now taken instead of post, and therefore the zemindars extract larger quantities of opium from the poppy, which becomes useless, and is thrown away.

5. It is needless to explain the method of cultivating poppy because the Punjab authorities are fully acquainted with such matters.

Mode of preparing Opium.—When the poppy-heads are ripe enough for procuring opium, the zemindars make incisions in them with a knife, when opium in the shape of a white liquid comes out of the heads, and assuming a brown or blackish colour becomes viscid.

6. The cause of the increased consumption of opium as compared with post is that a much smaller quantity of the former gives more intoxication than a cupful of the latter, and it does not affect the digestion like post. For the above reasons, and because of the heavy duties on it, pure opium is sold at 3 tolas for a rupee in large towns of the State, and, in villages where people do not care much for its purity, it is sold at 4 tolas per rupee.

7. Regarding the cultivation of the poppy and manufacture of opium, I have to say that in that tract of the State called the Narnaul Nizamat, which is contiguous to the Jeypore and Alwar borders, poppy is not cultivated, because the country is dry, the wells are very deep, and the inhabitants being Jats, Ahir, and Gujars, with very few Rajputs, are much less addicted to the opium habit. Likewise in the western and southern portions of the State adjoining the Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Karnal, and Hissar districts, it is not cultivated for want of sufficient rains and the great depth of the wells; but the people of these tracts are much more addicted to opium-eating than the people of the other parts of the State. Since the opening of the Kotla and Bhatinda branches of the Sirhind Canal, some people in these dry tracts have commenced the experimental cultivation of poppy, but on such a small scale that it is not worth notice.

In the tracts which lie to the north alongside of the hill ranges, where on this account the rainfall is abundant, and water in the wells is near, poppy and opium are produced to some extent, and according to the statistics collected in 1891 the total area under poppy cultivation at different places in the said tracts was 286 acres, which yielded not more than 16 maunds of opium.

Although, owing to the quantity of opium produced being small, no acreage duty, besides the ordinary land revenue, is imposed on poppy cultivation, as is the case in the Punjab, yet according to the rules issued by the Patiala State for preventing the abuse of opium, the zemindars are not at liberty to sell their produce to other than licensed vendors called lessees by the State.

8. According to the last census the population of the State was as follows:—

Sikhs	-	-	-	-	243,362
Hindus	-	-	-	-	795,928
Mussalmans	-	-	-	-	352,046
Menial tribes, such as Chamars, sweepers, &c., who are included in the census papers among Hindus and Sikhs, but who are disowned by them	-	-	-	-	228,221

Though accurate statistics are not prepared by the State, a reliable calculation has been made that, out of

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the total amount of opium consumed in the State, one-third is consumed by the Sikhs and two-thirds by other races.

9. For the total requirements of the State, which amount to 1,100—1,200 maunds yearly, opium is imported from—(1) the Simla Hill States; (2) Ladwa and Jagadhri, &c., in the Umballa district; and (3) Malwa and Rajputana. One hundred and thirty maunds of Malwa opium are imported yearly (out of the total quantity fixed by the Government of India for the Punjab) subject to certain conditions and concessions, and the payment of a duty at the rate of Rs. 3 per seer, which is eventually refunded to the State from the British Treasury.

10. Opium from the Simla and Umballa districts is imported in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 22 and 23 of Financial Commissioner's circular, No. 62, dated 26th June 1889, and of Excise Commissioner's circular, No. 1, dated 3rd February 1891. Those who deal in opium in the State are given leases (sold by auction to the highest bidder) on payment of a certain amount of money, and subject to certain conditions and restrictions, for the monopoly to sell opium according to the conditions laid down by the State within a fixed area. The conditions bind them not to purchase or sell cheap and smuggled opium (see directions issued by the Patiala Wizarat Office, dated 21st Sawan Sambat 1947, submitted to Punjab Government in October 1890).

11. When these licensed vendors wish to import opium from British districts, mostly Umballa and Simla, besides the lease money which they pay yearly to the State, they have to make a written application for the import of the required quantity of opium on payment of a fee of Re. 1-4 for each application, and in accordance with the said application to receive a written permit, on which is noted the amount of opium required to be imported into the State from British territory. On the authority of the said permit, the licensed vendors have to submit a written application to the Deputy Commissioner of the district for the grant of a license for the despatch of opium, subject to the conditions applicable to such consignments in British districts (vide paragraphs 20 to 23 of Financial Commissioner's circular, No. 26, dated 26th June 1889). The

* Vide Punjab Government No. 2459, dated 21st November 1891, and Patiala Motamida's, No. 31, dated 16th April 1891.

above conditions are by no means light, yet additional restrictions* are placed by the State on the licensed vendors which greatly interfere

even with the lawful conveyance of opium freely.

12. The 130 maunds of opium which, in accordance with the instructions contained in the letters marginally noted, are yearly imported from Malwa and Rajputana, are at present purchased by the State at Ajmere, and are only sold to the licensed vendors of the State on payment of a moderate price. None of the opium which finds its way into the State from the three

above-mentioned sources can be sold by any person other than the licensed vendors of the State. Even those persons who purchase opium and poppy for their personal use cannot legally keep more than 4 tolas of opium and 5 seers of poppy at a time without special permission, which is only given in very special cases. To keep all these administrative and preventive measures in working order, the Office of Excise and Abkari superintendent with the necessary establishment has been established in the State, and those who act in contravention of the rules are severely punished. (See his Highness the Maharaja's Murasila, dated 29th April 1890, No. 5, addressed to the Punjab Government.) Punishments are awarded according to the directions referred to in paragraph 10 of this memo. The provisions of the said directions are, with a few exceptions, identical with the opium rules issued by the Punjab Government, and are in some cases more stringent.

13. In Patiala territory, indeed throughout the Punjab, there is one uniform mode of eating opium, viz., by taking it in a pill after purifying it as stated before. Some people take it, as prescribed by native Hakim, in a compound called "Barsh" and "Jadwar" pills, &c. (of which opium forms a part), but this practice is rare. Here they do not dissolve opium in water, and then take it like the people of Rajputana, who called

it "Gholua," nor do they take it in the refined form called "Reni" in Kathiawar. People do not smoke chandu and madak in this country.

14. Mothers of infant children administer opium to their babies. So much is this the case that there would not be found a single child throughout the country who has not been given opium during its infancy, and no visible bad effect is produced by the use of opium on the health of such children. But, of course, in rare instances, if a boy who is approaching maturity begins taking opium it affects the general appearance of the body, creates paleness and symptoms of laziness, shortness of beard; and the growth and development of the body are also affected. The number of such youths is extremely small, perhaps one or two in every 1,000 persons, because parents insist on their children abstaining from using this drug. Those people who commence taking opium after the full development of their body, before they attain the age of 40, are also very few in number, because taking opium before the age of 40 is considered objectionable and a species of licentiousness by society; but no bad effects on the health or general appearance of such people are visible, while the use of opium after the age of 40 is not considered improper; but is, on the contrary, calculated to preserve health and prolong life.

Some persons who are between 40 and 60 years old, and who have been eating opium for years, and are very healthy, active, and industrious, can be produced for inspection in support of the statements herein made.

No change takes place in the appearance or bodies of people who eat opium after they are full grown, provided they use it moderately; and they can do all sorts of physical and mental labour. On the contrary, it is generally believed that after eating opium a man becomes fresh for doing every kind of labour; but, of course, if an opium-eater does not get his dose at the fixed hour, or gets a smaller dose than usual, his nose and eyes become watery, and he feels uneasy and fatigued, and in such a case he has little inclination for taking food, and feels shivery and sleepless. But the symptoms of laziness and fatigue are not peculiar to opium-eaters only, for persons addicted to liquor also feel lazy and unfit for work when they do not get their usual drink. Even those who are accustomed to take pan (betel leaf), tobacco, tea, or coffee also become inactive and sluggish, and feel a strong craving for those things when they do not get them at the fixed hour.

5. Opium-eaters, no matter how large their regular doses may be, should they even take unusually large doses at a time, do not become intoxicated or excited like those who drink liquor. Under the influence of this drug the eater does not become inebriate, nor does he talk nonsense or become quarrelsome as drunkards do, but its strongest effect is that the man goes to sleep.

16. The habit of eating opium can be traced to have prevailed in Asia for nearly 2,500 years, and unlike liquor or bhang it is not prohibited by any Asiatic religion, which in other words means that the several nations in Asia did not consider its use objectionable, as by experience they did not find it injurious; and law-givers have not forbidden its use socially or religiously. In short even if opium is not taken for the preservation of health, but for the sake of intoxication only, it is, in comparison with bhang or spirits, a harmless and less expensive intoxicant used by respectable people. If an opium-eater cannot get his doses for a few days, his appetite and intestines, &c. are badly affected, and he suffers from looseness of bowel and watery eyes and nose.

17. As it is already the practice in the Punjab to eat opium in moderate and reasonable quantities, there is no real necessity for its total prohibition. To do so, or to impose further restrictions would not be beneficial in any way, and such a measure would spread dissatisfaction among the people, and would probably injure the health of the consumers without reducing their expenditure, while the Government revenue would also decrease, and the loss would have to be made good by imposing some new tax, which is always disliked in this country. To do so (i.e., to abandon the opium revenue and impose new taxes) would be vexatious and unreasonable so far as the people are concerned, and would be a bad policy for Government to adopt. It is also probable that the stoppage of opium would necessarily increase the consumption of spirits and bhang, which are much more

injurious to health and morality than opium, and are more costly. Ever since the appointment of the Opium Commission has been talked about, there are indications that the people will generally attribute the proposed stoppage of opium not to the good intentions of Government, but will, on the contrary, suspect that the English nation, under this pretext, wishes to increase their already large trade in spirituous liquors.

18. If the use of opium requires to be stopped by legislation, it is only when used in the form of "chandu" and madak, which people smoke, and this habit is considered a very bad one by all respectable natives, and is very injurious to health, but it is gratifying that this evil practice does not exist in the Punjab.

The use of madak and chandu is authoritatively prohibited in the State. In 1876 a resident of Delhi applied to the State authorities to lease to him the monopoly of selling madak and chandu, and the revenue authorities wished to grant the application, but as the matter was a new one, when it came up to the Wazárat Office for sanction, the Wazir, on the 11th December, represented to the Council of Regency that, though the lease would bring a little income to the State, the effect would be very injurious, as at Lucknow and elsewhere, where these drugs are smoked, they have proved very injurious to the people, and their use should therefore be forbidden. The Council of Regency approved of the Wazir's opinion on 14th December 1876, and addressed the revenue officers and the State Courts with the view to prevent the use of madak and chandu. If the matter be further considered, opium cannot be blamed on account of madak

and chandu, because the latter are improper form of using opium, and there are several useful articles in the world which, if taken in improper forms prove injurious.

19. In short, in all the native States, and, indeed, throughout the Punjab, opium is moderately used, and the object of all the administrative measures, in respect of opium, which are now in force, has been to limit in such a way the habit prevailing since centuries of the moderate use of opium, which is not injurious to health or morals or economy, so as to leave no room for objectionable consumption and injury to health by the immoderate use of the drug.

The Punjab authorities in general, and Sir James Lyall in particular, during his incumbency as Financial Commissioner of the Punjab and subsequently as Lieutenant-Governor, very prudently devoted attention to this subject, and the result of all the rules and procedure prescribed by them has been that this ancient habit of the people has not been interfered with; while, on the other hand, Government derives a large revenue from it, and the tendency of all the measures adopted is to restrict the use of opium to a reasonable amount, and not to increase it. With reference to these arrangements in the Punjab and in the native States, the Government and the native States cannot be accused of making a profit by giving poison to the people. Therefore, the Patialá Darbár thinks that the intentions of the resolution of Parliament, passed on 30th June 1893, are already met by the arrangements at present in force in the Punjab.

APP. X.
Patiala State.

APPENDIX XI.

APP. XI.
Náhan State.

LETTER from HIS HIGHNESS the RÁJA of NÁHAN, G.C.S.I., handed in by B. SAUDAGAR LÁL, Mir Munshi of the Náhan State, dated Náhan, 3rd January 1894, to the OFFICIATING CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, Punjab.

In compliance with your desire conveyed in your letter, I have the honour to enclose herewith an abstract of the evidence which the two officials appointed by me for the purpose propose to give before the Opium Commission.

My own opinion is as follows:—

The anti-opium agitation seems to be based on the idea that the drug in question is a poison, but the conception is wholly groundless.

Experience has shown that opium in moderation is not pernicious in any way, and that it produces no ill-effect either on the health or wealth of the people. It never impoverishes a man; it is preventive of many diseases; the rich and the poor consume it with equal safety.

It is much more economical than intoxicating liquors. The greatest opium-eater can consume no more than one or two rupees' worth of opium a month, while an ordinary drinker will easily waste the same amount in a day on alcoholic liquors. Morally considered, no man is ever led under its influence to the commission of any criminal or immoral act; its moderate use never maddens, nor causes any of its consumers to lose their senses, but, on the contrary, encourages, and enables them to work hard.

Having such facts before me, I can find no reason why the proposal to prohibit such a harmless thing should receive my support. But I may be allowed to suggest that if a similar agitation were set on foot, against alcoholic liquors, many a life would be saved in India as well as in Europe.

As regards the fiscal condition of India, it is well known that it is already very hard for the Government to make both ends meet; then what will be its difficulties if it is called on to make up a loss of seven or eight crores of rupee—a loss which is sure to result?

If further taxation is imposed, many people who have so far held aloof will probably join the National Congress and complain and agitate against Government, and with good reason.

There is another point which I wish to speak of. I think that the opium trade should never be allowed to pass out of the hands of the Government. Many a private company would come forward and take it into their own hands, caring for their own interests. Then very likely the purity of the drug would be neglected,

and adulteration would make it as hurtful as it is harmless at present.

I think that then the same persons who at present declaim against it would be the foremost in praising it.

As for the question of compensation, I beg to bring to your notice that about 200 maunds of opium are produced annually in this State, of which about 70 maunds are brought to the State Treasury; the rest is secreted and smuggled into other places.

The zemindars generally sell their crop at Rs. 8 per seer, so if the cultivation is prohibited, they will sustain a loss of Rs. 64,000 a year, and may fairly expect an adequate compensation for their loss.

A very small quantity of the 70 maunds brought to the State Treasury is sold to the local licensed retail dealers at Rs. 15 per seer, and the remainder to the retail dealers of other States at Rs. 14 per seer, a transit pass having first been obtained from the Deputy Commissioner of Umballa. This transaction brings to the State a net profit of Rs. 15,000 a year.

Now, from the above calculation, it may be estimated that the whole compensation to which this State will be entitled will amount to Rs. 79,000 per annum, for whatever loss the zemindars may suffer by cultivating other crops on the land at present devoted to opium will certainly have to be made up to them in the shape of a reduction of land revenue, and so will be a loss to the State, while the State will probably have to spend at least as much in preventing secret cultivation and sale of opium.

ABSTRACT OF EVIDENCE to be offered on the CONSUMPTION of OPIUM and its effects in Sirmúr State by Dr. M. A. NICOLSON and BABU SAUDAGAR LÁL.

(a.) Amongst the hillmen opium-eating is very rare. Zaidárs and Lambardárs of large villages in the hills have informed us there are no opium-eaters in their villages. Others know of one or two cases only. That this information is correct is shown by the fact that among the prisoners in the gaol it is extremely rare to find a hillman who is an opium-eater. At present among 47 prisoners there is only one opium-eating hillman; two others are Afgháns.

The Kahárs in Náhan use opium when they are getting old and unable to do their work. Their

APP. XI.
Náhan State.

Chaudhri informs us that there are about 50 adult male Kahárs in Náhan, of whom about 10 use opium. He also informs us that without opium these men could not earn their living.

We have inquired into the circumstances which led to their commencing the use of opium, and found four chief causes—(1) as a substitute for alcohol; (2) to enable them to withstand the effects of cold and exposure; (3) for ill-health, especially for dysentery, rheumatism, and catarrh; (4) to enable them to endure fatigue and perform their work.

There are a few other opium-eaters in Náhan, but they, properly speaking, are not natives of the place, although many have resided here for some years.

(b.) Physically, opium appears to do very little if any harm. I, Doctor Nicolson, have treated, and am at present treating, cases of illness among opium-eaters, both in the city and in the gaol. I have found the usual treatment for their maladies just as successful as with other patients, and have never seen any reason to adopt special measures or even to prohibit opium. Morally, they are also like their neighbours, and are certainly much better behaved in every way than the consumers of alcohol.

(c.) There is not the slightest doubt that the people would resent any interference with the custom of opium-eating, and if it could be carried out—which we doubt—they would take to alcohol or gánja in its place. And these latter two articles are certainly much more harmful than opium.

(d.) The people would certainly object to being taxed in order to put a stop to the custom of opium-eating, and any such tax, however small, would certainly be very unpopular.

(e.) It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to prohibit the production and use of opium in native States.

In conclusion, we would add the following remarks as expressing our own opinion on the subject, and as being the results of our examination of opium-eaters of Náhan:—

We have found opium a most useful substitute for alcohol, and beneficial both morally and physically in two cases of extreme drunkenness.

We have found it used medicinally by many natives who live miles from any dispensary as a preventive of fever and a cure for dysentery.

It is largely used by mothers nursing children as an application to the breast under the belief that it prevents diarrhoea, dysentery, catarrh, &c. from attacking their infants.

We have found one case where a man, after eating opium for 20 years, gave it up of his accord, because he could not afford it any longer, and did so without suffering very much inconvenience, and we have, as before mentioned, found it used as a stimulant by men growing too old to perform their work, viz., Kahárs or water-carriers, whose occupation is a very laborious one.

Opium-eating never causes violent crime, as both alcohol and gánja are well known to do.

APP. XII.
Kashmir State.

APPENDIX XII.

MEMORANDUM on the OPIUM QUESTION in the Kashmir State, presented by RAI BARADUR PANDIT SURAJ KAUL, C.I.E., Member of the Council in Kashmir.

1. If the cultivation and use of opium for other than medical purposes is prohibited throughout British India, it could be gradually extended to Kashmir, but such prohibition will be very much felt by the cultivators, who solely depend upon poppy cultivation and by the opium-eaters. Such interference is likely to produce the greatest discontentment among the opium-eaters, and prove extremely disastrous for the opium cultivators, for the time being at least.

2. The Kashmir State is divided into two provinces, *i.e.*, Jammu and Kashmir. In Kashmir opium cultivation is at present very little, but as waste lands have lately been granted to the people with hereditary rights of cultivation, and the people are coming to know day by day that poppy cultivation pays best, it is expected that its cultivation will increase. In the Kardi district opium has been cultivated from old times. The opium is partly consumed in the province and partly taken away by the Punjabi license-holders. These license-holders can purchase opium in the Jammu province only under a certificate from the Deputy Commissioner of the Sialkot district allowing them to purchase the opium from the State. Such opium is weighed, packed, and sealed in presence of a revenue officer and a pass for Sialkot given to the license-holder. A small quantity of opium is exported by the State merchants to Yarkand, but there are no rules restricting it. If the export of opium from the Kashmir State to the British districts were totally prohibited, the State would in justice be entitled to a compensation equivalent to its loss of revenue on account of decrease in the sale of taxed opium.

3. The income of the State from opium is derived from two sources—

(i.) The revenue collected from the zamindars who pay to the State half the money realised from the sale of the opium to the contractor which is estimated at about Rs. 33,500 per annum, and

(ii.) The fees realised for licenses to sell opium which are about Rs. 13,500 per annum in round numbers.

The exact area under poppy cultivation in the Kashmir State is not known, as the districts in which the poppy cultivation is commonest have not undergone settlement operations. The total produce in both provinces,

however, is estimated at 167 maunds 35 seers, and as one acre of land yields about four seers of opium, the total area under poppy may be calculated approximately at 1,678 acres. The price of opium paid to zamindars by the contractor is Rs. 10 per seer. If, therefore, the poppy cultivation is altogether prohibited, the loss of the State revenue will amount to about Rs. 47,000 per annum, while, if the export of opium into the Punjab only is stopped, the loss will be slightly less, as the chief portion of the opium produced in the State is meant for export to the Punjab. In either case the State will in justice be entitled to a compensation proportional to the loss sustained on account of the decrease in the revenue caused by the prohibition. The zamindars will also have to be compensated for being prohibited from cultivating poppy, in so far as they will be obliged to grow other crops, the best of which will not pay more than one-fourth of the poppy. (The average yield of poppy comes to Rs. 40 an acre, which gives the zamindars Rs. 20 net, which no other crop can pay him more than Rs. 5 net per acre.)

4. For preventive measures it will be necessary to establish at least 12 stations in the two provinces of the State, having four sopoys in each with two inspectors, one for each province. The annual cost of which establishment will be about Rs. 6,300.

5. In the event of the sale and export of opium being prohibited, the State of Kashmir will be entitled to be repaid Rs. 13,435 which it receives from the sale of contracts and licenses, and Rs. 37,575, the estimated income received by it from the zamindars.

6. Reforms which are being inaugurated in the excise administration of the State will probably reduce the amount of untaxed opium which may at present be produced in the State, but the people are not in a position to bear any enhanced taxation.

7. Opium is not consumed in large quantities in the State, the total quantity consumed in Jammu being 32 maunds, while that in Kashmir amounts only to 2½ maunds. No particular class of people is addicted to opium-eating, but, comparatively speaking, the Dogras and the Panjabi Sikhs are the largest consumers. But the fact that the Dogras and the Sikhs are the strongest and the bravest people in the State shows that the use

of opium does not badly affect the physical constitution of the people, nor are there any facts to show that the moderate use of opium produces bad influence upon their morals.

8. People take to opium-eating—

(a.) To keep up their strength in advanced age.

(b.) Through the effects of the company of opium-eaters.

(c.) For sexual enjoyment.

9. The Kashmir State subjects will not willingly bear, in whole or in part, the cost of any preventive measures.

APP. XII.

APPENDIX XIII.

APP. XIII.

Rajputana.

ABSTRACT OF EVIDENCE tendered by Miss C. A. SWAINE, M.D., Khetri, Rajputana, read by the Secretary on January 24th, 1894.

I CAME to India as a medical missionary in 1870. My observation has led me to form an unfavourable opinion of the opium habit. It produces the following bad effects:—

1. It interferes with the legitimate action of medicine in many cases, including fevers.
2. It affects the mental faculties unfavourably, and sometimes at a very early age.

3. It makes those who resort to it untruthful and untrustworthy.

4. It makes those who use it contented with their lot, or at least indifferent, and hence anxious to bear as few burdens as possible. In other words, it makes them indolent and thriftless.

5. In short, the habit is a bad one, and is so regarded by the people.

APPENDIX XIV.

APP. XIV.

Lahore.

MEMORANDUM on the use of OPIUM in the treatment of ANIMALS, by Veterinary Colonel J. A. NUNN, A.V.D., D.S.O., F.R.C.V.S., Principal Lahore Veterinary College.

My personal knowledge of India is confined to the Punjab, North-west Provinces, Bengal, and Assam. Opium is used in all four as a medicine for horses and cattle in intestinal disorders, such as diarrhoea and dysentery; also in cattle plague, "rinderpest." The poppy-heads are used as a decoction in the case of sprains and painful bruises as an anodyne fomentation. The use of opium for these purposes is chiefly confirmed to fairly well-to-do people, for although its medicinal properties are well known, its price puts it beyond the reach of the poorer class of cattle owners. They would, however, use it if it was cheaper. Small quantities of opium are used with the spices, "masalas," that are given to horses and ponies when going on a long journey, such as those owned by ekka drivers. These "masalas" are given to the horse or pony before starting on the journey and at intervals on the road when they stop to rest. The small quantity of opium given

in these cases acts as a stimulant, and enables the animal to undergo a greater amount of fatigue than he would be able to do without it. I have never seen or heard of any ill results from this practice. In my opinion opium is one of the few drugs that can be obtained in any ordinary village shop that is of much value in veterinary medicine, and if it cannot be obtained I fail to see what can be substituted for it. Of the use and therapeutic action of opium in veterinary practice it is unnecessary for me to speak except to say that it and its alkaloids are perhaps more largely prescribed than any other drug. Full accounts of its actions and uses can be found in any standard work on veterinary medicine or therapeutics, such as "Williams, Veterinary Medicine," "Robertson's Equine Medicine," "Cruze's Traite pratique des Maladies de l'espece Bovine," "Finlay Dun's Veterinary Medicines," "Kaufman's Précis de Therapeutique Veterinaire."

STATEMENT showing the PRISONERS in the DELHI GAOL who were confirmed OPIUM EATERS and in by Surgeon-Major DENNIS

Serial No.	Register No.	Name of Prisoner.	Father's Name.	Caste.	Age.	Occupation.	Residence.			Crime.	Class of Prisoner.	Date of Admission into Gaol.
							Village.	Tehseel.	District.			
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.		
1	7478	Sital Parshad	Shoo Lal	Bakal, Hindu.	38	Service	Delhi	Delhi	Delhi	Lurking house-trepass or house-breaking by night, Sec. 457, I. P. C.	Casual	17 Nov. 1893
2	6854	Bani Singh	Dowlut Singh	Jat, Hindu	28	Cultivator	Bahara, Kaseen.	Gurgaon	Gurgaon	Escape from custody, Sec. 224, I. P. C.	Do.	13 March 1893
3	7223	Toonda	Basao	Goojur, Hindu.	55	Do.	Beri Futteh-poor.	Balah-gurh.	Delhi	Dishonestly receiving stolen property, Sec. 411, I. P. C.	Do.	17 Aug. 1893
4	7340	Sham Lall	Thakur Dass	Bania, Hindu.	57	Shop-keeper.	Dasuab	Meerat	Meerat City.	Cheating, Sec. 420, I. P. C.	Do.	21 Sept. 1893
5	5806	Mohur Singh	Tek Ram	Jat, Hindu	50	Cultivator	Kasai	Jhajjar	Rhotak	Murder, Sec. 302, I. P. C.	Do.	30 April 1891
6	7342	Ganga Din	Madari	Jolah, Hindu.	45	Service	Anoroha	Bonge	Cawn-pore.	Dishonestly receiving stolen property, Sec. 411, I. P. C.	Do.	22 Sept. 1893
7	7320	Ahmad	Mahdi Bux	Sheikh, Mohamedan.	20	Shop-keeper.		Rewari	Gurgaon	Bad livelihood, Sec. 107, C. P. C.	Do.	12 Sept. 1893
8	7128	Gandal	Bhakhari	Dhobi, Mohamedan.	30	Labour	Maldoth	Balah-garh.	Rhotak	Bad livelihood Sec. 109, C. P. C.	Do.	5 July 1893
9	Under trial.	Rahim Bux	Khuda Bux	Mogul, Mohamedan.	35	Faqir		Delhi City		Under trial	Do.	8 Dec. 1893
10	5450	Karim Khan	Aziz Khan	Sheikh, Mohamedan.	48	Service		Amballa City		Theft, Sec. 379-75, I. P. C.	Habitual	26 June 1889
11	6519	Elahi Bux	Ala Bux	Do.	13	Labour	Delhi City.		Sadar-Bazar	Theft, 379, I. P. C.	Do.	25 Oct. 1892
12	7092	Fazla	Wajiullah	Do.	22	Dyer		Delhi City		Do.	Do.	14 June 1893
13	7063	Abdulla	Khuda Bux	Do.	22	Labour		Do.		Theft in building, Sec. 380, I. P. C.	Do.	6 June 1893
14	5516	Abu	Amir	Do.	—	Do.		Do.		Theft, Sec. 379, I. P. C.	Do.	8 Sept. 1891
15	5074	Kallu	Munna	Barber, Mohamedan.	40	Do.		Do.		Do.	Do.	8 April 1891
16	5992	Chandu	Gilzari	Bakal, Hindu.	40	Do.		Do.		Do.	Do.	1 April 1892
17	7285	Bup Singh	Teka	Rajput, Hindu.	22	Service		Do.		Dishonestly receiving stolen property, Sec. 411, I. P. C.	Do.	1 Sept. 1891
18	6702	Burkat Ali	Pir Ali	Syed, Mohamedan.	26	Do.		Meerut City		Theft, Sec. 379, I. P. C.	Do.	13 Jan. 1893
19	5788	Abdul Ghafur	Abdulla	Pathan, Mohamedan.	30	Service	Patodi State		Gurgaon	Sec. 457, I. P. C., lurking house-trepass or house-breaking by night.	Do.	15 Dec. 1892
20	6817	Abdul Hamid	Nabi Bux	Sheikh, Mohamedan.	30	Labour		Delhi City		Theft, Sec. 379, I. P. C.	Do.	28 Feb. 1893
21	4080	Shamsudin	Abdul Rahman	Do.	50	Do.		Do.		House-breaking by night, Sec. 454, I. P. C.	Do.	4 March 1891
22	6849	Alladad	Tooran	Pathan, Mohamedan.	43	Cultivator	Bannu		Bannu	House-breaking by night, Sec. 458, I. P. C.	Do.	30 March 1893

DIX XV.

APP. XV.
Delhi Gaol.

SMOKERS when admitted into the GAOL, prepared on 10th December 1893, and handed on January 22nd, 1894.

Quantity of Opium-eating Daily in Grains.	What sort of Sickness occurred after leaving Opium.	How long Sickness lasted after leaving Opium.	On what Account Opium was commenced and since when.	Admission into Hospital for Fever, with Dates.	Whether suffering from Spleen or not; if so, since when.	Any defect in Temper after leaving Opium.	Present state of Health.	Weight on Admission into Gaol in Pounds.	Present Weight in Pounds.	Remarks.
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.
Smoking opium, 90 grains.	Bonesache, dysentery, and pains in chest.	1 month	Pain in chest, and catarrh, &c., 8 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	88	91	Released before January 22nd 1894.
Eating opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, slight fever, bonesache.	1 "	Cheerfulness, 6 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Fair -	156	155 156	
Eating opium, 2 grains.	Dysentery, bonesache, slight fever.	15 days -	Bleeding nose, 3 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	106	111 112	
Eating opium, 1½ grains.	Headache and catarrh.	1½ months	Asthma, 3 years.	Nil - -	Slight spleen.	No -	Bad -	112	107	Had spleen before commencing opium.
Eating opium, 45 grains, 60 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache, exhaustion.	2 "	Cheerfulness, 20 years.	Nil - -	No -	Indifferent	Fair	139	136 129	Was also a bhanga-drinker and charas-smoker, and has been more or less insane since admission into gaol.
Eating opium, 8 grains.	Dysentery, bonesache.	1 month	Sleeplessness, dyspepsia, and cough, 9 months.	19 Oct. 1893	No -	No -	Indifferent	88	88 91	
Eating opium, 4 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	20 days -	Cough, 2 years.	7 Nov. 1893	Very enlarged spleen, 10 years.	No -	Bad -	96	98 102	Cough has only ceased since he came to gaol and discontinued opium. Enormous spleen since 10 years which has not decreased since he commenced opium-eating.
Eating opium, 8 grains.	Diarrhoea, bonesache, &c.	15 "	Cheerfulness, 4 years.	Nil - -	Slight spleen, 1 year.	No -	Fair -	113	120	Released before January 22nd, 1894.
Eating opium, 45 grains.	Dysentery - -	3 months	Diarrhoea, and dyspepsia, 1 year.	Nil - -	No -	-	Bad -	88	88	Died on 22nd December 1893 of perforation of intestine by dysenteric ulcer toricuta.
Eating opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	3 "	Cheerfulness, 33 years.	5 Sept. 1890, 15 Oct. 1891, 20 Dec. 1891, 6 Jan. 1892, 17 Mar. 1893, 15 Sept. 1892, 7 Sept. 1893, 14 Sept. 1893.	-	Indifferent	Indifferent	134	125 121 117 121	This man never stopped eating opium, more or less, after coming into gaol, for he admits that he obtained it surreptitiously through the gaol officials and that he sold his milk for opium.
Eating opium, 10 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache, slight fever.	4 "	Cough, rheumatism, 4 years.	9 March 1893, 23 Nov. 1892.	Slight spleen, 3 years.	Do.	Bad -	84	89 88	Had spleen before he commenced taking opium. It has considerably increased since he came
Eating opium, 22 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	2 "	Lumbago, 4 years.	2 Dec. 1893 -	No -	No -	Fair -	88	127	Released before 22nd January 1894.
Eating opium, 24 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, &c., bonesache.	2 "	Catarrh and dyspepsia, 6 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	102	107 106	
Smoking opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, catarrh, and bonesache.	1½ "	Rheumatic pain, 12 years.	15 Nov. 1893	No -	No -	Fair -	116	123	Released before 22nd January 1894.
Eating opium, 48 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, and bonesache.	2 "	Asthma ague (b) 7 years.	2 Dec. 1893 -	No -	No -	Indifferent	105	113	Transferred to Montgomery.
Eating opium, 12 grains.	Bonesache -	6 "	Asthma, 13 years.	6 June 1893	No -	No -	Do. -	102	107 105	
Eating opium, 4 grains.	Dysentery and bonesache.	2 "	Cough and syphilis, 2 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	104	106 110	
Eating opium, 12 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, and bonesache, slight fever.	3 "	Rheumatic pain, 3 years.	18 Nov. 1893	Slight spleen, 2 years.	No -	Bad -	109	110 109	Has developed spleen since he came to gaol.
Eating opium, 2½ grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	1½ months	Ophthalmia, 4 years.	30 June 1893	No -	No -	Fair -	124	123	Released 19th January 1894.
Eating opium, 90 grains.	Do. - -	1 month	Ulcer on his legs, 10 years.	9 May 1893 -	No -	No -	Fair -	98	122 120	
Eating opium, 45 grains.	Do. - -	3 months	Syphilitic rheumatism, 22 years.	20 Nov. 1893	No -	No -	Bad -	100	100 98	
Eating opium, 15 grains.	Nil - -	Nil -	Hysteria, 13 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	125	119 126	He left off opium on account of pneumonia in gaol last month. Before that he used to get more or less opium in gaol daily through the officials.

IX XV.

WORKERS when admitted into the GAOL, prepared on 10th December 1893, and handed
January 22nd, 1894.

Quantity of opium-eating Daily in Grains.	What sort of Sickness occurred after leaving Opium.	How long Sickness lasted after leaving Opium.	On what Account Opium was commenced and since when.	Admission into Hospital for Fever, with Dates.	Whether suffering from Spleen or not; if so, since when.	Any defect in Temper after leaving Opium.	Present state of Health.	Weight on Admission into Gaol in Pounds.	Present Weight in Pounds.	Remarks.
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.
Smoking opium, 90 grains.	Bonesache, dysentery, and pains in chest.	1 month	Pain in chest, and catarrh, &c., 6 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	88	91	Released before January 22nd 1894.
Eating opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, slight fever, bonesache.	1 "	Cheerfulness, 6 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Fair -	156	155 156	
Eating opium, 2 grains.	Dysentery, bonesache, slight fever.	15 days -	Bleeding nose, 3 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	106	111 112	
Eating opium, 1½ grains.	Headache and catarrh.	1½ months	Asthma, 3 years.	Nil - -	Slight spleen.	No -	Bad -	112	107	Had spleen before commencing opium.
Eating opium, 45 grains, 60 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache, exhaustion.	2 "	Cheerfulness, 20 years.	Nil - -	No -	Indifferent	Fair	139	136 129	Was also a bhāng-drinker and charas-smoker, and has been more or less insane since admission into gaol.
Eating opium, 3 grains.	Dysentery, bonesache.	1 month	Sleeplessness, dyspepsia, and cough, 9 months.	19 Oct. 1893	No -	No -	Indifferent	88	88 91	
Eating opium, 4 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	40 days -	Cough, 2 years.	7 Nov. 1893	Very enlarged spleen, 10 years.	No -	Bad -	96	98 102	Cough has only ceased since he came to gaol and discontinued opium. Enormous spleen since 10 years which has not decreased since he commenced opium-eating.
Eating opium, 8 grains.	Diarrhoea, bonesache, &c.	15 "	Cheerfulness, 4 years.	Nil - -	Slight spleen, 1 year.	No -	Fair -	113	120	Released before January 22nd, 1894.
Eating opium, 45 grains.	Dysentery -	3 months	Diarrhoea, and dyspepsia, 1 year.	Nil - -	No -	-	Bad -	88	88	Died on 22nd December 1893 of perforation of intestine by dysenteric ulcer torulica.
Eating opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	3 "	Cheerfulness, 33 years.	5 Sept. 1890, 15 Oct. 1891, 20 Dec. 1891, 6 Jan. 1892, 17 Mar. 1893, 15 Sept. 1892, 7 Sept. 1893, 14 Sept. 1893.	-	Indifferent	Indifferent	134	125 121 117 121	This man never stopped eating opium, more or less, after coming into gaol, for he admits that he obtained it surreptitiously through the gaol officials and that he sold his milk for opium.
Eating opium, 10 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache, slight fever.	4 "	Cough, rheumatism, 4 years.	9 March 1893, 23 Nov. 1892.	Slight spleen, 3 years.	Do.	Bad -	84	89 88	Had spleen before he commenced taking opium. It has considerably increased since he came.
Eating opium, 22 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	2 "	Lumbago, 4 years.	2 Dec. 1893 -	No -	No -	Fair -	88	127	Released before 22nd January 1894.
Eating opium, 24 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, &c., bonesache.	2 "	Catarrh and dyspepsia, 6 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	102	107 106	
Smoking opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, catarrh, and bonesache.	1½ "	Rheumatic pain, 12 years.	15 Nov. 1893	No -	No -	Fair -	116	123	Released before 22nd January 1894.
Eating opium, 48 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, and bonesache.	2 "	Asthma ague (6) 7 years.	2 Dec. 1893 -	No -	No -	Indifferent	105	113	Transferred to Montgomery.
Eating opium, 12 grains.	Bonesache	6 "	Asthma, 13 years.	6 June 1893	No -	No -	Do. -	102	107 105	
Eating opium, 4 grains.	Dysentery and bonesache.	2 "	Cough and syphilis, 2 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	104	106 110	
Eating opium, 12 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, and bonesache, slight fever.	3 "	Rheumatic pain, 3 years.	18 Nov. 1893	Slight spleen, 2 years.	No -	Bad -	109	110 109	Has developed spleen since he came to gaol.
Eating opium, 24 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	1½ months	Ophthalmia, 4 years.	30 June 1893	No -	No -	Fair -	124	123	Released 19th January 1894.
Eating opium, 30 grains.	Do. - -	1 month	Ulcer on his legs, 10 years.	9 May 1893 -	No -	No -	Fair -	98	122 120	
Eating opium, 45 grains.	Do. - -	3 months	Syphilitic rheumatism, 22 years.	20 Nov. 1893	No -	No -	Bad -	100	100 98	
Eating opium, 15 grains.	Nil - -	Nil -	Hysteria, 13 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	125	119 128	He left off opium on account of pneumonia in gaol last month. Before that he used to get more or less opium in gaol daily through the officials.

APP. XV.
Delhi Gaol.

Serial No.	Register No.	Name of Prisoner.	Father's Name.	Caste.	Age.	Occupation.	Residence.			Crime.	Class of Prisoner.	Date of Admission into Gaol.
							Village.	Tehseel.	District.			
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.			9.	10.	11.
23	6718	Mohamed Usman.	Nanni Khan	Pathan, Mohamedan.	24	Labour	Delhi City			Theft in building, Sec. 380, I. P. C.	Habitual	17 Jan. 1893
24	6842	Jagan Nath	Bihari Lal	Sovar, Hindu.	53	Do.	Do.			Do.	Do.	14 March 1893
25	6300	Mannu	Elahi Bux	Sheikh, Mohamedan.	28	Do.	Do.			Do.	Do.	29 July 1892
26	7533	Shehis	Imam Ali	Synd, Mohamedan.	51	Do.	Do.			Theft, Sec. 379, I. P. C.	Do.	18 Dec. 1893
27	7096	Mashalla	Abdar Rahman	Sheikh, Mohamedan.	28	Coolie	Do.			Dishonestly receiving stolen property, Sec. 411, I. P. C.	Do.	17 June 1893
28	7230	Jangi	Chanda	Jat, Hindu	70	Cultivator	Mabede	Delhi	Delhi	Theft, I. P. C., Sec. 379-75.	Do.	21 Aug. 1893
29	7024	Elahi Bux	Ahmad Khan	Sheikh, Mohamedan.	62	Beggar	Delhi City			Sec. 380, I. P. C., theft in building.	Do.	23 May 1893
30	6919	Jatta	Srigopal	Bokal, Hindu.	45	Shop-keeper.	Do.			Cheating, Sec. 417, I. P. C.	Do.	24 April 1893
31	7403	Kunja	Nouba	Barber, Hindu.	30	Labour	Do.			Sec. 457, I. P. C., house-breaking by night.	Do.	22 Dec. 1893
32	7414	Mirra	Basti	Sonar, Hindu.	24	Do.	Amballa Cantonment			Theft, Sec. 379-75, I. P. C.	Do.	16 Oct. 1893
33	7256	Nizamuddin	Ali Bux	Mogul, Mohamedan.	26	Begging	Delhi City			Sec. 457, I. P. C., house-breaking by night.	Do.	31 Aug. 1893
34	3893	Behari	Mousa	Gonar, Hindu.	30	Labour	Do.			Theft, Sec. 379, I. P. C.	Do.	7 Jan. 1891
35	7299	Moula Bux	Fooja	Mahier, Mohamedan.	24	Do.	Rufar	Umballa		Do.	Do.	12 Sept. 1893
36	7304	Karori	Ram Parshad	Bakal, Hindu.	40	Do.	Delhi City			9 Act I. of 1878, 41 Act XXII, of 1881.	Do.	14 Sept. 1893
37	6825	Lal Chand	Jiwan	Kunjar, Hindu.	27	Do.	Delhi City.	Sarani Rohelkhan		Robbery, Sec. 395, I. P. C.	Do.	8 March 1893
38	8721	Hurnam	Jia Ram	Carpenter, Hindu.	49	Do.	Thajjor	Thajjor	Rhotak	Sec. 511, I. P. C., attempt of offence.	Do.	18 Jan. 1893
39	6847	Ghulam Nabi Shah.	Amir Shah	Syed, Mohamedan.	46	Cultivator	Shabidargarh	Gujrat		Sec. 457, I. P. C., house-breaking by night.	Do.	10 Aug. 1889
40	7026	Nathun	Jabra	Sodah, Hindu.	50	Carpenter	Delhi City			Sec. 454, 411, I. P. C., house-breaking.	Do.	25 May 1893

Quantity of Opium-eating Daily in Grains.	What sort of Sickness occurred after leaving Opium.	How long Sickness lasted after leaving Opium.	On what Account Opium was commenced and since when.	Admission into Hospital for Fever, with Dates.	Whether suffering from Spleen or not; if so, since when.	Any defect in Temper after leaving Opium.	Present state of Health.	Weight on Admission into Gaol in Pounds.	Present Weight in Pounds.	Remarks.
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.
Eating opium, 24 grains.	Diarrhoea, bonesache.	3 months	Syphilis, 4 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	90	101 104	
Eating opium, 90 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache, slight fever.	2 "	Catarrh, 7 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	86	116	
Eating opium, 24 grains.	Diarrhoea, and bonesache.	2 "	Rheumatic pain, 5 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Fair -	99	105	
Smoking opium, 180 grains.	Diarrhoea, cough, bonesache.	1 month	Rheumatic pain, 11 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	87	87 93	Is being broken of the habit now and is in hospital as a result suffering from diarrhoea, cough, aching bones, and general feeling of wretchedness.
Eating opium, 45 grains.	Diarrhoea, dysentery, bonesache.	1 "	Do. -	Nil - -	No -	Fair -	-	98	105 109	
Eating opium, 8 grains.	Do. - -	2 months	Catarrh, 24 years.	Nil - -	Nil -	No -	Bad -	118	130 133	
Do. -	Dysentery, bonesache.	4 "	Rheumatic pain and catarrh, 6 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	100	109 107	
Eating opium, 2 grains only cold season.	Dysentery and bonesache.	1½ "	Rheumatic pain and catarrh, 5 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	101	105	
Smoking opium, 90 grains.	Dysentery and bonesache.	1½ "	Rheumatic pain and catarrh, 5 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	110	108 107	
Eating opium, 8 grains.	Bonesache -	1 month	Cheerfulness and lumbago, 2 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	123	126	Transfer to Montgomery Gaol on 24th December 1893.
Smoking opium, 90 grains.	Bonesache, catarrh.	1 "	Dysentery, 7 years.	Nil - -	Very slight spleen.	No -	Bad -	92	103 105	Spleen commenced about 10 months ago, i.e., while he was still taking opium (smoking).
Eating opium, 16 grains.	Bonesache -	3 months	Toothache, 2 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Indifferent	98	107 103	
Eating opium, 22 grains.	Cough, bonesache, diarrhoea, dysentery.	2 "	Ague (c) and cough, 9 years.	Nil - -	Very slight spleen, 6 months.	No -	Bad -	96	101 104	Spleen commenced since admission into gaol.
Eating opium, 45 grains.	Dysentery, bonesache, lumbago.	3 "	Cough and hydrocele, 7 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Bad -	101	108 112	
Eating opium, 8 grains.	Bonesache - -	1 month	Cough, 1 year.	Nil - -	Very slight spleen, 1 year.	No -	Indifferent	98	100 102	Spleen commenced since admission into gaol.
Eating opium, 2 grains.	Do. - -	15 days -	Catarrh, 2 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	102	104	Released before 22nd January 1894.
Eating opium, 2½ grains.	Dysentery, diarrhoea, bonesache, slight fever.	2½ months	Lumbago, 15 years.	Nil - -	No -	No -	Do. -	127	113 115	
Eating opium, 1 grain.	Bonesache - -	15 days -	Cough, 1 year.	Nil - -	Very slight spleen, 6 years.	No -	Bad -	85	85 84	Has had spleen for about six years. It has much decreased in size of late.

APP. XVI.
Suicides.

APPENDIX XVI.

STATEMENTS REGARDING THE NUMBER OF SUICIDES ATTRIBUTED TO OPIUM IN INDIA.

I.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES in the MADRAS CITY during the past FIVE YEARS.

Years.	No. of Suicides.	Proportion due to Poisoning by Opium.	Remarks.
1889 - - -	24	Nil	One case of poisoning by opium occurred during the year. It was self-administered, but verdict of death by misadventure was returned.
1890 - - -	32	"	
1891 - - -	44	"	
1892 - - -	50	"	
1893 - - -	31*	"	

Note.—In April 1893, an East Indian attempted to commit suicide by drinking tincture of opium. He recovered (under treatment) and was prosecuted and convicted under section 309, Indian Penal Code.

(Signed) H. W. H. Cox, Colonel,
Commissioner of Police.

II.

STATEMENT of SUICIDES in the MADRAS PRESIDENCY (excluding Madras City) during the Years 1888 to 1892.

Districts.	1888.			1889.			1890.			1891.			1892.		
	Suicides.	Suicides by Opium Poisoning.	Proportion.	Suicides.	Suicides by Opium Poisoning.	Proportion.	Suicides.	Suicides by Opium Poisoning.	Proportion.	Suicides.	Suicides by Opium Poisoning.	Proportion.	Suicides.	Suicides by Opium Poisoning.	Proportion.
Ganjam - -	102	—	—	101	—	—	98	—	—	80	—	—	94	—	—
Vizagapatam - -	84	—	—	87	—	—	111	—	—	86	—	—	90	1	1·1
Jeypore - -	21	—	—	15	—	—	18	—	—	15	—	—	14	—	—
Godavari - -	150	2	1·3	150	1	·7	174	—	—	156	—	—	134	—	—
Kistna - -	114	—	—	117	—	—	120	—	—	113	—	—	89	—	—
Nellore - -	133	—	—	133	—	—	132	—	—	117	—	—	112	—	—
Kurnool - -	81	—	—	69	—	—	92	—	—	81	—	—	76	—	—
Bellary - -	41	—	—	60	—	—	40	—	—	40	—	—	43	—	—
Anantapur - -	40	—	—	35	—	—	52	—	—	42	—	—	28	—	—
Cuddapah - -	193	—	—	165	—	—	146	—	—	150	—	—	177	—	—
North Arcot - -	137	—	—	153	—	—	118	—	—	130	—	—	143	—	—
Chingleput - -	62	—	—	59	—	—	64	—	—	41	—	—	61	—	—
South Arcot - -	76	—	—	72	—	—	51	—	—	62	—	—	84	—	—
Tanjore - -	36	—	—	45	—	—	40	—	—	45	—	—	55	—	—
Trichinopoly - -	56	—	—	65	—	—	55	—	—	40	—	—	55	—	—
Madura - -	90	—	—	112	—	—	102	—	—	49	—	—	101	—	—
Tinnivelly - -	143	—	—	132	—	—	157	—	—	136	—	—	146	—	—
Salem - -	78	—	—	59	—	—	57	1	1·8	82	—	—	72	—	—
Coimbatore - -	110	—	—	95	—	—	183	—	—	112	—	—	111	—	—
Nilgiris - -	4	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—
Malabar - -	100	—	—	94	—	—	110	—	—	129	—	—	111	—	—
South Canara - -	89	—	—	68	—	—	58	—	—	54	—	—	79	—	—
Total - -	1,949	2	·1	1,888	1	·05	1,930	1	·05	1,840	—	—	1,874	1	·05

Chief Office of the Inspector-General of Police,
Madras, January 29, 1894.

(Signed) J. MEREDITH,
Assistant Inspector-General of Police.

(True copy)

(Signed) C. GALTON,
Secretary to Government.

III.

APP. XVI.
Suicides.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES which have occurred in the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY during the past FIVE YEARS, and of the PROPORTION of them shown in each Year to have been due to POISONING by OPIUM.

Districts.	Total Number of Suicides during the Year.						Number of Suicides during the Year which have been due to Poisoning by Opium.						Proportion of Suicides by Poisoning by Opium to the Total Number of Suicides during the Year.					
	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.
Town and Island of Bombay	—	89	67	86	87	84	—	33	27	26	26	19	—	1'2½	1'2½	1'3	1'3	1'4
Bombay Presidency	663	735	758	749	794	—	37	48	37	44	66	—	1'18	1'15	1'13	1'17	1'12	—
Province of Sind	—	35	44	31	27	40	—	—	2	4	—	—	—	1'22	1'8	—	—	—

IV.

STATEMENT* showing the TOTAL NUMBER of SUICIDES in BENGAL, and the PROPORTION of them reported to be due to OPIUM from 1888-92.

	Total No. of Suicides.	No. of Suicides by Opium.	Total No. of Suicides.	No. of Suicides by Opium.	Total No. of Suicides.	No. of Suicides by Opium.	Total No. of Suicides.	No. of Suicides by Opium.	Total No. of Suicides.	No. of Suicides by Opium.	Grand Total.	
	1888.	1889.	1889.	1890.	1890.	1891.	1891.	1892.	1892.	Total No. of Suicides.	No. of Suicides by Opium.	
Calcutta and Suburbs.	84	26	83	24	84	27	64	23	87	47	402	147
All other districts.	2,327	153	2,817	261	2,509	150	2,903	394	2,336	423	13,392	1,381
Total	2,411	179	2,900	285	2,593	177	2,967	417	2,923	470	18,794	1,528

* The following letter was received from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal with this Statement, dated 24th January 1894:—

SIR,
I AM directed to forward herewith a statement showing the total number of suicides, and the number due to opium poisoning which have occurred in the town of Calcutta and its suburbs, and all other districts in Bengal, during the years 1888 to 1892, both inclusive.

2. I am to add that the information has been obtained from police stations, and the Lieutenant-Governor fears that, with the exception of the Calcutta figures, it is far from accurate. From a few districts it has been found impossible to procure statistics of the number of deaths by opium, as the figures are not available.

V.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES in the NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES and OUDH during the Years 1888 to 1892, and the PROPORTION due to OPIUM POISONING.

Districts.	Total Number of Suicides.					Proportion due to Poisoning by Opium.				
	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Dehra Dun	6	5	1	3	2	1	—	1	—	1
Saharanpur	26	24	20	24	26	4	1	—	—	—
Muzaffarnagar	40	18	35	34	38	1	—	1	—	—
Meerut	65	85	70	65	110	0	0	1	3	4
Bulundshahr	44	56	60	59	47	—	1	2	1	1
Aligarh	72	79	73	73	56	6	3	2	4	3
Muttra	37	42	37	28	24	2	—	3	2	—
Agra	112	125	82	59	79	1	3	2	1	2
Farrakhabad	170	141	120	150	105	105	89	73	100	80
Mainpuri	100	83	86	77	74	11	9	15	9	25
Etawah	64	58	53	58	32	24	24	12	25	8

APP. XVI.
Suicides.

Districts.	Total Number of Suicides.					Proportion due to Poisoning by Opium.				
	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Etah - - - - -	114	85	68	56	50	10	17	6	18	12
Bijnor - - - - -	16	22	27	29	45	—	2	—	2	1
Moradabad - - - - -	21	23	23	17	21	—	1	—	—	3
Bareilly - - - - -	31	44	36	44	32	22	7	14	19	11
Pilibhit - - - - -	21	20	14	16	17	1	—	2	2	2
Shahjahanpur - - - - -	147	130	115	138	129	6	4	—	5	8
Budaun - - - - -	73	48	46	55	48	29	21	24	25	24
Cawnpore - - - - -	71	96	75	66	53	31	43	33	39	26
Fatehpur - - - - -	45	60	45	55	47	7	8	6	10	3
Hamirpur - - - - -	84	84	89	86	79	2	1	—	3	5
Banda - - - - -	62	67	56	54	53	3	0	0	1	5
Allahabad - - - - -	81	89	90	83	76	8	7	4	7	4
Jhansi - - - - -	78	103	116	82	95	1	2	—	1	3
Jalaun - - - - -	80	86	87	66	60	—	2	3	3	1
Ghazipur - - - - -	63	69	89	62	66	13	5	10	11	9
Ballia - - - - -	31	42	50	42	30	9	13	5	7	7
Benares - - - - -	29	63	44	49	23	1	1	1	2	—
Mirzapur - - - - -	63	58	87	67	60	3	2	1	1	1
Jaunpur - - - - -	71	87	60	95	72	—	—	—	1	1
Gorakhpur - - - - -	50	72	72	84	76	12	23	9	13	23
Basti - - - - -	21	29	19	22	27	1	5	4	3	3
Azamgarh - - - - -	123	159	155	203	151	3	13	8	17	6
Almora - - - - -	15	12	24	25	30	—	—	2	—	—
Garhwal - - - - -	45	27	25	48	43	—	—	—	—	—
Naini Tal - - - - -	3	1	1	2	8	—	—	1	1	—
Lucknow - - - - -	41	44	37	39	37	1	6	8	11	4
Unao - - - - -	44	44	51	43	61	4	2	5	4	8
Rae Bareli - - - - -	67	70	92	57	74	10	4	6	4	4
Sitapur - - - - -	85	107	81	96	102	12	18	21	24	19
Hardoi - - - - -	128	145	138	170	146	36	29	36	53	27
Kheri - - - - -	38	41	70	60	55	7	4	5	13	9
Fyzabad - - - - -	45	50	62	75	65	1	1	1	—	—
Gonda - - - - -	23	26	28	30	34	2	—	—	1	—
Baraich - - - - -	16	22	20	11	17	1	—	—	1	—
Bara Banki - - - - -	40	38	51	61	45	2	2	2	5	6
Sultanpur - - - - -	65	78	69	84	76	—	—	—	—	—
Partabgarh - - - - -	67	70	63	76	58	9	12	10	16	8
Total of North-western Provinces and Oudh - - - - -	2,832	3,027	2,882	2,985	2,753	401	383	339	468	363

VI.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES by OPIUM POISONING in the DISTRICTS of the PUNJAB during the past FIVE YEARS.

Serial No.	Districts.	Number of Suicides.	No. of Suicides included in Col. 3, due to Poisoning by Opium.	Remarks.	Serial No.	Districts.	Number of Suicides.	No. of Suicides included in Col. 3, due to Poisoning by Opium.	Remarks
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
<i>Eastern Circle.</i>					<i>Western Circle.</i>				
1	Hissar - - - - -	92	—		19	Sialkot - - - - -	67	7	
2	Rohtak - - - - -	161	—		20	Gujrat - - - - -	31	2	
3	Gurgaon - - - - -	551	1		21	Gujranwala - - - - -	37	3	
4	Delhi - - - - -	296	16		22	Shahpur - - - - -	6	1	Doubtful whether the drug was opium.
5	Karnal - - - - -	31	3						
6	Umballa - - - - -	88	13						
7	Simla - - - - -	21	13						
8	Kangra - - - - -	136	8		23	Jhelum - - - - -	14	3	
9	Hoshiarpur - - - - -	172	19		24	Rawalpindi - - - - -	28	3	
10	Jullundur - - - - -	138	21		25	Hazara - - - - -	3	—	
11	Ludhiana - - - - -	103	17		26	Peshawar - - - - -	19	1	
12	Ferozepur - - - - -	106	27		27	Kohat - - - - -	2	—	
13	Multan - - - - -	17	1		28	Bannu - - - - -	13	—	
14	Jhang - - - - -	11	1		29	D. I. Khan - - - - -	15	3	
15	Montgomery - - - - -	14	—		30	D. G. Khan - - - - -	13	—	
16	Lahore - - - - -	87	18		31	Muzaffargarh - - - - -	10	—	
17	Amritsar - - - - -	124	32						
18	Gurdaspur - - - - -	85	14						
						Total	2,491	226	

VII.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES which have occurred in BURMA, and the PROPORTION of these due to POISONING by OPIUM, for the Years 1889 to 1893.

APP. XVI.
Suicides.

Name of District.	1889.		1890.		1891.		1892.		1893.	
	Number of Suicides.	Percentage due to Poisoning by Opium.	Number of Suicides.	Percentage due to Poisoning by Opium.	Number of Suicides.	Percentage due to Poisoning by Opium.	Number of Suicides.	Percentage due to Poisoning by Opium.	Number of Suicides.	Percentage due to Poisoning by Opium.
Akyab	2	—	5	—	2	—	2	—	(a)	—
Northern Arakan	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	(a)	—
Kyaukpju	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	(a)	—
Sandoway	2	—	4	—	3	33·33	2	—	—	—
Rangoon Town	4	—	2	—	4	—	4	—	—	—
Hanthawaddy	4	—	1	—	3	—	2	50·	—	—
Pegu	3	—	3	—	14	—	11	9·90	15	—
Tharrawaddy	11	—	10	—	8	—	8	—	—	—
Prome	4	25·	1	—	2	—	4	—	—	—
Thongwa	12	8·33	7	14·29	4	—	10	10·	16	6·25
Bassein	9	—	6	—	6	16·67	13	—	6	33·33
Henzada	5	—	14	14·29	9	22·22	11	9·09	6	—
Amherst	12	8·33	17	—	5	—	6	—	—	—
Tavoy	7	—	7	—	7	—	6	—	7	—
Mergui	—	—	2	—	2	—	1	—	—	—
Toungoo	3	—	2	—	1	—	2	—	(a)	—
Shwegyin	5	—	4	—	10	—	4	—	(a)	—
Salween	5	—	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Mandalay	1	—	13	15·38	6	16·67	8	12·50	—	—
Bhamo	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	3	—
Katha	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
Shwebo	—	—	4	—	4	—	1	—	—	—
Ruby Mines	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Ye-u	4	—	3	—	5	—	4	—	(a)	—
Sagaing	7	—	5	—	3	—	9	—	(a)	—
Lower Chindwin	3	—	7	—	5	—	7	—	(a)	—
Upper Chindwin	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	(a)	—
Myingyan	1	—	7	—	12	—	3	—	(a)	—
Pakokku	—	—	1	—	4	—	4	—	—	—
Minbu	8	—	1	—	13	—	5	—	—	—
Thayetmyo	3	—	5	—	5	—	4	—	—	—
Magwe	5	—	5	—	19	—	9	—	—	—
Kyaukse	1	—	2	—	2	—	6	—	(a)	—
Meiktila	5	—	6	—	7	—	4	—	(a)	—
Yamethin	7	—	3	—	4	—	1	—	(a)	—
Pyanmana	1	—	3	—	2	—	1	—	(a)	—

(a) Not available.

The figures given in the columns headed "Number of Suicides" for the years 1889 to 1892 are taken from Statement H. published in the Appendices to the Burma Police Reports. The figures given in that column for 1893 are taken from Reports of District Officers.

VIII.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES, and the PROPORTION of them due to OPIUM POISONING in the CENTRAL PROVINCES for 1889-93.

Division.	Districts.	Number of Suicides reported during 1889-93.	Number of Suicides resulting from Opium.	Remarks.
NAOPUR	Nagpur	350	10	The statistics for 1893 are up to 21st December.
	Chanda	157	Nil.	
	Wardha	156	5	
	Bhandara	282	1	
	Balaghat	93	2	
JUBBULPORE	Jubbulpore	181	1	The statistics for 1893 are up to 18th December. Ditto ditto. Ditto to 15th December. Ditto to 20th December. Information not received; will follow.
	Saugor	222	7	
	Damoh	230	6	
	Seoni	68	2	
	Mandla	43	4	
NERBUDDA	Hoshangabad	21	3	The statistics for 1893 are up to 22nd December. Statistics for 1889 not available.
	Nimar	25	Nil.	
	Betul	54	2	
	Narsinghpur	115	Nil.	
	Chhindwara	137	6	
CHHATTISGARH DIVISION	Raipur	317	8	The statistics for 1893 are up to 26th December.
	Bilaspur	71	Nil.	
	Sambalpur	136	9	

IX.

APP. XVI.
Suicides.

STATEMENT showing the NUMBER of SUICIDES which occurred in the PROVINCE of ASSAM, and the NUMBER due to POISONING by OPIUM during the Years 1888-92.

Districts.	Population according to the Census of 1891.	Number of Suicides.					Total.	Number due to Poisoning by Opium.					Total.	Remarks.
		1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.		1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.		
1 Cachar	386,483	6	4	8	2	7	27	—	—	1	—	—	1	
2 Sylhet	2,154,693	24	15	25	20	23	107	1	—	—	—	—	1	
3 Goalpara	452,304	6	3	6	4	1	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	
4 Kamrup	634,240	27	40	30	22	10	125	—	—	—	—	—	—	
5 Darrang	307,761	10	8	13	13	15	59	—	2	2	2	1	7	
6 Nowgong	344,141	2	2	2	2	4	12	—	—	3	—	—	3	
7 Sibsagar	457,274	12	15	8	3	13	51	—	—	—	1	—	1	
8 Lakhimpur	254,053	9	11	8	—	19	47	—	4	—	—	6	7	
9 Naga Hills	122,887	—	2	—	1	4	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	
10 Khasi and Jaintia Hills	197,904	2	5	5	6	2	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11 Garo Hills	121,570	—	—	7	18	9	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	No records kept in 1888-89 from which the statistics could be collected.
Total	5,433,199	94	105	112	91	107	509	1	6	6	3	4	20	
Proportion of deaths from opium poisoning to total number of suicides								1.06	5.71	5.35	3.29	3.73	3.92	

APP. XVII.
Behar.

APPENDIX XVII.

MEMORIAL from the BEHAR INDIGO PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION.

From the BEHAR INDIGO PLANTERS ASSOCIATION to the Right Honourable LORD BRASSEY, President, Royal Commission on Opium.

Dated, Mozufferpore, 28th January, 1894.

1. That the memorialists have collectively the largest interests in the land question in Behar, and are in daily business and social connexion with the landlords and tenants.

2. That your memorialists have an intimate knowledge of the cultivation of opium, and the circumstances attending it.

3. That they have no knowledge of such cultivation being a forced one in any sense of the term, but that they know as a fact that opium is grown willingly, that the crop is a remunerative one to the cultivators, that a large proportion of the field work is done by the female members of the family who would not work for a wage, and that consequently no estimate of cost on the basis of hired labour can reasonably be applied.

4. That it is unfair to limit the profit received by the cultivator to the amount of opium taken in by him to the godown, there is a large demand for poppy seed which forms an important article of commerce, and that the whole of the benefit derived from the sale of it goes to the cultivators.

5. That the general consensus of opinion is not opposed to the use of opium; that under certain conditions its action is distinctly beneficial; and that, without doubt, the prohibition of its use would arouse a keen sense of irritation, if not hostility among many millions of our fellow subjects.

6. That the ill-effects of the use of opium even in excess are not to be for one moment compared with those of alcohol, and that it acts rather as a preventive than an incitement to crime.

7. That in the present state of the country it will not be possible to supply the revenue now derived from opium, from any other source without resorting to extreme measures of taxation, which hardly any circumstances could justify.

8. That so far as your memorialists are aware of, no servant has ever been dismissed from his employment in an indigo factory for excessive indulgence in opium.

9. That your memorialists desire to protest most respectfully, but emphatically, against the views held by some members of the Royal Commission on Opium now sitting. That they believe these views to be erroneous, not founded on fact, and contradicted by the opinion of the country.

E. MACNAGHTEN,
General Secretary.

APPENDIX XVIII.

APP. XVIII.
N. W. Prov.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH CONFERENCE.

DEAR SIR, Lucknow, 27th February, 1894.
I HAVE been directed by the North-West India Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to forward to the Opium Commission the following resolution in regard to opium. Will you kindly lay it before the Commission?

Yours faithfully,
The Secretary, J. C. LAWSON,
Opium Commission, Secretary,
Bombay. North-West India Conference,
Methodist Episcopal Church,
Aligarh, India.

OPIUM.

The following resolution in regard to opium was presented and unanimously adopted:—

We, the native and foreign ministers of the North-West India Conference, connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, wish to put on record that we are convinced that the manufacture and sale of opium for any purpose save for medical use is indefensible and morally wrong, and we deeply regret that the Government of India is entangled in this matter.

We have seen in our fields many cases of the ruin of men and their families by the use of opium, and in our experience we have not found any good to come from it in cases of fever.

We believe that the growth and manufacture of opium can be easily prohibited, and no harm will come from this prohibition to the land. The Secretary of the Conference is requested to forward a copy of this to the Opium Commission.

D. OSBORNE.	J. E. SCOTT.
P. M. BUCK.	C. H. PLOMER.
J. D. WEBB.	J. C. LAWSON.
C. LUKE.	ISARI PARSHAD.
J. CORNELIUS.	ROCKWELL CLANCY.
TAJ KHAN.	BROLANATH.
D. RANSOM.	KALLU DAS.
RAM SAHAR.	Y. CORNELIUS.
ISA DASS.	JAMES LYON.
J. E. NEWSOM.	MAHBUB KHAN.
M. TINDALE.	H. R. KHAN.
R. HOSKINS.	FAZAL MASIH.
FAZL HAQQ.	D. BUCK.
J. SUMER.	J. F. DEATKER.
CHIMMAN LALL.	E. W. GAY.
CHUNNI LALL.	C. W. DE SOUZA.
PARBHU LALL.	T. HAQQ.
H. MANSELL.	E. T. FARNON.

APPENDIX XIX.

APP. XIX.
Burma.

MEMORIAL FROM THE BURMA BRANCH, BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

From Dr. N. N. PARAKH, Honorary Secretary, Burma Branch, British Medical Association, 52, Barr Street, to the SECRETARY to the Opium Commission.

DEAR SIR, Rangoon, 13th February, 1894.
I HAVE been asked to forward the accompanying draft, giving expression to the views of the Burma Branch of the British Medical Association, to your address, with a request that you will duly lay the same before the members of the Opium Commission.

I am, &c.
N. N. PARAKH,
Hon. Secretary,
B. B., B. M. A.

Rangoon, 13th February 1894.

The members of the Burma Branch of the British Medical Association being deeply interested in the questions now under investigation by the Opium Commission, and having many opportunities of observing the effects of the use of opium in this country, they desire to convey to them an expression of their opinion upon this subject, affecting as it does the welfare and happiness of the people among whom the members of this Association follow their profession either in the Government Service or as private practitioners.

They hold that opium is not only the most valuable medicine which Providence has bestowed upon the human race, but that its use is especially beneficial in

the treatment of many of the diseases peculiar to these climates and peoples, and that by its use a vast amount of suffering is relieved both by the hands of native practitioners as well as by those who follow European methods of practice.

While recognising the fact that the abuse of opium must be followed by injury, they believe that in small quantities it may be used for long periods without serious effects upon the system, and they feel convinced that the accounts which have been circulated in England concerning the effects arising from its habitual abuse have been greatly exaggerated by those engaged in promoting the agitation for its prohibition. They believe that the increasing use of alcoholic liquors in this country is giving rise to far more disease and crime than the use of opium.

The members of this Branch Association believe that the measures now adopted by the Government to regulate the traffic in and consumption of opium are in Burma more than sufficiently stringent to meet the necessities of the case, and that any effort of Government to prohibit or even to further to restrict its sale will only result in driving those who now use opium to take to much more harmful substitutes as alcoholic stimulants and hemp drugs.

N. N. PARAKH,
Honorary Secretary,
Burma Branch,
British Medical Association,
Rangoon.

APPENDIX XX.

FROM the VENERABLE the ARCHDEACON of LUCKNOW
to the SECRETARY TO THE OPIUM COMMISSION.

General No. 342.

SIR, Allahabad, March 13, 1894.
I HAVE the honour to forward to you, by the direction of the Lord Bishop of Lucknow, a memorial signed by 33 of the clergy of the Diocese. The total number of clergy in the Diocese is 81, of whom, however, 13 are absent on furlough. Of the remaining 68, 33 have signed the memorial; none have expressed their disagreement with it, but many of the younger men have felt themselves unqualified to have an opinion on the subject, while one or two have thought that no corporate expression of opinion was desirable unless directly called for by the Commission.

I have the honour to be Sir,
Your obedient servant,
BROOK DEEDES,
Archdeacon of Lucknow.

To the Right Honourable LORD BRASSEY, President
of the Opium Commission.

WE, the Bishop and undersigned Clergy of the Diocese of Lucknow, understanding that it is the wish of the Commission over which your Lordship presides to ascertain the opinion of representative classes of the community regarding the opium question, and knowing that it can be possible to examine as witnesses only a small fraction of those who have given attention to the subject, venture, as persons interested in all that concerns the moral welfare and general prosperity of the people of India, to lay our views before the Commission. In doing this we wish it to be understood that we confine ourselves strictly to that part of the subject upon which our residence in India and experience of its people give us some title to speak. We express no opinion here as to the morality of the relations of Government to the opium trade with China. Nor do we touch upon the question whether it was or was not, in the first instance, advisable to make opium a Government monopoly.

The view to which our experience and such inquiry as we have been able to make have led us, is that the question in its moral aspect is closely parallel to the alcohol question in Great Britain. Both opium and alcohol are liable to abuse, but we conceive that in the case of neither is Government justified in interfering with the liberty of the subject and promulgating any wholesale prohibitive measure unless it can be shown that the abuse is so widespread as to constitute a national danger.

We do not regard the abuse of opium, even by a limited number of persons, as a matter of small importance. The fact of such abuse, together with the considerable number of suicides which take place every year by means of opium-poisoning, and the common injurious use of the drug as a sedative for children, seem to show that there is need on the part of the authorities of the most careful watchfulness, and that additional legislative precautions as to its sale and use may possibly be required. On the other hand, there is evidence that large numbers of people in this country use opium medicinally with a view to resisting hurtful climatic influences, and that a still larger number, who do not take it for this purpose, yet use it in such moderation that it cannot be truly affirmed that they either physically or morally injure themselves by so doing.

As persons who have some knowledge of missions in this country, we may add that so far as our personal experience and our inquiries have gone, we are of opinion that it cannot be truly said that the connexion of Government with opium has hindered the success of mission work in India.

Under these circumstances we are disposed to think that a general prohibition of the use of opium in those parts of India of which we have any experience is uncalled for, and would produce greater evils than it was intended to remedy, and that Government can best serve the interests of morality, not by abolition, but by keeping a firm hand upon the production and distribution of the drug. General prohibition would mean hardship to a very large number of Her Majesty's subjects who now use opium temperately and without prejudice either to themselves or others. It would,

without sufficient cause, provoke discontent, and possibly lead to political disturbance. Among the more prosperous classes if opium were forbidden its place would probably be taken by more injurious stimulants. Among the poorer classes the increased taxation which would of necessity follow upon the loss of the opium revenue would be a genuine and serious grievance.

Signed—

- A. LUCKNOW, Bishop of Lucknow,
Bengal, 1874-92; N.W.P. and Oudh, 1893-4.
- BROOK DEEDES, Archdeacon of Lucknow,
Bengal, 1877-82; N.W.P., 1882-94.
- C. BAUMANN, Ph.D., C.M.S. Missionary, Benares,
Bengal, 1868-87; N.W.P., 1892-4.
- E. M. BEASLEY, Chaplain of Faizabad,
Punjab, 1873-4, 1877-8; N.W.P., 1875-7,
1879-94.
- A. E. BOWLBY, C.M.S. Missionary, Aligarh,
N.W.P., 1884-94.
- H. BROWN, C.M.S. Missionary, Chunar,
Bengal, 1887-93; N.W.P., 1894.
- E. BULL, A.C.S. Chaplain, Tundla,
N.W.P., 1893-4.
- T. CARMICHAEL, C.M.S. Missionary, Dehra Dun,
N.W.P., 1886-94.
- F. J. CLARKE, Chaplain of Dehra,
N.W.P., 1885-94.
- J. I. B. COCKIN, Chaplain of Meerut,
Bengal, 1880-2; Central India, 1883-4;
N.W.P., 1885-94.
- R. A. CUMINE, Chaplain of Barcilly,
Bengal, 1881-2; N.W.P., 1882-6, 1889-94;
Punjab, 1886-9.
- G. B. DURRANT, Secretary C.M.S., Allahabad,
N.W.P. and Oudh, 1876-94.
- T. M. M. GRIFFITHS, Chaplain of Agra,
Bengal, 1881-7; N.W.P., 1887-9, 1892-4;
Punjab, 1890-1.
- J. W. HALL, C.M.S. Missionary,
Bengal, 1881-91; N.W.P., 1894.
- W. A. HAMILTON, Chaplain of Rurki,
Bengal, 1879-80, 1883-5, 1886-9; N.W.P. and
C.P., 1880-3, 1889-94.
- W. HOOPER, D.D., C.M.S. Missionary, Lucknow,
N.W.P., 1861-7, 1873-4, 1880-7, 1892-4;
Bengal, 1867-8; Punjab, 1874-9.
- F. H. T. HÖPFNER, S.P.G. Missionary, Rurki,
N.W.P., 1853-94.
- E. JERMYN, Chaplain of Chakrata,
Bengal, 1875-76; N.W.P., 1876-94.
- W. KITCHIN, Chaplain of Cawnpore,
Bengal, 1885-9; N.W.P., 1890-4.
- L. KLUGH, Chaplain of Jhansi,
N.W.P., 1889-94.
- R. J. LANGFORD, Chaplain of Lucknow Cants,
Bengal, 1874-9; C.P. 1879-83; Punjab,
1884-5; N.W.P., 1886-94.
- W. LATHAM, C.M.S. Missionary, Allahabad,
C.P. 1883-6; N.W.P., 1893-94.
- C. G. MOORE, Chaplain of Ranikhet,
Bengal, 1877-9; Burma, 1879-80; N.W.P.,
1880-90, 1893-4; C.P., 1890-3.
- H. MURRAY, Chaplain, retired,
Bengal and Punjab, 1868-94.
- J. G. B. PERMIEN, Assistant Curate, Allahabad,
N.W.P., 1890-4.
- L. F. PHILLIPS, Chaplain of Lucknow Civil,
N.W.P., 1872-7, 1879-94; Bengal, 1877-8.
- T. A. RAMBART, Second Master, Mussoorie School,
N.W.P., 1867-94.
- NIHAL SINGH, C.M.S. Missionary, Allahabad,
N.W.P. through life.
- H. STERN, C.M.S. Missionary, Gorakhpur,
N.W.P., 1851-94.
- A. STOKES, Head Master, Mussoorie School,
N.W.P., 1869-94.
- J. THOMAS, Missionary Curate, Allahabad,
N.W.P. through life.
- O. D. WATKINS, Chaplain of Mussoorie,
N.W.P., 1876-94.
- C. B. WESTORHOUT, A.C.S. Chaplain, Saharanpur,
N.W.P., 1871-94.

Copied from the original signatures forwarded to me,

BROOK DEEDES,
Archdeacon of Lucknow.

APPENDIX XXI.

APP. XXI.
Behar.

Dated Bankipur, the 7th January 1894.

From the SECRETARY to the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, to SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, in the Department of Finance and Commerce.

SIR, I AM directed to say that in the course of this inquiry at Patna the attention of the members of the Royal Commission on Opium was called to the Kabuliya, into which a ryot may be required to enter to secure the repayment by him of advances made to him for the construction of wells. The form of Kabuliya is in Hindi, and it is published in the new opium manual for Behar. The Kabuliya appears on the face of it to require submission to arbitrary conditions, and was condemned by an officer representing the opium department who appeared as a witness before the Commission. I am desired to say that the Royal Commissioners would be glad to learn whether the form of Kabuliya was brought to the notice of superior authority and received the approval of the Government of India.

No. 1,038. Ex., dated Calcutta, the 26th February 1894.

From GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY to the ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION.

SIR, WITH reference to your letter dated the 7th January 1894, regarding the form of Kabuliya for well advances in use in the Behar Agency, I am directed to forward a copy of a letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 9,440, dated the 20th February 1894, with a copy of its enclosures.

2. The form in question was not approved by either the Government of India or the Government of Bengal, and will now be altered.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. F. FINLAY,
Secretary to the Government
of India.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT—OPIUM BRANCH.

No. 9,446, dated Calcutta, the 20th February 1894.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., C.S., the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

SIR, I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 236 Ex., dated the 15th January 1894, with enclosure in which the Government of India ask for a report from this Government on the subject of the form of Kabuliya for well advances in use in the Behar Agency.

2. In reply, I am to submit, for the information of the Government of India, a translation of the form of Kabuliya referred to. I am to say that the form was not brought to the notice of this Government, and that it must have been passed by the Board of Revenue through an oversight, the vernacular having been carelessly perused. I am to add, however, that in point of fact the provisions contained in the form in respect of interest, and fine in case of default, have remained a dead letter. It is nevertheless desirable that these provisions as to interest and fine in case of default should be clearly defined, and I am to say that the Board of Revenue have accordingly been instructed to make the necessary changes in the form.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. E. BUCKLAND,
Secretary to the Government
of Bengal.

No. 253, dated Calcutta, the 30th January 1894.

From BABU KALLY COOMAR MITTER, Hindi Translator to Government, to the Under-Secretary to the GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

With reference to your letter, No. 4890, dated 25th instant, I beg to send you an English translation of the opium form No. 27. I have made the necessary corrections in the original Hindi form, which contained several mistakes. The copy of Bihar Opium Manual, Part II., which you had sent me, is also returned.

OPIUM FORM No. 27.

AGREEMENT FORM (WELL ADVANCES).

AGREEMENT FORM APPENDIX B.

I son of resident of village
am the khatedar or cultivator of village
pargana zilla

I wish to construct a new well or repair a *pucka* (masonry) well situated in the village for the advancement or improvement of poppy cultivation. I therefore borrow the sum of Rs. from Government for the said purpose, and bind myself to pay the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of sub-division the said amount as per instalments stated below, according to the terms mentioned below.

1. I shall construct or repair a *pucka* well in the village which shall be hands deep, and will complete the work according to section A.

2. After the construction of the well mentioned in the lease, I shall increase the quantity of land under cultivation by bigahs, and "owing to the increase fertility of the old land the produce of opium expected can be estimated at "

Translation of the note in the margin of the 2nd condition.

NOTE.—Where there is no condition of increasing the cultivation, those words only should be written, which are within the marks of quotation.

3. I shall repay the whole amount within two-and-a-half years from the date of receipt of loan and the payment of the first instalment.

4. In case of my failure to make the well for which I borrow money, " or if I do not increase the quantity of land under poppy cultivation " and do not construct the well according to the terms of this agreement, I hereby promise that I and my heirs will without any excuse pay on demand to the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent the amount advanced to me together with the interest due thereon. If I do not pay the said amount, the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent will be at liberty to realise from me my heirs and successors interest for such period as he may think proper, until the said amount, together with its interest, is fully paid off. The said officer, in case of non-payment of the sum advanced to me, will also have the power to realise from me, my heirs and successors, such fine as he may think proper; and neither I nor my heirs and successors shall make any objection to pay either the interest or the fine.

NOTE.—Where there is no stipulation for increasing cultivation, the words within marks of quotation must be omitted.

(True copy),
W. C. MUKEY,
Registrar, Finance and
Commerce Department.

APPENDIX XXII.

Bankipur, the 7th January 1894.

REPORT.

From the SECRETARY to the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, in the Department of Finance and Commerce.

SIR,
I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of evidence placed before the Royal Commission on Opium at Patna, containing allegations that certain irregular proceedings were recently taken by a subordinate official of the Behar opium agency at the village of Barni in the Patna district. I am desired to say that, as this evidence impugns the conduct of an official of the Opium Department, the Royal Commission consider it desirable to forward it to the Government of India for inquiry, and would be obliged if they could, in due course, be informed of the result of the investigation into the matter.

No. 1236.—Ex. Calcutta, 9th March 1894.

From FINANCE AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT to the SECRETARY, ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION.

SIR,
WITH reference to your letter dated the 7th January 1894, regarding alleged irregularities on the part of an official of the Opium Department, I am directed to forward a letter No. 134 B., dated the 15th February 1894, from the Board of Revenue, L.P., to the Government of Bengal, together with a copy of a report of Mr. A. A. Wace, additional Commissioner of Patna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. FINLAY,
Secretary to the Government
of India.

No. 134B., dated Calcutta, the 15th February 1894.

From T. INGLIS, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P., to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, Revenue Department.

IN continuation of the Board's letter No. 124B. of the 13th February 1894, I am directed to submit a copy of a letter from the Additional Commissioner of Patna, No. 1153 R. of the 12th idem, with its enclosures, in original, reporting in connexion with certain irregular proceedings of Mr. E. A. Gennoe, Assistant Sub-Deputy Agent at Patna, brought to the notice of the Royal Opium Commission, and to say that the report was received after the issue of the Board's letter cited above, and that when that letter was issued the Board were under the impression that Mr. Wace's report had been forwarded direct.

2. The Board have little to add to the letter already submitted. The date of Mr. Gennoe's visit is, I am to point out, wrongly stated in that letter.

3. The Board agree with Mr. Wace that the rules do not justify Mr. Gennoe's action, but the inquiry goes to show that that action was taken with the raiyats' consent.

No. 1153R., dated Bankipore, the 12th February 1894.

From A. A. WACE, Esq., Additional Commissioner of Patna, to the SECRETARY to the BOARD of REVENUE, L.P.

WITH reference to the orders of Government calling for a report on an incident brought to the notice of the Royal Commission on opium here by Mr. Wilson, I have the honour to submit a full report of the case. The Opium Agent has informed you that I undertook the inquiry into it with the sanction of Government received by telegram. I submit the report through the Board, as the Government's written orders calling for the report have been issued through that channel.

P.S.—I send copies of Mr. Gennoe's explanation and of the depositions recorded by me, leaving it to the Board to decide if it is necessary to forward these to Government for submission to the Royal Commission.

At Mr. Forbes' request, I took up the investigation of the case brought to the notice of the Royal Commission by Mr. Wilson on 6th January. The Chairman announced at the time his intention to move Government to institute an inquiry, and it seemed to us advisable that in anticipation of orders I should without delay proceed to the village of Barni, in which it was said to have occurred, and which is about 20 miles from Patna, while the case was fresh in the villagers' minds, and the condition of the ground might throw light on the real facts. I requested Dr. Blair, the Deputy Opium Agent, to accompany me. I also asked the Reverend D. Jones, a missionary, with whom Mr. Wilson stopped here, to accompany me to the village, and, if possible, to bring the Bengali merchant who had gone out with Mr. Wilson, junior, about the case. He was good enough to go with me himself, but the Bengali to whom he said he had sent word did not appear then or throughout my inquiry. We arrived at the village about 7.30 a.m. on the 9th January, and Mr. Jones and Mr. Blair agreed with me that our arrival was a surprise. They had been asked not to disclose my intention to those interested on either side.

2. I took with me the gomastah and the zilladar in whose beat Barni lies, but I was not able then to secure the attendance of Mr. Gennoe. Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, complained against Mr. Blair, however, is his immediate superior. On the way to the village, I stopped on the road and recorded what each of the two subordinates had to say about the matter, examining each apart from the other. Their statements are appended. Each said the potatoes complained about covered 10 or 12 dhurs.* The gomastah declared the raiyat had taken them up himself with his own labour. The zilladar talked of children and others being called in to clear the field of these potatoes and of other extraneous vegetables scattered about. I may here note that the raiyats are fond of scattering in with the poppy seeds red spinach, garlic, broad beans, coriander, and such like garden produce. Mr. Pease may remember that I showed him the first-named in the poppy we rode through on the 5th. Mr. Blair tells me that he does not object to this if done in moderation, thinking the raiyat knows his own business best, and will not for a dish of vegetables spoil a lucrative crop, but that when these garden plants are numerous and grow so as to overshadow the poppy it of course injures the latter, and some officers would object to the "dirty" look they give the cultivation.

3. On the arrival at the village I went straight to the field in question. The first glance at it showed roughly what had happened. The whole plot was 12 cottahs. There was poppy on the whole of it in three stages of growth, the most backward being on the south. The raiyat, a khatadar (Jhari Mahton, not Jer Mahton), stated that he first sowed the bit to the north measured to be 9 cottahs 13½ dhurs. He then sowed another strip adjoining this on the south, which I found to be 1 cottah 10 dhurs. This he did not pretend to have ever meant to use otherwise; and I may note that raiyats with any considerable area under poppy purposely sow it in batches, so that all the tending of it in each stage may not fall on their household together. To the south of this was an irregular strip, the western end of which lies rather lower than the rest of the plot, and is shaded by some tall grass. This Jhari said he put into potatoes, and there could be no doubt about this, because on two or three places there were fresh sproutings from the roots left. The gomastah asserted that though there were potatoes on this strip, poppy had been also scattered on it when the rest of the plot was sown. This the raiyat denied, as I believe the latter. Here, again, it was easy to see how the opium people and the raiyat differed as to the area under potatoes. The western corner was damp and could never have given a good crop of potatoes. The gomastah put some of this out of account in trying to make the best of his case. The raiyat of course having spent money and time on it prized it just as much as the higher and

* 20 dhurs = 1 cottah; 20 cottahs = 1 bigha; 1 Bigha of Opium Department = ¼ of acre.

drier bit to the east. As a matter of fact, the whole area originally under potatoes, good and bad, was 16½ dhurs, or less than 1 cottah not 2 cottahs as the Bengali witness stated to the Commission. Poppy seedlings about ten days' old covered the whole when I saw it, and from the Sub-Deputy Agent's initials and date on the licence which indicated the date of his visit, I concluded that it was sown on 19th December.

4. A reference to this licence showed that Jhari had taken an advance for 2 bighas, and I then proceeded to measure up with the help of Mr. LeMesurier, C.S., and Mr. Blair, and in the presence of Mr. Jones, who heard our calculations, Jhari's other three plots. I found all four to come to 1 bigha, 18 cottahs, 18 dhurs, or 1 cottah 2 dhurs short of the area he engaged for. This included the strip on which the potatoes had been. The zilladar then drew my attention to the facts that there was still red spinach, beans, and coriander and garlic growing here and there in the poppy plots of other raiyats which he had not interfered with, and that several plots had strips in them with poppy and barley growing together—the latter predominating largely. These plots belonged to Itwari Sanar, Luchan Paede Chulai Singh. In these cases from ¼ to ½ of what had been measured had a thriving crop of barley quite overpowering the poppy, which latter had evidently been deliberately sown on the land, and had been measured as poppy cultivation. I record the fact as showing first that the action taken as regards the potatoes had not been applied all over the village, and as suggesting the inference that Jhari could have kept his potatoes if he had been as pliable as these smaller raiyats. Finding a good deal of barley in patches on the fields of Tegu Mahton, another khatadar, I measured up his land. The zilladar appealed to the existence of this as showing how independent the raiyats really were, and it seemed advisable to test his story that these barley plots were within the area on which they had engaged to sow poppy. Tegu had five different patches of poppy. He had received advance for one bigha. The land which carried poppy alone came to 17 cottahs 3 dhurs only, and about 2 cottahs held poppy utterly overgrown with strong barley.

5. While I was wandering about doing this, Jhari's nephew crept up to me and said that Jhari's potatoes had been dug up because he would not give the zilladar a bribe. This had of course suggested itself to me, and I then proceeded to investigate the point, separating at once the nephew and the uncle. Their statements are on the record. They are hopelessly discrepant, and there is as usual no evidence to bring home bribery. This is one's constant experience with charges against the police. Bribes are not asked for in the presence of witnesses. The old man, Jhari, was, I believe, speaking the truth, when he said the demand was indefinite—"Give something." I have very little doubt that he lost his potatoes because he did not fee the zilladar.

6. Sir James Lyall, in examining Mr. Wilson's Bengali companion, naturally, in view of the heavy penalty to which short cultivation is liable, pressed the point whether the potatoes were on an area in excess of what Jhari had engaged for. That witness said they were, and I daresay he believed. They were because the licence showed that Jhari had shown 2 bighas 5 cottahs 15 dhurs. But as a matter of fact the area, including the plot on which the potatoes were dug up, was under 2 bighas, and had Mr. Wilson measured the fields he would have discovered this as I did.

7. I must, however, notice that that fact was not known to the Sub-Deputy Agent, Mr. Gennoe, when he had the potatoes dug up. The paper he then initialled showed that the khatadar had himself sown more than 2 bighas, and that the whole area which Jhari Mahton had got sown by others was also in excess of what they had taken advances for. I may note that a raiyat who is recorded on measurement as having sown more than he engaged for can get an additional advance for the excess if he thinks it worth while.

8. Having recorded the statement of Jhari and his nephew and having re-examined the gomastah and the zilladar as to what became of the potatoes, I asked Mr. Jones and Mr. Blair if they considered any further evidence necessary to elucidate the facts. Each agreed that the case was clear, and I returned to Bankipore, I then forwarded to the Opium Agent copies of (a) the preceding six paragraphs of this report, (b) of the depositions recorded by me, and (c) of an official extract from the Royal Commission's Proceedings which I receive after my return, and I requested that

Mr. Gennoe might be called on to submit any statement he had to make regarding his action in the matter. I added: "You will observe that the Bengali witness also alluded to a complaint made by one Bhulan Pasi that his chillies had been uprooted. The statement was not in my hands yesterday when I went out. I therefore made no inquiry about that case, but it is advisable that Mr. Gennoe should also state if he can account in any way for that charge also."

9. I attach a copy of Mr. Gennoe's reply. It shows that he acted on the information of the zilladar. He justifies the removal of the potatoes on the ground that they were on a bit of a field which had been assigned by the khatadar for opium, and alleges that the man admitted that he was at fault and agreed to the removal of the crop. On receipt of this I asked Mr. Gennoe if he could cite witnesses to prove this assertion, drawing attention to the statements of his gomastah and zilladar as somewhat inconsistent with this. I also drew attention to his omission to answer my inquiry about Bhulan Pasi's case. Mr. Gennoe replied that if I considered the evidence of a peon and a muharrir who were with him worth having, he would send them to me. I had previously told him that I could not give an opinion as to whether he should cite these men or not, and referred him to his departmental superiors for advice. The men have not been produced, and I do not think this report need be delayed any further.

As regards the matter of the chillies Mr. Gennoe writes: "I have no recollection of Bhulan Pasi's chillies, but if there were any chillies in his poppy field I have not the least doubt I ordered the chillies to be removed; further, I have no recollection who Bhulan Pasi is."

10. This remark and the general tenor of Mr. Gennoe's first reply render his position quite clear; and it is evident what happened. If Mr. Gennoe insisted on the potatoes being removed, it is practically immaterial whether the khatadar acquiesced at the time silently or in so many words. The evidence taken in the village leads me to the belief that on the order being given, others besides the khatadar joined in the digging them up, and that there was a scramble for them, and that the khatadar did not get the benefit of the crop which was immature. The real point in the case is whether Mr. Gennoe was justified in insisting in the removal of all crops other than opium from fields which had been measured for poppy cultivation. He justifies his action under section 179 of the Opium Manual, Part II. That lays down that—"An officer should see that good and suitable lands are brought under cultivation, and that the lands are properly irrigated and weeded. He should note carefully instances where inferior lands have been sown, or sufficient care is not taken of the crop by the cultivators in order that unproductive cultivation may be struck out of his charge." This rule does not cover this case. Neither potatoes, nor the stray plants of garden produce which, as I have said, a raiyat occasionally scatters about his field, are weeds. The words italicised also clearly show that the motive of this supervision is not so much to keep the raiyat with absolute strictness to his bargain for the particular year, but to prevent abuse of the Government advance in the future. In the form of agreement to be found at page 149 of Part II. of the Opium Manual to which Mr. Gennoe also appeals, and of which I append a translation, the raiyat, it is true, engages that "he will let nothing else grow in these lands," but the context seems to show that the clause is directed against short cultivation, not against the minor malpractice in question. There is no penalty attached to "dirty" cultivation, and the failure mentioned further down in the agreement clearly relates to the dishonesty aimed at in section 19 of the Act there quoted.

11. I have gone at length into the contention of Mr. Gennoe in order to show that there is nothing in the Government rules specifically authorising the removal of crops other than poppy from fields for which an advance has been taken, and which have been measured as assigned to poppy cultivation. As regards garden produce scattered over a poppy field, Mr. Blair's opinion quoted in paragraph 2 above seems to me the reasonable one, and that I believe represents the general practice of most Opium Officers. The habit of mixing crops from a deluded idea that more will so be made out of a field is common with the raiyat of all districts. If, as a result of this, the area under poppy is less than the raiyat agreed to sow, Government has its legal remedy

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under section 10. An overzealous or thoughtless officer may in the knowledge of this occasionally apply the stricter remedy adopted by Mr. Gennoe of compelling the removal of the encroaching crop, but for these excesses the Government rules are not at fault. In this particular case the khatadar lost $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cottah of potatoes worth perhaps R2. He had taken R10 advance for 2 bighas, and really rendered himself liable to a penalty of three times the advance in respect of $\frac{2}{3}$ of about 1 cottah, or say, 10 annas, though that is no measure of the loss of time and money the levy of this would have cost even if he had pleaded guilty. But as I have pointed out in paragraph 7, Mr. Gennoe did not know of this deficiency in area then. The papers in his hands showed a full area against Jhari Mahton. These, I fancy, he did not look at, but acted hastily on the appearances of the field, which indicated that a strip intended for opium had been put into potatoes.

11. Such a long report as this may seem out of proportion to the particular wrong done, but I have thought it well to bring out fully various points in the case as illustrating the relations between Government, the raiyat and the Opium Officials which, though familiar to us, might not be fully appreciated by all the Members of the Royal Commission.

A. A. WACE,
Additional Commissioner.

The 12th February 1893.

PETITION of AGREEMENT executed by the khatadars and cultivators under section 8, Act XIII. of 1857.

WHEREAS we, the khatadars and cultivators named below, inhabitants of mauza _____, pargana _____, voluntary wish to do poppy cultivation; we file this petition for the grant of a patta, and make the following declarations:—

We, the asamis, appoint _____ Mahton (approved by Government) or khatadar and agent to carry out all transactions with the Opium Officials on our behalf, will sow poppy at the proper time on the best lands specified against our names _____, and will take proper care and attend fully to weeding, irrigating, &c., and will let nothing else grow on those lands. In case of our short cultivation Government has the power, under section 10, Act XIII. of 1857, to impose on us fines to the extent of thrice the proportionate amount of advances in respect of the deficit quantity of land. When the poppy is in flower we will have the leaves collected and weighed wherever ordered, and receive the price thereof at the fixed rates. As required by section 11, we will, after collection, take the whole of the opium wherever ordered and have it weighed through an amlah of the *kothi*. Weighment will be made with weights of 80 tolahs a seer according to the standard laid down in section 7 of Act XIII. We will get value for this at the prescribed rates. Along with the opium we will give up to Government all the vessels *kafa* and pieces of cloth used at the time of pricking and collecting opium. In accordance with the provisions contained in section 12 of the said Act, the weighment and testing of the opium shall take place in the presence of ourselves and the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent or any other officer. We will accept the classification and the value determined by the Factory Superintendent or any other Government official. Should the opium be confiscated on the ground of anything having been mixed in it, we will make no objection. We hold ourselves liable to punishment under section 19 of the Act in case of any failure in growing poppy on the settled and the measured lands. We shall receive no advances or final payments without the amount being noted on the back of the patta and having it signed by the gomastah. No erasures or alterations will be made in the patta. Any erasures or alterations will be against our interest. We will pay to the gomastah the amount falling due from us after settlement of account, and shall take receipts of payment. Government is empowered by section 16 of the Act to recover from us any amount

outstanding on account of advances by attachment of our moveable and immoveable property. We shall have no objection to the fulfilment of any of the conditions laid down in this kabuliyat. We hold ourselves liable to the payment of the compensation specified in the Act in the capacity of opium cultivators engaged under section 8 of the Act.

We therefore write this petition of agreement for grant of patta in order that it may be of use when necessary.

Dated _____

No. A., dated Bankipore, the 17th January 1894.

From E. A. GENNOE, Esq., Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, Patna, to the OPIUM AGENT of BIHAR.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum dated 14th January 1894, together with the proceedings before the Opium Commission, regarding a complaint made against me for removing a potato crop from the field of one, Jhari Mahton, khatadar of mauza Barni. The following is the true fact of the case:—

On the 17th December last, zilladar Ramadheen Singh reported certain cultivators, and among them the khatadar of mauza Barni, for sowing in their fields for which they had engaged to cultivate opium other crops. In the course of my tour on 19th December, I came to their village and found the zilladar's report in respect of Jhari Mahton's kheit true. I questioned the khatadar and would have prosecuted him but for the fact that he begged to be pardoned and agreed that the potatoes be removed. I considered that it would have been more to the interest of Government to merely cause such mixture of crops to be cleared, as in cases of prosecution the whole local establishment have to be taken away to attend court, while the work of the department would suffer, and any neglect at this time of the year means a serious loss to the out-turn and also to the cultivators. I beg to refer you to section 179 of the new Opium Manual, Part II., from which you will see that it is part of the duty of the touring officer to see that the fields are weeded of all foreign matter, so that the usual practice of growing other crops with opium having met with an effectual check, cultivators in order to meet this adopt another course. They apply and obtain advances for sowing a certain area of land with opium. The land is measured and settlement concluded later; instead of sowing the entire plot measured and settled for, a portion is set apart for other crops [this is used Government advances*]. It is impossible for a touring officer to measure every field during his tour, and it is only when he gets information that a particular cultivator has so abused his contract that he can deal with the case, and the only reasonable way to meet such tricks is to cause the crop to be removed. This obviously not only meets the requirements of the case, but leaves the cultivator a less loser than if he were prosecuted; for then he not only has to meet the expense of making a defence as against Government, but the time he is away from his cultivation ruins the rest of his crop.

I submit there can be no moral wrong in insisting upon the cultivators to comply with their contracts, and knowing what the natives of India are, it is difficult to lay down a hard-and-fast rule to meet their cunning. I beg to refer you to application form on page No. 149 of new Opium Manual, Part II. Thus you will see that I was quite within the law as accepted by the cultivators to remove any foreign crop from an opium field.

Trusting this explanation will meet the requirements of the case.

* The words between brackets seem redundant.—A. A. WACE.

(True copy.)

W. C. Mu

Strar, Finance and
Commerce Department.

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Hong Kong.

From EDWARD FAIRFIELD, Esq., to the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, dated Downing Street, 28th December 1893.

REFERRING to previous correspondence on the subject of evidence required by the Royal Commission on Opium, I am directed by the Marquis of Ripon to transmit to you copy of a letter from Sir G. W. Des Voeux, late Governor of Hong Kong, and to request you to be good enough to forward to Lord Brassey the letter enclosed therein.

I am to add for his Lordship's information that the death rate in Hong Kong, quoted from memory in Sir G. W. Des Voeux's letter as 28 per 1,000, is higher than the death rate for the last two years, which was given at about 23 per 1,000 in the Reports of the Registrar-General of Hong Kong, transmitted for the information of the Royal Commission on Opium in the letter from this Department of the 19th of October last.

From Sir G. WILLIAM DES VOEUX, to the UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, dated Grand Hotel Guichard, Pau, Basses Pyrenees, France, 16th December 1893.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the consideration of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a letter which I have addressed to Lord Brassey, President of the Opium Commission. I should be much obliged if his Lordship would move the India Office to forward the letter to its destination.

Perhaps you would kindly have checked before transmission my statement of the Hong Kong death rate, which is given from memory.

From Sir G. WILLIAM DES VOEUX, to the Right Honourable LORD BRASSEY, President, Opium Commission, dated Hotel Guichard, Pau, Basses Pyrenees, France, December 1893.

I HAD intended to offer my evidence orally to the Opium Commission during its sittings in England; but unfortunately I was at that time confined to my bed in the Engadine by a dangerous illness, from which I am only now slowly recovering. Perhaps, under the circumstances, I may be permitted to give the result of my experience by letter, and it is with this object that I now have the honour of addressing your Lordship.

I should mention, in the first instance, that during all my early life I was affected by the ordinary British prejudice against opium—a prejudice that was strengthened by the perusal of De Quincey's "Confessions." My first contact with opium consumption did not weaken this feeling, when, years ago in Guiana, I used to see on the public roads Chinese beggars, who, with bodies as near an approach to skeletons as is possible to the living, were represented as examples of the miserable results of opium-smoking. Further experience, however, quickly brought a modification of previous beliefs. The first shock which they received was from the discovery that a Chinese whom I had occasion to see frequently, a man some 35 years old, was then, and said he had been for years past, in the habit of smoking daily a quantity of opium such as would probably produce eternal sleep in the unaccustomed European. And yet he appeared thoroughly healthy, while he was certainly most intelligent, active in work, and assiduous in his family duties. This put me upon inquiry, and as the result I found that his case was by no means exceptional, and that other men who had good characters for work were confirmed, and what would be commonly called immoderate, opium-smokers. Indeed, such was the costliness of the drug in the West Indies, that, except by occasional good fortune in begging or gambling, it was only by hard work that men in the condition of Chinese immigrants could obtain the necessary money for its purchase. And I found further that some, if not most, of the miserable beggars above referred to used opium in order to alleviate the pain of some incurable disease, or to soothe the pangs of hunger engendered of physical incapacity to undergo the work of the sugar plantation.

After an interval of some 20 years, during which I had little contact with opium consumption, on becoming Governor of Hong Kong I had a still more favourable opportunity of forming a judgment on the subject. And here I may at once reply to an objection which I anticipate as likely to be urged against my evidence. As a large portion of the revenue of Hong Kong is raised from the license to sell opium, it will be said that my judgment is warped by a natural interest in the prosperity of the colonial exchequer. To the reply that I am now entirely divorced from official life, it would possibly be rejoined that that was not the case when my judgment was formed. So happily I have a better answer, viz., that if the anti-opium enthusiasts were to succeed in their object, and if the export of opium from India were to be suppressed, such a measure, however vital in its importance to the Indian Empire, would have no effect at all on the consumption of opium in Hong Kong.

The Indian product of the poppy being regarded as superior in flavour, is used in China as the luxury of the comparatively rich. An enormously greater proportion of the opium consumed in that empire is the product of its own soil, and being considerably cheaper than the imported article, is already used largely by the poorer classes in Hong Kong. If the flow of the Indian drug were stopped altogether, the home product would thus inevitably fill the void, and could not be prevented doing so by any practicable legislative or executive measures. As it is, all the vigilance prompted by the powerful self-interest of the wealthy opium farmers, and assisted by the Government, cannot prevent a large amount of smuggling from the mainland of China, though an unlimited quantity of the drug can be obtained at but slightly increased cost without any of the risk thus incurred. If opium importation were prohibited, and the drug could be obtained in no other way, this smuggling would inevitably receive an enormous impetus, and with Chinese interest wholly in its favour, would very rarely be detected. The mainland of China surrounds Hong Kong, and approaches it closely on three sides, while numerous islands belonging to the same empire stud the sea on the fourth side. It will be thus readily seen how impracticable it would be in the case of an article of such small bulk to prevent the surreptitious introduction of all, or nearly all, that is required for consumption, while the attempt at prevention would certainly cause intense bitterness against our rule on the part of a people now remarkably well affected to it, involving, as it would necessarily do, the personal examination of every one of the many thousand persons who land in Hong Kong daily coming from the mainland.

For the above reason, even if I were still Governor of Hong Kong, I should really have no interest in the question whether the export of opium from India should be permitted or not, except that which must be felt on a matter of such grave importance by any British subject of ordinary intelligence. Having thus, I hope, cleared the ground, I proceed to say that my experience has led me to the deliberate belief that, apart from the specially evil effects which are alleged as likely to be produced in the Indian Empire, the suppression of opium consumption, even if it were practicable, would be an evil rather than a good; and I have been led to this conclusion not at all *per saltum*, but by a slow process of conviction from the accumulating evidence of years.

For the consideration of the opium question the colony of Hong Kong furnishes an object lesson the value of which could hardly be surpassed. Of its 220,000 inhabitants some 200,000 are Chinese, and wages, as compared with those of the mainland, being high, they are thus enabled to indulge more freely in the habit of opium-smoking, and they certainly do not fail to avail themselves of this ability. The quantity of opium sold by the opium farmer to enable him to pay so highly for his privilege—in my time 37,000 dollars per mensem—would alone provide for a very large consumption per caput. But to this has to be added the large quantity which is notoriously smuggled from the mainland. All things considered, it is probable that the population of Hong Kong smokes

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*more opium than any other of equal number in the world, and yet relatively to the conditions of its existence it is extraordinarily healthy, while for activity and industry it could scarcely be surpassed. I say relatively to the conditions of its existence because these are such as would ordinarily be held to be exceptionally deadly. In a portion of the town of Victoria under two miles in length, and averaging about a quarter of a mile in width—an area of less than half a mile square—there live some 150,000 people, though a considerable portion of this space is occupied by European houses, tenanted not more thickly than elsewhere, and by barracks, recreation grounds, naval yard, &c. The Chinese houses are so crowded together that a large, probably the greater, number of them have no open spaces behind them, and have their back walls touching one another. Only the front rooms get any light at all from outside. Eight to ten others on each of several storeys are absolutely without daylight, and without any air except what comes from a narrow passage; and yet the occupants are often so numerous that when they are lying down the floor space could hardly contain more. When it is considered that cholera and small-pox are continually being introduced by the thousands arriving daily from the mainland, and by the shipping of a port which surpasses in its tonnage any other in the world (London not excluded), and, finally, that during a considerable portion of the year the heat, produced by radiation from the granite, is more trying than that of even higher temperatures elsewhere—such conditions, it might be supposed, would be accompanied by a very high death rate. And yet this is only about 28 in the 1,000, and thus compares very favourably with that of other tropical cities. As regards the activity and industry of the people, no intelligent observer could fail to notice it as exceptional. Save on the few holidays, an idler during the hours of daylight is a rarity; and where work is by the piece it is done with a dogged continuousness that I have never seen surpassed, or even equalled, elsewhere. During the years 1887-90, when extensive building operations were going on at The Peak (the hill on the spurs of which the town of Victoria is built), a stream of several hundred coolies might be seen any day carrying upon their backs great loads of bricks, and though the height they had to scale, on a gradient so steep as to be quite impracticable for carriages, is from 1,200 ft. to 1,600 ft., yet by making several trips a day they were able to work at a price which rendered competition on the part of the steam tramway quite hopeless. Even more under my personal observation were the 40 servants and coolies employed about Government House, all, or nearly all, of whom were opium-smokers. The work of some of these was by no means light—indeed that of the chair-coolies in the hot season was very severe—and yet it was, as a rule, done with remarkable alacrity, and with a complete absence of incapacitating fatigue. Our experience in respect of servants was very similar to that of others; and I, at all events, am able to say that after an exceedingly varied experience of native and other servants in different parts of the world, I have never known any who so largely combined good health, willingness, activity, and intelligence as these Chinese opium-smokers.

But apart altogether from my personal observation, it seems to me that the general sanitary condition of the people of Hong Kong, under the circumstances above described, is by itself strong evidence that the habit of opium-smoking is not as generally injurious as it is ordinarily represented to be—indeed, I venture to think that it lends to the theory that this consumption saves more life and health than it destroys sufficient support to throw the burthen of proof on the other side. If it is not opium, it might not unfairly be asked, what is it that renders normally healthy a population living in conditions which would ordinarily produce exceptional mortality? This, however, is a matter of comparatively little moment. For any practical purpose the only question to be considered is not whether there is a balance of good or evil in the effects of opium consumption, but whether the balance of evil, if any, is sufficiently great to compensate for the unquestionable evils and risks which must inevitably attend the attempt at its suppression. The serious consequences,

NOTE.—In saying that in all probability the population of Hong Kong smoke more opium than any other of equal number in the world, I do not ignore the fact that the opium farms of the Straits Settlements sell for a higher price than that of Hong Kong. My attention was drawn to this circumstance soon after my arrival in the east, and I made inquiries in consequence. I found the cause to be the large amount of smuggling into Hong Kong; the great distance of Singapore from China rendering it incomparably more difficult there to escape the vigilance of the farmers.

financial, social, and political, of such a measure in India, many of which appear obvious to the outside observer, I leave to those who, unlike myself, have personal experience of that country. I will only touch on one point with respect to which a somewhat varied experience may possibly attach a certain weight to my opinion. I hold that even if the growth of the poppy were brought to an end, and even if the inevitable efforts of Chinese and others to supply the place of the home-product were completely frustrated, the ground which had been occupied by opium would be quickly taken by some other intoxicant. My service in different parts of the world has given me special opportunities of observing the general tendency of mankind, savage as well as civilised, to seek the pleasure or the freedom from care to be obtained in the process of intoxication. Though the use of ardent spirits by aboriginal races is no doubt due to contact with Europeans, it is certain that in many, if not in most cases, the stronger forms of alcohol have been preceded by a native product requiring only greater excess to be equally sense-destroying. When travelling in the interior of Guiana, I found the natives, who had little or no contact with white men, using drinks of their own manufacture, the products of cassava and the sweet potato, with which they frequently became drunken, though the point of complete intoxication was reached only after disgusting debauches lasting from 24 to 36 hours. Similarly in the Pacific I found that the natives of all, or nearly all, the islands had their kava or their coconut spirit, the making of which they had learned before the coming of white men; and, speaking generally, the use of these declined only from the increased consumption of gin. If, then, the proclivity to the pleasure of intoxication is so strong where the maintenance of life is so easy as it is in Guiana and the Southern Pacific, how much stronger is it always likely to be with the peoples of India and China, to whom continued existence means a struggle of such extreme severity. This consideration seems to me to render the probability extremely strong that if the products of the poppy were suppressed the result would be only a proportionately increased use of the various forms of alcohol which are already known to the peoples of the east. Such a change, I have not the slightest doubt, would be greatly for the worse. Unless to the average man excess in opium is much more injurious than excess in alcohol, it is evident that the balance of evil and good is largely in favour of the former. For the consumer of opium at worst does harm only to himself; he is quiet and inoffensive to his neighbours, and costs the community nothing for the maintenance of order. His habit gives rise to none of the offences against society—the brawling fighting, brutality, and murder which are the common accompaniments of excess in alcohol. But even as regards the consumer himself, the great majority of Europeans with experience of the Far East would, I am certain, agree with me as to the comparative harmlessness of opium. I say nothing of Europeans in India, whose testimony the Commission will have the opportunity of hearing from themselves. It is no doubt commonly asserted in England that European opinion in the east is prejudiced by self-interest, and that the only testimony worth regarding as impartial is that of the missionaries. But as regards China there could hardly be a greater mistake, for as a matter of fact exceedingly few Europeans in the Far East are now interested at all in opium. Trade in the article is now almost, if not quite, exclusively confined to Parsees, Armenians, Hebrews, and others who have been brought up and educated in the east. If there is any preponderance of prejudice, therefore, I venture to think it is on the side of the missionaries. All, or nearly all, of them go out to the east imbued with a strong partisan spirit on the subject; and without in the smallest degree questioning their complete *bona fides*, I am satisfied that many of them from the first look at the matter through coloured spectacles, and I regard it as only natural that they should incline to a view which so conveniently accounts for, or diverts attention from, the enormous disparity between the efforts and money spent upon missionary enterprise in China and the results obtained. But for the anti-opium agitation in England, it can scarcely be doubted that funds for Chinese Missions would cease to flow in equal profusion, and the missionaries would scarcely be human if a knowledge of this probability did not, however unconsciously, affect their judgment. But giving them, as I am quite willing to do, the benefit of the doubt, and supposing them to be quite impartial, I am unable to understand why men who, in other respects, so frequently show themselves to have ordinary human failings, should

be solely regarded as against the great majority of Europeans of Chinese experience, who, like myself, are equally disinterested, and at least equally capable of forming a trustworthy judgment.

A great preponderance of opinion would, I know, agree with me not only as to the comparison of advantages and disadvantages between opium and alcohol, but also in the general view of the subject above expressed. This may be briefly summarised as follows, viz., that opium no doubt does harm in a few cases of inordinate excess, but to the great majority of consumers it is, to say the least, innocent. If this view be correct, the feeling which prompted a distinguished Bishop to say that he preferred an England free to an England sober becomes specially applicable to the case of opium suppression. It would, I hold, be an act of intolerable despotism to place to the least restraint upon freedom in such a matter, while it would be a monstrous wrong and injustice to deprive millions of men of one of the very few, perhaps the principal pleasure of their very cheerless existence.

In conclusion I wish to say that I am painfully aware the reasons given for my opinions are by no means as strong as they might have been, if I were not so completely separated as I am from books of reference, statistics, and memoranda on the subject of China, as well from all persons acquainted with the Far East. I have been compelled to trust entirely to a memory for the moment weakened by ill-health, and my statement is thus unduly defective in facts. In any case it would have been impossible within reasonable compass to present all the innumerable incidents, information, and admissions, which, in the course of years, have contributed to produce my conviction. I trust, however, that some weight may be given to an opinion from the mere fact of its having been formed at all by one who has had exceptional opportunities for observation, who now expresses it under a grave sense of responsibility, and who, far from being naturally inclined to the ordinary European view of native questions, has always been known, and has at times incurred much odium, for his sympathy with, and his strenuous protection of, the various subject-races committed to his care.

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APPENDIX XXIV.

From G. S. M. O'BRIEN, Esq., Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, to the SECRETARY, ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, dated Hong Kong, the 23rd November 1893.

SIR,

WITH reference to the Despatch,* of which a copy is annexed, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Royal Commission on Opium, that it is not possible to state with precision the amount of opium annually consumed in Hong Kong.

The following amounts of raw opium have been boiled by the farmer (who has the monopoly of prepared opium in Hong Kong) during each of the last six years, viz:—

	Chests.
1888	3,771
1889	1,746
1890	2,511
1891	1,878
1892	1,620
1893, January to October inclusive	1,467

But it is open to the farmer to export any quantity of boiled or prepared opium that he pleases without rendering any account or return thereof, and there are, therefore, no means of ascertaining with certainty what portion of the opium boiled by him is exported and what portion remains for local consumption.

It is estimated by some persons who are interested in the subject that the local consumption of opium in Hong Kong averages about three chests a day. This estimate is probably approximately correct, but it cannot be guaranteed. The amount of opium which the present farmer, whose monopoly commenced on March 1st, 1892, is allowed to boil for all purposes, whether of export or of local consumption, is limited to a maximum of 300 chests in any two consecutive months. He, therefore, cannot boil more than 1,800 chests in the year, and can boil that amount only if he boils the maximum of 300 chests in each period of two consecutive months.

I have, &c.
G. S. M. O'BRIEN,
Colonial Secretary.

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APPENDIX XXV.

QUESTIONS issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM regarding OPIUM CONSUMPTION and OPIUM REVENUE in the COLONIES and DEPENDENCIES of SINGAPORE, PENANG, and HONG KONG.†

1. Is opium commonly consumed by people of Chinese, Malay, or other Asiatic race in your colony?
2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent? Do children?
3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races?
4. Do consumers chiefly smoke, or do they eat opium, or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?
5. Do the great majority of opium consumers become slaves to the drug and eventually become "opium sots," or do you find the majority, or a considerable proportion, of consumers to be moderate consumers?
6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have

taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? If so, please give a description of one or two such cases in detail.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants or of the artisans, belonging to any Asiatic race with which you are conversant consume opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling?

If possible give details and examples in reply to this question.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among any Asiatic races with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races, in regard to the effect on consumers?

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese, Malay, or other Asiatic race? How would such races regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?

10. Can and do opium consumers break themselves of the opium habit?

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium consumers and on the Asiatic population of your neighbourhood? Would they supply themselves with opium from elsewhere, or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium? or would they abstain altogether?

12. What proportion of your colony's revenue accrues from opium? If the opium revenue were extinguished could your colony raise the needful revenue otherwise?

† These questions were issued in supplement of evidence given before the Royal Commission in London. In the case of those issued to Her Britannic Majesty's Minister in China, a few additions were suggested by the Government of India, and adopted by the Commission.

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Straits Settlements.

What would the people say to the loss of the opium revenue and the obligation to make up the deficit?

13. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not, why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?

14. How are opium consumers led to use the drug? Do they usually or often take it in the first instance to allay physical pain? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria? Or is it so regarded commonly by any Asiatic race with which you are conversant?

15. Do opium consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?

16. Is there among any Asiatic race in your colony a feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India? If so, how does that feeling display itself?

17. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium consumption among the people around you?

SPECIAL TO SINGAPORE AND PENANG WITNESSES.

18. Please state how far opium consumption is common among the native states around the colony. Do the rulers of those states discourage its use, or do they raise revenue from it? What is the public or general opinion of the native states regarding the drug, its use or abuse, and its effects on the consumers and on the people at large?

N.B.—It is desired that gentlemen who kindly undertake to deal with these questions should answer as many as they can.

October, 1893. By Order of the
Royal Commission on Opium.

PART I.

The preceding paper of questions, received from the Royal Commission on Opium through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was circulated in the colony and the native states of the Malay Peninsula, and answers have been received from the following gentlemen:—

1. Mr. Gan Ngoh Bee, Singapore.
2. " F. G. Penney, Province Wellesley.
3. " W. Evans, Penang.
4. Dr. G. D. Haviland, Singapore.
5. Hon. Martin Lister, Negri Sembilan.
6. Mr. Chiu Sin Yong, Penang.
7. " Koh Seang Tat, Penang.
8. " J. Miller, Singapore.
9. " M. Meyer, Singapore.
10. " F. A. Swettenham; G.M.G., Perak.
11. Dr. W. C. Brown, Penang.
12. Mr. W. H. Treacher, C.M.G., Sclangor.
13. " A. Gentle, Singapore.
14. " W. G. Snellabear, Singapore.
15. " H. Riccard, Penang.
16. " A. Hüttenbach, Penang.
17. The Rev. A. Lamont, Singapore.
18. Dr. T. S. Kerr, Singapore.
19. Mr. J. Y. Kennedy, Penang.
20. " H. Clifford, Pahang.
21. " G. C. Wray, Singapore.
22. " Sheikh Yusuf, Penang.
23. " A. W. S. O'Sullivan, Penang.
24. " Seah Liang Seah, Singapore.
25. " J. Anderson, Singapore.
26. " J. K. Birch, Penang.
27. Surgeon-Major D. O'Sullivan, Penang.
28. Dr. W. Gilmore Ellis, Singapore.
29. The Honourable A. M. Skinner, C.M.G., Penang.
30. The Honourable J. M. B. Vermont, Province Wellesley.
31. Mr. G. T. Hare, Singapore.
32. The Honourable the Dato Mantri, Johor.
33. The Honourable W.C. Sneyd Kynnersley, Malacca.
34. " H. A. O'Brien, Singapore.
35. Dr. T. C. Mugliston, Singapore.

The following gentlemen (to whom copies of the questions were also sent) have not furnished replies:—

- Dr. W. R. C. Middleton, Singapore.
His Honour Mr. Justice Logan, Singapore.
Mr. R. W. Hullett, Singapore.
" T. Sohst, Singapore.
" Tan Jiak Kim, Singapore.
" Tan Keong Saik, Singapore.
Dr. J. H. Robertson, Penang.
Mr. R. Yeats, Penang.

MEMORANDUM BY THE COLONIAL SECRETARY,
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR,

I SUBMIT a hastily-prepared resumé of the general results of the answers received in reply to the questions circulated in this colony on behalf of the Royal Commission on Opium, and I have added, in some places, facts which are within my own knowledge, remarks suggested by the statements of some of the witnesses, and opinions, which a residence of 29 years in the Straits Settlements has enabled me to form. I do not profess to have made a special study of the practice of using opium, but it is a feature of Asiatic life which is more or less forced upon the attention of anyone who has to live and work among such a population as we have.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by people of Chinese, Malay, or other Asiatic race in your colony?

Opium is imported almost exclusively for the use of Chinese. It is, no doubt, from the Chinese that the Malays have acquired the habit. The consumption of opium in the colony is very common, but it would be much more common but for the wholesome check of our excise laws. By making opium dear, we to some extent restrict its use. In the colony the sole right of importing opium (except for re-export) and of manufacturing and retailing chandu, the prepared drug, is farmed out to a monopolist known as the opium farmer. The maximum retail price which he may exact is fixed by Government. It is at present \$2.20 per tahl (1½oz.), and per chi (one-tenth of a tahl) 26 cents.

The prices at which the opium farmer retails chandu at present (1894) are as follows:—

Singapore	Wholesale,	-	\$2.20 a tahl.
	Retail,	-	0.26 a chi.
Penang	Wholesale,	-	2.20 a tahl.
	Retail,	-	0.26 a chi.
Malacca	In town, wholesale,	-	2.00 a tahl.
	Do. retail,	-	0.24 a chi.
	Up-country, wholesale,	-	1.70 a tahl.

In the native states the restrictions are less severe, for in all mining districts there is no monopoly of the right to retail and manufacture. A tax of \$8 per ball of opium is levied, but this is trifling compared to the tax upon opium which is the result of the colonial system. Ball opium which has paid this import duty may be freely manufactured into chundu by anyone, and it can be retailed at a large profit at a much lower price than that which prevails in the colony. The result is that the consumption of opium is much larger at the tin mines than anywhere else in these parts.

The extent of the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements and native states may be roughly gathered from the import and export returns.

In 1893 these show the following quantities:—

	Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.
Imports of Benares Opium from India (chests).	7,127	3,540	—
Do. do. from Hong Kong.	281	10	—
Do. do. from other places.	1	—	—
Do. do. Inter-Settlement.	169	85	138
Do. Malwa Opium from Hong Kong.	—	15	—
Do. Patna Opium from India.	3,524	265	—
Do. do. from Hong Kong.	358	19	—
Do. do. Inter-settlement.	49	—	—
Do. Persian Opium from Hong Kong.	187	26	—
Do. Turkey Opium from Hong Kong.	—	39	—
Do. do. from other places.	6	—	—
Do. do. Inter-Settlement.	—	4	—
Total	11,693	4,002	138
Exports of Benares Opium to Netherlands India.	2,150	777	—
Do. do. to China.	741	5	—
Do. do. to Native States.	1,565	1,881	58
Do. do. to Hong Kong.	584	30	—
Do. do. to Siam and Siamese States.	501	371	—

	Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.
Exports of Benares Opium to other places.	253	—	—
Do. do. Inter-Settlement.	223	186	—
Do. Malwa Opium to Hong Kong.	—	5	—
Do. Patna Opium to Netherlands India.	300	—	—
Do. do. to China.	1,610	10	—
Do. do. to Native States.	180	188	—
Do. do. to Hong Kong.	665	—	—
Do. do. to Siam and Siamese States.	348	8	—
Do. do. to other places.	51	—	—
Do. do. Inter-Settlement.	—	29	—
Do. Persian Opium to Hong Kong.	2	—	—
Do. do. to Netherlands India.	—	21	—
Do. Turkey Opium to other places.	6	—	—
Do. do. Inter-Settlement.	3	—	—
Total	9,177	3,704	58
Chandu imported from Hong Kong (tahils).	—	5,000	—
Do. from Inter-Settlement.	—	—	3,500
Total	—	5,000	3,500
Chandu exported to Hong Kong	669,030	—	—
Do. to Netherlands India	2,950	—	—
Do. to Native States	1,800	—	—
Do. to other places	500	—	—
Total	674,280	—	—

showing a balance (excluding inter-settlement trade) of 2,898 chests to be accounted for. It must not, however, be supposed that this balance was wholly consumed in Singapore. The opium farmer for the Straits Settlements is also the opium farmer for the Native State of Johor and for the Dutch settlements Rionw and Karimung. He exports chandu to other places also.

The consumption of opium in the native states may be more accurately gathered from the import and export returns than in the case of the colony, for practically all the opium is imported for local consumption, and there is little or no re-export.

The published returns give the following results:—

Benares opium	3,504 chests.
Patna opium	368 "
Total	3,872 chests.

PER-CENTAGE AND CLASS OF CONSUMERS.

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race, are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent? Do children? The difficulty of arriving at a fair estimate of the proportion of opium-smokers to non-smokers in our population will be readily recognised. Opium retailers in particular districts can, no doubt, as far as their own trade extends, make a fairly close conjecture, and employers of labour can, of course, say, in respect of a limited number of men, how many smoke and how many abstain. But the general difficulty remains, and is illustrated by the diversity of opinions given in the answers to question 2, the per-centage of smokers ranging from 7 per cent. (the Dato Mantri of Johor) to 85 per cent. (Mr. Clifford). An attempt has been made by some witnesses (e. g. Mr. Anderson) to classify the consumers and to give a per-centage for each class, and this is perhaps the method which is likely to give the most accurate results. One thing that appears pretty clear from the evidence is that the proportion of smokers is higher in the native states than in the colony. Another is that a mining population furnishes a larger proportion of consumers of opium than an agricultural population. This was to be expected, and is partly explained by what I have already said as to the comparative cheapness of chandu in mining districts.

Here are the per-centages of male smokers among Chinese, as given by the witnesses:—

Per cent.	Witnesses
7	The Dato Mantri.
12	Shellabear.
15	Vermont.
15 to 20	Riccard.
20	{ Chew Sin Yong. Kennedy.
20 to 25	Penny.
20 to 30	Hare.
25	{ trading class—Gentle. Traicher.
30	{ above coolie class—Mugliston. Dr. O'Sullivan. Lamont. Meyer.
30 to 40	{ Kynnersley. Anderson.
35	Skinner.
40	{ planters only—Lister. Seah Liang Seah.
40 to 50	{ Birch. Ellis. Evans.
50	{ coolie class—Gentle. O'Sullivan.
60	{ coolies—Mugliston. Swettenham.
60 to 70	Kerr.
70	foreign Chinese—O'Brien.
75	Miller.
80	miners only—Lister.
85	Clifford.

APP. XXV.
The Straits.

It is generally admitted that opium-smoking is not common among women. The Chinese women who smoke have generally acquired the habit in brothels, in which establishments half of the Chinese female population of the Colony are, according to one witness (Rev. A. Lamont), to be found. The women in the country districts mentioned by Mr. Seah Liang Seah are probably ex-inmates of brothels. It is of course next to impossible to obtain any trustworthy information of the habits of Chinese women of the better class, and it may be assumed that opium-smoking is rare among them. One witness (Dr. Brown, Penang) thinks that 2 or 3 per cent. of respectable Chinese women smoke opium, and that 70 per cent. of the prostitute class do so. I have known, in the native states, instances where Malay ladies of the highest rank have been habitual opium-smokers. Opium-smoking among children is unknown, though a parent may put a pipe to a child's mouth (see Mr. Lamont's evidence) just as the child of an injudicious parent in Europe may be allowed to sip from a glass of beer or spirits.

The per-centage of Malays who smoke opium is admitted on all hands to be small; it is probably larger in the native states than in the colony. The estimates given are as follows:—

Per cent.	Witnesses	
1	{ Ellis - - - } Skinner - - - } O'Sullivan - - - } 2 { Kynnersley - - - } 2 or 3 Kerr - - - } 5 to 8 Dr. Brown - - - } 10 Miller - - - }	In the Colony.
5 per 1000,	Lister, Negri Sembilan	Native states.
3 per cent.,	Clifford, Pahang	
5 per cent. to 10 per cent.,	Swettenham, Perak	
90 per cent.,	Dr. Brown—Rajas and native chiefs	

Some of the principal rajas and chiefs in the native states in the Malay Peninsula are confirmed opium-smokers, and their example is followed by their immediate relatives, followers, and confidential servants. Malay elephant-mahouts are a class who are, almost without exception, opium-smokers. They lead a life of considerable hardship and some danger. Opium-smoking among the Malays, therefore, may be viewed as either a fashionable and aristocratic dissipation, or as a solace and relief to those leading an exceptionally rough life.

APP. XXV.

EFFECT OF OPIUM-SMOKING.

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, morally, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races.

i. *Physical Effects* (Chinese).—The evidence tends to show that, indulged in in moderation, opium-smoking is not injurious; it is, in fact, held by several witnesses to be distinctly beneficial, and one medical witness (Dr. Brown) declares that it increases the capacity for muscular exertion.

The following seems to be a fair analysis of the opinions of the witnesses as to the physical effects of opium-smoking:—

No effect	Lamont. Kennedy. Clifford. Mugliston.
No ill effects if used in moderation, injurious in excess.	Penney. Evans. Haviland. Chew Sin Long. Meyer. Gentle. Riccard. Dr. Kerr. O'Sullivan. Birch. Dr. Ellis. Hare. Kynnersley. O'Brien.
Beneficial	Lister.
Beneficial in moderation, injurious in excess.	Gan Ngho Bee. Miller. Swettenham. Dr. Brown. Traacher. Wray. Anderson. Vermont.
Generally injurious	Koh Seang Tat. Shellabear. Dr. O'Sullivan. Dato Mantri.

Personally I agree with those who think that opium-smoking does no harm if practised in moderation, and moderation is, of necessity, the rule among Chinese in the colony, for the bulk of the population of that nationality cannot afford to indulge to excess. One witness (Mr. Shellabear) has found that, among jinrikisha men, those "who have the appearance of being opium-smokers" are not good pullers. Against this there is the evidence of Dr. Brown that "coolies who use opium in moderate quantities are distinctly longer-winded and more capable of prolonged fatigue than others who do not." Possibly the explanation is that the men who seemed to Mr. Shellabear to have the appearance of being opium-smokers were really physically weak from other causes, for as Mr Hare (31st witness) says, "you can no more pick out the opium-smokers from a crowd of ordinary Chinese than it would be possible to pick out those who take alcohol from those who do not among an equal number of Europeans."

Loss of flesh is described as a result, but not by any means a universal result, of opium-smoking, and this corresponds with what I have myself observed. Leanness is not always a disadvantage. The table furnished by Mr. Birch (page 45) is not very instructive, for the difference between the respective weights of prisoners (opium-smokers) on entry and discharge from prison is in several cases very slight, and may in some cases be referable to improved diet and a healthy life rather than to the mere discontinuance of opium-smoking.

ii. *Moral Effects* (Chinese).—I do not believe that the moral effects of opium-smoking, indulged in in moderation, are injurious, and this seems to be the opinion of the majority of the witnesses. A healthy man who only spends on opium what he can afford is not necessarily tempted to steal. Excessive indulgence in opium, like other excesses, may, it is generally admitted, weaken or destroy the moral fibre and ruin a man's character.

On this subject the evidence may be summarised as follows:—

Effects degrading morally.	Lamont. Seah Liang Seah. Dr. O'Sullivan. Koh Seang Tat. Shellabear.
No moral injury, when used in moderation.	Evans, Swettenham, Dr. Brown, Dr. Kerr, Wray, Dr. Ellis, and many others who, without alluding specially to moral effects, have reported generally that moderate smoking is not injurious.

iii. *Social Effects* (Chinese).—There is little evidence on this point. One witness (Mr. Swettenham) probably states the utmost that can be alleged when he says that there is a "prejudice" against smokers. It would be curious indeed if, in a community where opium-smoking is so generally practised and tolerated, the practice of it involved social condemnation or ostracism, or even loss of influence.

It is not very clear whether, in inquiring what are the "social effects" of opium on its consumers, the Royal Commissioners wish to ascertain the effect upon the smoker from the judgment of society, or the action of opium upon him in a social aspect. There has been evidently a misunderstanding among the witnesses as to the exact purport of this part of the question. Mr. Swettenham's evidence just quoted may, for instance, be compared with that of Mr. Meyer (ninth witness), who says that the effect of opium is to make a man less social, of Mr. Miller (eighth witness), who says that men who indulge in opium to excess are "less inclined to social intercourse," and of Mr. Seah Liang Seah (24th witness), who says, "I believe they are sociable." Mr. Skinner (29th witness) notices the doubtful nature of the question, but reads it, no doubt, in its true sense. According to him, "respectable Chinese merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, and domestics are, in a marked degree, indisposed to confess to any opium-smoking or to admit opium-smokers to their employment." I do not think that too much stress should be laid upon this. Chinese are well aware of the prejudice against opium that exists among most Europeans, and know that the latter do not practise what they regard as a disgusting and injurious habit. That is quite enough to make "respectable merchants and shopkeepers" shy of admitting to Europeans that they themselves indulge daily in a pipe or two of opium. Again, it is not unreasonable that a man who wants a trustworthy servant should prefer one without taste for an expensive indulgence, which may land him in debt and difficulty. Even the opium-smoker would rather have a servant who does not smoke and will not be tempted to lay hands on his master's store of the drug. I notice that one witness (Mr. Shellabear) has quoted as an instance of social disqualification in consequence of opium-smoking that "any employé of the Opium Farm in Singapore who is known to smoke opium is at once dismissed." The fact is that the opium farmer prefers, in his own interest, to employ to make up packets of opium for sale by retail men who are not likely to help themselves to the article passing through their hands. It can hardly be argued that a moderate drinker is a social outcast if he is refused employment by a publican who prefers to trust the sale of his beer to a woman.

On Malays.—Of the effect of opium-smoking upon Malays, some of those best qualified to speak have given evidence. The physical effect is the same as in the case of Chinese, and where reasonable moderation is observed physical deterioration does not necessarily take place.

Mr. Swettenham, resident of Perak, who does not distinguish between physical and moral effects in his answer, says: "I think the effect on Malays is decidedly worse than on Chinese, because the Malay is naturally indolent, and the smoking of opium makes him more lazy and useless than he would otherwise be. On those who have to work, and work hard—elephant-drivers for instance—the evil effect is not noticeable, and in some notable instance of smokers who are wealthy men of rank, with practically no work to do, though they have smoked for the greater part of

"their lives, it would be very difficult to say they have suffered from the habit."

Mr. Clifford, acting resident of Pahang, says of Malay opium-smokers: "Their natural indolence is considerably increased, they appear to degenerate physically, becoming emaciated and, in many cases, suffering severely from chronic constipation and piles. The habit brings them into constant familiar intercourse with the Chinese, to whom the Malays usually consider themselves superior, and it tends to cause them to lose much of their customary self-respect. Their fear of cold often makes them more or less personally uncleanly, which is not usual among Malays under ordinary circumstances."

Mr. H. A. O'Brien, Acting Auditor-General, whose connexion with the native states has been but slight, says: "I look upon a Straits Malay who takes to opium in any form as a lost man. His natural indolence and indifference to the ordinary exigencies of a responsible life are by opium intensified with a rapidity and to a degree absolutely startling. I have personally known exceptions to this rule, and notable exceptions are familiar to all old residents here. But such exceptions are, to my mind, rare in the extreme."

These three opinions agree in one point, namely, that the Malay, being by nature an unsatisfactory worker, and incapable of the steady, continuous, diligent labour which is characteristic of the Chinaman, opium-smoking acts unfavourably upon a temperament already sufficiently lethargic, and the effects are more noticeable than in the case of Chinese. In other respects, I agree with Mr. Swettenham rather than with the others. I have had some acquaintance with Malay opium-smokers in the native states. It was difficult to get them up early in the morning; they frequently shirked a cold water bath or left the water shivering when others were enjoying a swim, and business with them was best transacted in the afternoon, evening, or late at night. But I cannot say that their capacity for physical exertion was impaired, and in Perak and Selangor I certainly did not look upon Malays who smoked opium as useless or ruined.

The moral effects of opium on a Malay are bad, because he is practising what he knows to be condemned by the professors of his faith (Islam), and he has sometimes to resort to concealment and evasion in order to indulge in the habit.*

Except where men of high rank set the example, and social disapproval can, therefore, be set at nought, a Mohammedan opium-smoker runs the risk of being condemned as a sinner by his co-religionists. There is thus a very powerful anti-opium influence among Malays. But for this check upon the habit, many more Malays would take to opium-smoking than do at present. The proportion is really very small, a testimony, in my opinion, to the beneficial operation of the Mohammedan prejudice in this particular.

In 1892 very careful inquiries were set on foot with a view to ascertaining the extent to which the opium habit is in vogue among our Malay population. The results were as follows:—

Singapore.

The Superintendent of Police reported that about 500 Malays (including Javanese) in Singapore smoke opium. The estimate of the Protector of Chinese was from 400 to 600—Malay population, 35,000.

Malacca.

The District Officer, Jasin District, reported that only seven Malays in his district smoke opium. In the town of Malacca a few Malays frequent the licensed shops; they are mostly seafaring men. A few smoke at home. The District Officer, Alor Gajah District, reported that the practice can hardly be said to exist. There is not more than half a dozen smokers in the district—Malay population, 21,000.

Penang.

The district officer, Balik Pulau district, reported that there are hardly any smokers in his district. The superintendent of police estimated the total number of Malays resorting to licensed shops at 230—Malay population, 14,000.

Province Wellesley.

The number of Malay opium-smokers was found to be very small, less than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The few found lived near the frontier of Kedah, a native state where the habit is said to be more common (owing probably to an admixture of Siamese in the population)—Malay population, 68,000.

Dindings.

The district officer, Dindings, reported that about 25 Malays use opium in one form or another. Malay population, 2,400.

I do not think that the use of opium among Malays is on the increase. On the contrary, I think that the social disqualification which the indulgence involves will tend to further repress it.

FORM OF CONSUMPTION.

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke, or do they eat opium, or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?

The use of opium in this colony being almost entirely confined to Chinese, it is from the Chinese witnesses that the most accurate information as to the form in which the drug is consumed is to be expected. These (Messrs. Gan Ngoh Bee, Chew Sin Yong, Koh Seang Tat, and Seah Liang Seah) practically agree in saying that the favourite method is smoking, but that it is common also to swallow pills of opium-dross. The latter practice is adopted by poor men who cannot afford the more expensive luxury of smoking, or by those who, by reason of their occupations, have not the leisure or facilities for smoking chandu.

There is evidence that a decoction obtained by boiling the leaves, of which the external shell or wrapping of a ball of opium is composed, in water, or by mixing opium-dross with water, is sometimes employed. Such a decoction is used medicinally.

Raw opium undergoes an elaborate process of cooking before it is retailed in the form in which it is smoked. After this process or series of processes it becomes chandu, a thick brown treacly substance. From a ball of opium 30 tahils of chandu* are obtained (Mr. Swettenham's evidence).

Opium-dross, or tai chandu or tengko, is the refuse of chandu (after smoking), and consists of charcoai, empyreumatic oil, some of the salts of the opium, and a part of the chandu not consumed.

As to the relative effects of smoking chandu and swallowing opium-dross, Dr. Kerr (18th witness) regards the latter habit as the more injurious of the two.

"OPIMUM SOTS."

5. Do the great majority of opium consumers become slaves to the drug and eventually become "opium sots," or do you find the majority, or a considerable proportion, of consumers to be moderate consumers?

The Royal Commission have asked (Question 5) whether the great majority of opium-consumers become slaves to the drug and eventually opium sots, or whether moderation is the rule.

The expression "opium sot" has not apparently conveyed the same meaning to the minds of all the gentlemen who have answered the question. It seems to be one of those denunciatory phrases which are meant not only to describe a condition but to convey disapproval of it. Those who condemn gambling from a moral standpoint are not satisfied to speak of a "gambling room," or "gambling house." The place must be described as a "hell." So, a licensed opium shop becomes a "den," though it may be a clean and comfortable room, with little in common with certain squalid places in the East End of London. The phrase "opium sot," judging from the context in the question, is intended to mean something more than a slave to the habit. The Chinese recognise a stage, which they call yin (Mr. Hare's evidence), of "unsatisfiable craving," but this is reached by very few. To those alone who have reached it can the expression "opium sot" be

* "Opium and other drugs which produce a similar effect are considered unlawful, though not mentioned in the Kuran, and persons who are addicted to the use of these drugs are regarded as immoral characters."—Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 1-35.

* The word chandu is probably of Indian origin. In a recent Blue Book containing correspondence with India about opium, the word is spelt chandul. I do not find it in Yule's *Glossary* or in any Hindustani Dictionary, but *Shakespeare's Dictionary* (Hindustani) has chandu, a ball.

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applied. Mr. Hare found 10 such people out of 80 smokers after visiting 20 licensed opium shops in Singapore.

Twenty-seven out of 35 witnesses state that the majority of opium-smokers in this colony are moderate consumers. I do not see how it can be otherwise. Moderation is, of necessity, the rule, for the price of opium precludes the possibility of excess in the case of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the colony.

Two witnesses (Messrs. Koh Seang Tat and Shellabear) declare their opinion that there is no possibility of moderation, and that all consumers become "opium sots," but perhaps by this phrase they, as well as some of the other witnesses, mean "slaves to the habit." If they really mean that every smoker must ultimately become what another witness (Mr. Lamot) calls an "opium wreck," they are, I feel sure, mistaken. The most ordinary instinct of self-preservation would prevent the commencement of indulgence if ultimate physical wreckage were a certainty. Chinese are, as a race, a shrewd and sensible people, and, as Mr. Hare pertinently remarks, "reason, pocket, and self-control" ordinarily prescribe the limit within which opium-smoking may safely be indulged in.

Three witnesses (Messrs. Riccard, Lamont, and O'Brien), in addition to the above, think that the majority of smokers are slaves to the habit.

I have only to add my own opinion in answer to the question. I feel sure that with the majority of consumers moderation is the rule, and that "opium sots" (a phrase which I do not recognise as having any accepted meaning, though I take it to mean an opium-smoker who has reached a stage of "unsatisfiable craving") are rare, even among heavy smokers. I do not think that Mr. O'Sullivan has gone far enough when he says that "the opium sot is a rarer sight than the habitual drunkard in England."

INSTANCES OF HABITUAL MODERATION IN CONSUMPTION.

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? If so, please give description of one or two such cases in detail.

Twelve witnesses have given brief descriptions of 21 cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without, as far as can be perceived, harm to themselves. Two witnesses (Mr. Shellabear and Dr. O'Sullivan) have mentioned three cases in which the result has, in their opinion, been injurious.

I do not think it necessary to add any cases in detail, but I know many opium-smokers (especially among Malays) who have smoked opium for years without any outward apparent change, and I hold with those who, in answer to Question 6, declare moderation to be not only possible but the rule.

ADDICTION TO OPIUM BY PARTICULAR CLASSES, AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE EFFICIENCY OF LABOURERS, MERCHANTS, AND ARTISANS.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, belonging to any Asiatic race with which you are conversant consume opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling?

If possible give details and examples in reply to this question.

Comparatively few of the witnesses have mentioned particular classes of Chinese (the race to which the answers almost exclusively apply) who are specially addicted to opium.

Among artisans are mentioned goldsmiths, house-builders, bricklayers, painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, and riveters. Opium is consumed by all of these, and the weight of the evidence goes to show that the efficiency of the consumers as workmen is not impaired. One witness (Mr. Anderson) speaks of the opium-smokers of certain trades as the best and most capable workmen.

Among labourers are specially named, tin miners, gold miners, rikisha pullers, plantation coolies, coaling coolies, hawkers, porters, and dock labourers. Of these, the majority seem to be consumers of opium, and, with few exceptions, the witnesses who think that any effect

at all is caused declare the effect of opium on the working classes to be beneficial, stimulating, invigorating, or comforting. In the case of miners and others who are exposed to malarious influences the beneficial effect of opium seems to have many supporters, and it is described as in some measure protecting painters from the injurious results of their trade. Mr. Hare, speaking of labourers and artisans, says that, under press of work, an opium-smoker will outlast a non-smoker.

Only a minority of the mercantile class seem to smoke opium. Several of the witnesses credit business men who smoke opium with special acuteness and intelligence. Mr. Koh Seang Tat says "that with fewer 'hours' work a smoker can on an average do as much 'brain work' as the non-smoker can."

On the other hand, the following witnesses think the effects injurious:—Messrs. Lamont, Shellabear, Riccard (as regards the labouring class), and Dr. Brown (as regards the mercantile class).

OPIUM versus ALCOHOL.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among any Asiatic races with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races, in regard to the effect on consumers?

Curiously enough, the only witness who, in considering the relative harm done to consumers by opium and alcohol, is not inclined to condemn the latter as the more hurtful of the two, is a Malay, the Dato Mantri of Johor. He believes opium and alcohol to be equally injurious when abused. Another witness (Mr. Lamont) considers "the opium vice" to be "more inexorable" than drunkenness.

The most interesting evidence on this subject is naturally that of the medical witnesses. Dr. Ellis, the Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum, reports that out of 1,236 admissions and re-admissions into the asylum 75 have been stated to be due to alcoholism and 24 to opium-smoking. Of the alcoholic patients, some were only temporarily delirious, and quickly recovered. In others he recognised alcoholic insanity, and post-mortem examination proved the existence of advanced alcoholic disease of the cerebral blood-vessels.

Of the opium-smokers, he was able to reject, in three-fourths of the cases, the supposition that their mental breakdown was due to opium. As to the remaining fourth he could not satisfy himself, but he remains sceptical as to insanity being ever caused by opium-smoking.

Dr. Mugliston says: "I am not prepared to say that any disease is produced by opium, whereas every organ and almost every tissue is morbidly affected by 'alcohol.'"

Dr. Brown says: "Alcohol affects all Asiatics much more injuriously than opium."

Several witnesses (Messrs. Gan Ngoh Bee, Miller, Meyer, Swettenham, Vermont, and Kynnersley) dwell upon the turbulent and disorderly conduct of men under the influence of alcohol as compared with the harmless inaction of the devotee of opium. Mr. Kynnersley is no doubt right when he says that if the Chinese, instead of smoking opium indulged to the same degree in alcohol, crime would seriously increase.

There is an overwhelming weight of evidence in these replies against alcohol.

NATIVE PUBLIC OPINION ON OPIUM HABIT AND ALCOHOL HABIT.

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese, Malay, or other Asiatic race? How would such races regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?

Native witnesses are obviously the best qualified to give evidence as to this. Out of four Chinese witnesses, two (Messrs. Gan Ngoh Bee and Chew Sin Yong) state that the Chinese do not regard the opium habit (when moderation is observed) as degrading or injurious. The other two (Messrs. Koh Seang Tat and Seah Liang Seah) say that it is regarded both as degrading and injurious. Mr. Chew Sin Yong says: "In China the 'use of opium is very general, and it is considered a 'mark of respect to offer the opium pipe to the visitors' or customers who call at a friend's house or shop.' This does not look as if it was discountenanced by

Chinese society. (See also similar evidence of Mr. Seah Liang Seah and Mr. Hare, in answer to Question 14.) Two Mohammedans (the Dato Mantri of Johor and Sheikh Yusuf) are of opinion that the opium habit is regarded as degrading and injurious both by Chinese and Malays. The officers of the Chinese Protectorate, who have studied the Chinese language in China, and are in constant communication with Chinese in the colony, have exceptional facilities for getting trustworthy information on the subject. Of these, Mr. Wray finds that the Chinese condemn the opium habit as possibly leading to abuse, which is degrading and injurious; Mr. Hare's opinion is practically the same. Mr. Evans says that opium-smoking is looked on with disfavour. Both Mr. Hare and Mr. Evans speak of the disinclination of a Chinese father to give his daughter in marriage to an opium-smoker.

The prevailing opinion among the other witnesses, as regards Chinese public opinion, is that there is no general condemnation of moderate opium-smoking, though excess is considered to be degrading. Several remark on the fact that Chinese seem ashamed to confess to the habit, but this is possibly ascribable to a knowledge of English prejudices. Two witnesses (Messrs. Anderson and Meyer), find that the condemnation of the opium habit is confined to non-users.

My own opinion is that opium-smoking is looked upon by the better classes of Chinese as a vice, and, therefore, degrading, and I found this on the fact (also spoken to by Messrs. Swettenham and Kynnersley) that it is common to hear it said of a man as a matter of reproach, "he is an opium-smoker." But, of course, this may sometimes be said in order to arouse antipathy in the Englishman, without being an index of the real feelings of the speaker. The opium habit is certainly no bar to high official employment among the Chinese. The instance given by Mr. Hüttenbach, in his answer to Question 6, is not an isolated one. Where any answers have been given on this point, the opinion seems to be that among the Chinese the alcohol habit would be considered to be more degrading than the opium habit, and in this I agree.

As regards Malays, all the witnesses who answer this part of the question agree that the opium habit is condemned as sinful and degrading. This does not, as I have already remarked, prevent opium-smoking from being a fashionable vice at the Courts of many of the Malays Rajas of the Malay Peninsula. I entirely agree with those who think that the opium habit would be regarded indulgently by Malays in comparison with the alcohol habit. One witness (Mr. Shellabear), who does not perhaps know the native states, thinks that the opium habit would be regarded by Malays as more scandalous and degrading than the alcohol habit. This is true of town-bred Malays and Jawi-Pekans (Mohammedan half-breeds, Indian and Malay), among whom the consumption of beer, wine, and spirits is common.

IS CURE POSSIBLE?

10. Can and do opium-consumers break themselves of the opium habit?

One Chinese witness (Mr. Koh Seang Tat) says that he has never known or heard of an opium consumer breaking himself of the habit, and this view is supported by one medical man (Dr. Kerr). Twenty-three witnesses, including three Chinese and five medical men, say that opium-smokers can break themselves of the habit. Four witnesses (Messrs. Evans, Meyer, Swettenham, and Dr. Ellis) give instances which have occurred within their own experiences. Four (Messrs. Shellabear, Lamout, Clifford, and O'Brien) think that cure is rare, but by at least one of these witnesses it is stated that this is because it is rarely desired or attempted. The experience of our gaols, hospitals, and lunatic asylum sufficiently shows that an opium-smoker can, with comparative ease, adapt himself to sudden and absolute deprivation of the drug. This is conclusive evidence that cure is possible, and that strength of mind, in the case of a man who is a free agent, is all that is required. But in the desire to spare themselves the inconvenience and suffering involved by such a strong method, it is common for opium-smokers who have reasons for desiring to discontinue the habit to inquire from medical practitioners (European and native) for some panacea which will enable them to leave it off gradually. I have constantly heard of this being done, and most subordinate medical practitioners in the colony must have experience of such cases.

The following is recorded as a cure which occurred in the practice of a Singapore doctor nearly 50 years ago, the patient being a native of India, whose habit was to take 40 grains of solid opium daily, 20 in the morning in the shape of two pills, and 20 before his evening meal. Instead of these pills he was ordered to take, at the accustomed times:—

Battley's sedative solution	-	-	-	1 dram.
Tincture of opium	-	-	-	1 "
Tincture of gentian	-	-	-	1 "
Distilled water	-	-	-	1½ oz.
to be washed down with—				
Essence of ginger	-	-	-	1 dram.
An aromatic stimulating tincture	-	-	-	2 drams.
Water	-	-	-	1 oz.

He was also ordered gentle walking exercise morning and evening.

The quantity of Battley (liquor opii sedations, containing 50 per cent. more opium than laudanum does) and tincture of opium was diminished daily, but the bitter tincture of the first bottle and the strength of the second bottle were increased, until at last no opium at all was administered. A decoction of black pepper, ginger, and grassia was gradually substituted for the bitter tinctures. The man is said to have been cured of the habit, but I do not find from the narrative that the doctor really ascertained this. Dr. Brown (11th witness) says that the opium habit can be easily cured by gradually decreasing doses of morphia by mouth hypodermically, but in the hands of unskilled men the gradual decrease, upon which the success of the remedy depends, may perhaps be doubtful. As to this, Mr. O'Brien (35th witness) has some remarks in reply to Question 15.

PROBABLE RESULT IF INDIAN OPIUM WERE UNOBTAINABLE.—SUPPLY FROM ELSEWHERE.—ADOPTION OF A SUBSTITUTE.—TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium consumers, and on the Asiatic population of your neighbourhood? Would they supply themselves with opium from elsewhere, or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium? or would they abstain altogether?

It is practically agreed by all the witnesses, representing many shades of opinion about opium, that the stoppage of the Indian opium supply would not operate as the reformation of the opium-consuming population of this colony. They would certainly obtain a supply of opium from elsewhere, and the following places are named:—China, Annam, Turkey, Malwa, Persia. An impulse would be given to the cultivation of the poppy in every country not under British rule where it will grow. By degrees a sufficient supply of such opium would probably take the place of the article no longer produced in India, and the condition of the consumer would remain unaltered, except that he would not be able to gratify himself with the superior drug of Indian manufacture.

Question 11 does not invite any consideration of the question of excluding foreign opium from our ports, in the case of a self-denying measure prescribing cessation of cultivation in India. I may say, however, that to penalise the importation of such opium would, in my opinion, be a suicidal measure, and I agree with those who think that it would be followed by serious trouble, requiring armed force to repress it, and by an exodus of the most valuable part of our Chinese population to neighbouring countries, under Dutch or native rule, where foreign opium at least could be obtained.

Few express an opinion that alcohol would be adopted by the Chinese as a substitute for opium. Several witnesses, however, think that the consumption of alcohol would increase. I agree with those who think that it would be terrible to contemplate the substitution of spirit-drinking for opium-smoking as the national vice of our population, if vice there must be, and human nature being what it is, there is little hope of inducing total abstinence from opium and spirits. It is to be noticed, however, that one Chinese witness (Mr. Koh Seang Tat) views with equanimity the supposition that "by the stoppage of the use of the opium drug the consumption of spirits would be increased."

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Only two witnesses indulge in any hope of total abstinence from opium as the result of the stoppage of the Indian supply. Mr. Lamont thinks that the opium-smoker "might abstain altogether," and the Dato Mantri of Johor thinks that "some might be able to free themselves altogether from the habit."

REVENUE OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS FROM OPIUM.—
POSSIBLE SOURCES OF REVENUE TO REPLACE IT.—
PUBLIC OPINION OF SUCH A STEP.

12. What proportion of your colony's revenue accrues from opium? If the opium revenue were extinguished, could your colony raise the needful revenue otherwise? What would the people say to the loss of the opium revenue and the obligation to make up the deficit?

The sums paid annually to the colony for the opium and spirit monopoly for the present triennial period (1892, 1893, 1894) are as follows:—

	\$
Singapore - - -	1,110,000
Penang and Dindings - - -	588,000
Malacca - - -	122,400
Total - - -	<u>\$1,820,400</u>

The total estimated revenue of the colony for 1893 was \$3,635,780. The opium and spirit monopoly contributes therefore one-half of the total revenue of the colony.

The opium revenue could only be extinguished by prohibiting the import of foreign opium, after stopping the cultivation of opium in India. While foreign opium could be freely introduced into the Dutch possessions, into Siam, into the Malay States tributary to Siam, and perhaps into Johor, it would be idle to suppose that it would not be smuggled into the colony, even if it were possible to maintain a very large preventive establishment. Supposing such a measure carried out, and the only "opium revenue" to be that derived from fines levied on smugglers (which would not probably cover the cost of the preventive staff), the loss of revenue would not be merely the loss of the money now paid by the opium farmer. With the inevitable diminution of population, consequent on the diminished popularity of the colony as a place of residence for Chinese, there would be a shrinkage of the general revenue in almost every department.

From the point of view of one whose duty it would be to try to carry on the efficient government of the colony under such conditions, I have searched the answers to Question 12 with the utmost care in order to find any practical suggestion for the raising of a revenue to take the place of that supposed hypothetically to have been voluntarily abandoned. I can find none which I could recommend for adoption, and I can make no suggestion.

It is generally recognised that the only way to raise a revenue would be to impose import and export duties, but this would reduce the ports of Penang and Singapore from the position of *entrepôts* doing a vast transit trade with foreign countries into petty trading towns serving only the islands on which they are situated and the adjacent Malay States. The free ports, which would immediately spring up on the neighbouring Dutch possessions, would soon take away our merchants and our trade. Mr. O'Brien (34th witness) puts the case well when he says: "The revenue could not be raised from other sources without the practical extinction of the colony, whose vital existence depends upon the freedom of its ports."

One witness (Mr. Koh Seag Tat) expects more than it is possible to obtain from doubling the duty on spirits. To raise the duty on spirits from 75 cents a gallon to \$1.50 a gallon would not, by any means, result in doubling the revenue payable by the spirit farmer, for the latter pays for three things: the sole rights to manufacture; the right to retail or to license retail shops; and the right to levy a duty of 75 cents on all spirits imported for consumption. It is, of course, only in respect of imported spirits that the raising of the duty would add to the revenue. And if, under the state of things described above, there were a very marked diminution in the Chinese, and consequently in

the European, population, the spirit revenue might be expected to fall seriously.

One witness (Mr. Vermont) mentions, with disfavour, a land tax. In the present state of the colony land might perhaps be made to pay more than it does. But, in a colony disorganised by the measures consequent on repressive legislation, and threatened by the loss of the most valuable part of its population, he would be a sanguine administrator who would expect much additional land revenue from the 1,800 square miles included in the term "Straits Settlements."

As Mr. Kynnersley (33rd witness) says: "It would be as difficult for the colony to raise the needful revenue otherwise (than from opium) as it would be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give up excise revenue." No way out of this difficulty is pointed out by those most opposed to opium. Mr. Lamont (17th witness) can make no suggestions, and Mr. Shellabear (14th witness) can only say "the deficit could undoubtedly be made up."

As for the judgment of native public opinion upon the sacrifice of opium revenue, and the levy of fresh taxes to replace it, no witness has been sanguine enough to suppose that it would be favourable to the Government which carried out such a measure. One witness (Mr. Koh Seang Tat), while admitting that Europeans and Asiatics alike "would certainly object," thinks that eventually the philanthropic motive would be appreciated, and "the new taxes" acquiesced in. No other witness is so hopeful, and the attitude of mind of the native public towards the policy sketched in the question is variously conjectured by the following witnesses, and is indicated according to such conjectures in the words or phrases placed opposite the following names:—

"object to increased burden"	{ Kynnersley. Gan Ngo Boe.
"gravest discontent"	- - - Lister.
"displeased"	- - - Chew Sin Yong.
"unjust"	- - - Meyer.
"silly and incomprehensible"	- - - Treacher.
"frivolously creating disturbance and inconvenience"	- - - Hüttenbach.
"mad"	- - - Kennedy.
"inexplicable caprice"	- - - Clifford.
"unwise"	- - - Seah Liang Seah.
"nation of fools"	- - - Ve. mont.
"unjust and improper taxes"	- - - Dato Mantri.

REASONS WHY EUROPEANS DO NOT CONTRACT THE OPIUM HABIT AND ASIATICS DO.

13. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not, why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?

Europeans do not contract the opium habit in any numbers. Only two of the witnesses (Messrs. Swettenham and Miller) have mentioned cases of European opium-smokers among their own acquaintances. I myself can remember three, one of whom abandoned the habit after a year's trial. He described it as quite incompatible with European manners. The recumbent position requires the adoption of Oriental dress of some kind, for nothing can be more uncomfortable than to lie down for any length of time wearing a pair of tight trousers and ordinary boots or shoes. One of the chief charms of opium-smoking is the social chat which goes on between the occupants of the contiguous couches, but unless the European smoker is a very ardent student of Asiatic languages or manners and customs, he is not likely to enjoy very long the society of the Chinese or Malays with whom he smokes.

Other reasons are named:—Heredity, race, food, associations, and surroundings (Dr. Mugliston); Christianity (Dr. O'Sullivan); the fact that any craving for stimulant is sufficiently supplied by tobacco and alcohol (Penny, Lister, Swettenham, Lamont, Ellis, Vermont, and Kynnersley); and the love of Englishman for an active life (Gentle, Kerr).

In the case of Asiatics, the following are suggested as predisposing causes for addiction to opium:—Heredity (O'Brien); belief in its medicinal virtues (O'Brien and Chew Sin Yong); race peculiarities and temperaments

and easy access to the article (Lamont); want of healthy means of amusement (Vermont). Some or all of these might be suggested as reasons for indulgence on the part of Europeans in alcohol or tobacco.

HABIT, HOW AND WHY COMMENCED.—OPIUM AS A PROPHYLACTIC.

14. How are opium consumers led to use the drug? Do they usually or often take it in the first instance to allay physical pain? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria? Or is it so regarded commonly by any Asiatic race with which you are conversant?

The prevailing causes, in the majority of cases, for the commencement of opium-smoking are example, the sociable man easily dropping into the ways of his friends, and a belief—very wide-spread among Chinese—in the medicinal virtues of the drug. The influence of example and desire for sociability is spoken of by at least a dozen of the witnesses, and it is easily intelligible that a man who is brought up among, or thrown into the society of persons who habitually smoke opium with apparent gratification to themselves, soon makes the experiment himself, and adopts the habit.

The opium habit may also commence during the illness, where opium pills have been recommended by friends or native physicians to allay pain.

The action of opium on the generative organs (Dr. Ellis) encourages a belief in its aphrodisiac virtues (Koh Seang Tat, Hare, Kerr, Clifford, Shellabear), and this may account for the commencement of the habit in a comparatively small number of cases.

Rightly or wrongly, the faith of the Chinese in the medicinal virtues of opium is great. It is, to a very considerable portion of the community, a necessity of life, and any political action which would deprive them of it would be regarded in the light of cruel oppression. It is a fact that the larger portion of the labouring population believe it to be necessary to them both to stimulate them to energy in their daily occupations and to ward off attacks of illness when they are working in unhealthy situations. The tin miners of Perak and Selangor and the gambier and popper planters in the interior of Johor are, perhaps from the arduous nature of their work and the conditions of their exile to remote places, greater consumers of opium than any class of labourers in the colony.

It is more important to ascertain whether opium is generally believed in by our Asiatic population as a prophylactic against certain diseases, than to know whether scientific men accord any support to such a belief. Taking the medical witnesses first, Dr. Haviland (fourth witness) does not regard opium as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, nor does he believe that its influence on disease is to any extent the cause of its consumption amongst Chinese. Dr. Brown (11th witness) says that opium may be looked upon as a prophylactic against malaria, but declines to speak as to rheumatism. He is inclined to believe that it is useful against the effects of chills, catarrh, diarrhoea, &c., and has very strong proofs of its efficacy in preventing seizures in the case of the last-named disease. Dr. Kerr (18th witness) speaks of the use of opium to allay the pain of chronic rheumatism, and reports that the Sikhs, who serve as policemen in this colony, regard it as a prophylactic against malaria. Dr. O'Sullivan (27th witness) gives no opinion of his own. He has not heard that Chinese regard opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever, and finds that smokers profess to have taken to the habit to relieve cough or rheumatic pain. Dr. Ellis (28th witness) says that he has had no experience as to the prophylactic powers of opium, but testifies that the majority of Chinese here regard it in that light as to malarial and bowel complaints, and also as being an aid to digestion. Dr. Mugliston (35th witness) is informed by those capable of judging that it is a prophylactic against malaria and diseases associated with planting and jungle-workers.

As to the belief of the Chinese themselves in opium as a prophylactic against various diseases, many witnesses have given evidence. The diseases named are the following:—

Malaria and fever	Gan Ngoh Bee. Meyer. Lister. Chew Sing Yong. Miller. Swettenham. Dr. Brown. Traicher. Dr. Kerr. Anderson. Dr. Ellis. Dato Mantri. Vermont. Hare. Kynnersley Dr. Mugliston.
Rheumatism	Gan Ngoh Bee. Chew Sin Yong. Dr. Kerr. Birch. Dr. O'Sullivan. Vermont. Chew Sin Yong. Swettenham. Dr. Brown.
Bowel complaints	Clifford. Birch. Dr. Ellis. Dr. Mugliston.
Cough, chills, catarrh, consumption, &c.	Chew Sing Yong. Dr. Brown. Birch. Dr. O'Sullivan.
Beri-beri	Hare.

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The Straits.

One Chinese witness (Mr. Koh Seang Tat) says: "Opium is not taken in this colony as a protection or relief from fever, rheumatism, or malaria, nor is it regarded by the Chinese, useful in any such cases"; and another (Mr. Seah Liang Seah) says: "To my knowledge opium is not prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria."

DESIRE ON THE PART OF CONSUMER FOR FREEDOM FROM THE OPIUM-HABIT.

15. Do opium consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?

The question is whether there is generally a longing on the part of the opium-consumer to rid himself of the tyranny of a bad habit. As to this the evidence is very conflicting. Six witnesses (Dr. Kerr, Sheikh Yusuf, Koh Seang Tat, Shellabear, Seah Liang Seah, and Dr. O'Sullivan) answer in the affirmative, and four others (Miller, O'Sullivan, Kynnersley, and Dr. Mugliston) in the negative. The other witnesses qualify their answers in some way or other. It is an undoubted fact that there is a demand for a "cure" for the opium-habit, and this demand would not exist were there not a desire on the part of some smokers to give up the habit. I agree with those witnesses (Messrs. Gan Ngoh Bee, Lister, Chew Sin Yong, Meyer, Wray, Gentle, Anderson, Lamont, and O'Brien) who think that this desire is to be found only among those who exceed, and not among moderate smokers, who indeed need seldom have reason for it. Malay opium-smokers, when they find it desirable to rehabilitate their characters among their coreligionists (Swettenham) or to reduce their expenses (Clifford) often desire freedom, and inquire for a cure. So Chinese, from an impression that excess in opium is doing them harm, or from fear of losing self-control in its use, or from the necessity for retrenchment, or from other reasons, may desire to get rid of the habit, and that under such circumstances opium-smokers do give effect to their wishes is easily susceptible of proof. But that there is any general desire on the part of the great bulk of opium-smokers for "freedom" I do not for one moment believe. There need be no desire for freedom where no slavery exists, and no slavery is established except in the case of those who exceed, and these are, fortunately, a small minority.

HOSTILITY AGAINST ENGLAND ENGENDERED BY ALLOWING EXPORT OF OPIUM FROM INDIA.

16. Is there among any Asiatic race in your colony a feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India? If so, how does that feeling display itself?

There is absolutely no such feeling in any Asiatic race in the colony. This is the opinion of 29 witnesses

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out of 32 who have answered this question. Probably very few of the consumers have any kind of information as to the place or manner of the production of opium, or connect England in any way with its distribution.

Three witnesses (Evans, Lamont, and Ellis) trace a feeling of injury in an educated few, who have perhaps imbibed the special prejudices of a class of European thinkers or writers, and as regards Malays, one witness (Shellbear) speaks of indignation on the part of some at the thought of the use of opium being spread among their race by Chinese influence. This is, however, a separate question altogether.

That a real feeling of hostility would be aroused against England, or the Colonial Government representing England in these parts, if there were any interference with the import of opium is the opinion of several (Haviland, Lister, Meyer, Hüttenbach), and having had personal experience of a serious rising (necessitating resort to fire-arms to repress it) on the part of Chinese in consequence of a threatened excise measure in Perak which would have made chandu dear, I entirely agree with this prognostication.

Two witnesses (Dr. Ellis, Hare) think that, as it is, the Chinese consider that the inhabitants of the colony are hardly treated by having opium so heavily taxed by Government.

GENERAL REMARKS.

17. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium consumption among the people around you?

Thoughtful observations on the subject of opium-consumption in the Straits Settlements are contributed by Messrs. Swettenham, Gentle, Way, Anderson, Hare, Kynnersley, and O'Brien. To these I do not desire to add much. I believe that a great deal of the prejudice against opium which undoubtedly exists in Europe, where the use of this narcotic has never become general, is founded upon ignorance. It is doubtful, though, if the feeling of horror with which the enemies of opium may regard it is equalled by the feeling of disgust with which a good Mohammedan regards the consumption of pork or intoxicants. *Autre pays autres mœurs.*

Those who live in eastern countries where opium is habitually consumed do not see, to shock and horrify them, the shameful sights which the Asiatic visitor to Europe can see in alcohol-consuming communities. The prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy in India (if such a step can be admitted as possible, even in argument) should be preceded by the abandonment of the cultivation of the vine in Europe and of the manufacture of spirits.

Any Government which should decide to put down the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements would have to suppress by armed force the resistance of the Chinese and to face unpopularity and bankruptcy, while seeing the colony lowered in the estimation of the Asiatic trading public in almost every particular in which it is now superior to surrounding ports.

I believe that life in one of the eastern colonies under the British flag is the freest and safest that a Chinese can enjoy anywhere. It is not merely from a desire to be pleasant to Englishmen that Chinese enlarge on the freedom they enjoy in Singapore and Penang as opposed to the restrictions and disqualifications which meet them in the neighbouring colonies of the French, the Dutch, and the Spanish. Interference with the opium trade would be interference with this freedom; it would disgust those whom we should be professing to benefit, and would directly benefit the commerce and colonies of other European nations.

NATIVE STATES.

18. Please state how far opium consumption is common among the native states around the colony. Do the rulers of those states discourage its use, or do they raise revenue from it? What is the public or general opinion of the native states regarding the drug, its use or abuse, and its effects on the consumers and on the people at large?

As to native states, reference may be made to the evidence of Mr. Swettenham for Perak, Mr. Treacher for Selangor, and Mr. Clifford for Pahang.

Malay rulers do not, in any State that I am acquainted with, discourage the practice of opium consumption.

The sale of the monopoly of the trade in opium is a feature in the fiscal system of every native state. The system is older than British government in the Straits of Malacca.

Public opinion regarding opium in the native states does not differ from that already described as prevailing in the colony, except that among Malays in the native states perhaps more indulgence is shown towards the opium habit than among those in the colony. On the other hand, the consumption of spirits by Mohammedans is probably much more common in the colony than in the native states.

I am of opinion that opium is too cheap in the native states, and that a higher import duty than \$8 a ball might not unreasonably be imposed in the mining districts, though it need not be as high as \$21, the duty imposed in the agricultural district of Negri Sembilau.

WILLIAM MAXWELL,
Colonial Secretary,
Straits Settlements.

Singapore,
February 28th, 1894.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS REGARDING OPIUM CONSUMPTION AND OPIUM REVENUE IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND DEPENDENCIES.

First Witness.—Mr. Gan Ngoh Bee, one of the partners in the Opium Farm, Singapore, a native of the Straits Settlements.

1. Yes. Opium is very commonly consumed by the Chinese, and to a small extent also by the Malays and Siamese in this colony.

2. I think not less than one-third of the adult male Chinese in this colony are opium consumers. It is difficult to risk a conjecture regarding the proportion of the adult male consumers of the Malay and Siamese races, but suffice it to say that the proportion is small.

Women also consume opium to a small extent, but I think children do not.

3. Opium, consumed moderately, is beneficial to the constitution, but when taken in excess produces various ill-effects on its consumers the chief characteristic features being laziness and physical weakness.

I believe the effects are the same on consumers of every race.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke prepared opium, and swallow the dross, the latter method of consumption being stronger in effect than the former.

5. Generally, opium consumers, with a few exceptions, are moderate consumers. Opium consumers who indulge in excess eventually become slaves to the habit.

6. Moderation in the consumption of opium is possible, and is the general rule.

I instance one case in which a man has taken opium for years without harm to himself. One of my Chinese clerks, now aged 65 years, has been addicted to the opium habit since he was 30 years old, but there is nothing to show either in his feature, manners, or habit that he is an opium smoker. I may as well state that his appetite is quite good.

7. Yes. Mining labourers, who from the nature of their vocation live in damp surroundings, generally cannot work without some doses of opium to stimulate them. The effect of the opium habit on the efficiency of all, when taken in moderation, seems to be to stimulate the energy of the brain-worker, and to give relief and comfort to the labourer in the evening after his day's work. If taken in excess, the opium smoker becomes weak and not able to work sustainedly.

8. Comparing the abuses of alcohol and opium, I believe the former is the more harmful of the two evils, for the reason that, while the drunkard generally causes dangers and accidents and boisterously creates disturbances by displaying his physical powers to the injuries of others, the intoxicated opium consumer loses his bodily strength, lies down quietly, and sleeps away the intoxication.

9. The Chinese do not look upon the habit in moderation as degrading or injurious.

The Malays condemn both the opium habit and the alcohol habit.

10. Yes. With much self-denial even confirmed opium smokers of many years' standing can break

themselves of the habit, but only in exceptional cases do moderate consumers break themselves of it, probably because they are better with the drug than without it.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the people would no doubt get the supply from other sources, such as Turkey, Annam, China, &c.

I do not believe opium consumers would resort to alcohol or any narcotic, though a certain proportion might try to cure themselves of the habit.

12. About one-half of this colony's revenue accrues from opium.

If the opium revenue were extinguished, the needful revenue could not be easily supplemented by other new sources of taxation, such as duties on beer, wine, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, and other articles of luxury, &c.

The general public would certainly object to bear the burden of new or increased taxations with a good grace. At present the opium consumer is willing to pay for his luxury because he likes it. The question of making up the deficit is extremely puzzling, and I would rather leave its solution to others more qualified than myself.

13. I think Europeans in this colony do not contract the opium habit because it does not suit their national habits and customs.

14. Probably about 30 per cent. of opium consumers come to it in the first instance from indulging in it in society at the invitation of friends, and 65 per cent. resort to its use through belief in its curative and medicinal qualities.

Opium is commonly believed to allay pain, and is recommended by the Asiatics as a prophylactic against rheumatism and malaria, but not against fever, so far as I know.

15. Very few, if any, moderate consumers wish to cure themselves of the habit, unless they have any special reason, such as poverty, fear of loss of self-control over its use, &c.

16. As far as I am aware, Asiatics in this colony do not evince any feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India.

17. No special remarks.

18. Opium consumption in the native states of the Malay Peninsula is as common as in this colony, if not more so. Rulers of those states do not discourage its use, but, on the contrary, raise a considerable revenue from it.

There opium is generally taken by the mining labourers as a stimulant for work, and as a prophylactic against sickness in mining quarters. The public opinion, as far as I know, of the Chinese people in this colony and in the native states on the effects of opium on its consumers is the same as that given above.

GAN NGOH BEE,
Opium Farmer.

Singapore,
4th December 1893.

Second Witness.—Mr. F. G. Penney, Straits Civil Service; has been 17 years resident in the colony.

1. Opium is consumed largely by the Chinese, and occasionally by Malays; in the latter case usually by well-to-do Malays.

2. It depends on the occupation followed, e.g., miners use it more freely than most other classes. All round, I should say that 20 to 25 per cent. of the Chinese in the colony smoked opium. I have not had personal experience of women and children smoking opium.

3. The physical effect of moderate opium-smoking may be said to be practically *nil* in the majority of cases, just as in the moderate use of tobacco and alcohol; though, of course cases are met with where men have wrecked themselves with opium. In such cases the moral effect would be bad. But, generally speaking, the use of opium does not lead to crime.

4. Consumers *smoke* almost exclusively.

5. The great majority are moderate smokers, as is shown by the physical condition of those using it.

6. Moderation is certainly possible.

8. I should say that the use of alcohol instead of opium among the native races would have immeasurably worse effects.

9. By all but the lower classes of Chinese, I should say it was condemned. The better classes, especially those who come into contact with Europeans, would not like it to be known that they smoked opium.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the Chinese would doubtless obtain it from China, and if this source of supply were closed they would possibly take to the use of "morphia" or some such substitute.

12. I do not know how the colony could raise the needful revenue without opium. The only means would be the imposition of customs dues, which would mean disaster to a free port. The cessation of the opium revenue would, I suppose, mean that it could be freely imported. This would tend, by the lowering of the price, to convert moderate smokers into immoderate users of the drug.

13. Europeans do not contract the habit. They have tobacco and alcohol, which are the racial stimulants or sedatives, just as opium is of the Chinese. It is merely a question of the "form" of the means of satisfying a world-wide craving.

16. I have never heard of any such feeling.

FRED. G. PENNEY,

Senior District Officer,

Province Wellesley.

December 5th, 1893.

Third Witness.—Mr. W. Evans, Straits Civil Service, Assistant Protector of Chinese; has been 11 years resident in the colony or in China.

1. I can only answer for the Chinese. Opium is commonly consumed by them in this colony.

2. I should say that 50 per cent. of the adult Chinese consume opium, but I have no statistics.

Very few women consume opium.

No children.

3. I have observed no moral effects of moderate opium-smoking on the consumers. Of course when indulged in to excess the consumer becomes perfectly untrustworthy and cannot be believed in any way. I have observed exactly the same effect produced on an Englishman who was a victim to the morphia habit.

The physical effect manifests itself outwardly in yellow shrunken skin, thin cadaverous appearance, and general debility. I refer to opium taken to excess.

I have observed no social effects. Well-known opium-smokers appear to hold social positions equally as good as non-smokers.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium. When, however, the consumer finds that he can no longer afford to smoke, he makes a decoction of opium, which is much cheaper, and which has the same effect of staving off the craving and relieving the unpleasant effects (such as running at the nose, looseness of the bowels, &c.) consequent on a delayed dose.

Opium is occasionally eaten when the circumstances are such that smoking cannot be indulged in.

No.

5. No. The majority of consumers are moderate consumers.

6. No.

During the years 1884-85, which I spent in China studying the Amoy dialect, I spent about 10 or 12 months up-country, in different parts of the district. I was always accompanied by my teacher—Mr. Liau, an old man of 70. He was to my knowledge a constant opium-smoker, but during the two years in which he worked with me I never once had to complain of irregularity of attendance or of neglect of work. He informed me that, being in his father's shop, he began to smoke with the customers when he was about 20 years old. It soon became a habit and he continued until he was about 30 years old, when, being engaged as teacher to a missionary on the understanding that he must be a non-smoker, he gave up the habit without any difficulty for three or four years. When his engagement terminated, he again took to smoking, and had continued the habit until I knew him, when he was about 70 years old. He was clear-headed, active and an admirable teacher, and apparently a much better man than the average Chinese at 70 years of age.

During these same years I frequently visited a little village, Soan Sia, about 90 miles up the river from Amoy. While there I made the acquaintance of the Mandarin in charge of the salt revenue at the neighbouring town of . . . and frequently visited him and accepted the hospitality of his house. He was a constant opium-smoker, I myself having seen him smoke pipe after pipe and immediately rise and come

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out walking with me. He was a man of about 40 years old, and the finest specimen of a Chinese that I have ever seen. He stood about 6 feet high and was broad and well set up. He had a son of 16 who was growing up on exactly the same lines as his father. I asked him if he would allow his son to smoke. He said "not till he is 21, and then he may if he likes." The effect of four or five pipes of opium on this gentleman was not to produce the drunken stupor depicted in novels and elsewhere, but, on the contrary, they appeared to act like a tonic, and endue him with fresh energy, physical and mental.

7. The majority of outdoor labourers, such as rikisha coolies, estate labourers, and godown coolies smoke opium after their day's work.

Amongst the better class of merchants, particularly the Straits-born, smoking is the exception, though the smaller shopkeepers are more addicted to it.

The artisans, too, as a rule do not smoke. Exceptions, however, are to be found, e.g., goldsmiths are generally opium-smokers, bricklayers and house-builders working by the job, too, are frequently smokers.

The general effect of this, when in moderation, seems to be greater efficiency. To the labourer it brings relief after fatigue, to the merchant greater acuteness.

8. I have had very little opportunity of studying the effects of alcohol on the Chinese, as it is very rarely taken by them to excess.

9. Opium-smoking is looked on with disfavour by the Chinese, though a smoker is not in any way ostracised.

An opium-smoker is considered less reliable than a non-smoker, e.g., a man would be unwilling to marry his daughter to an opium-smoker without compensating advantages. Smoking to excess is considered injurious by Chinese.

It seems to me that the Chinese have more contempt for a drunkard than for an opium-smoker, though I have had very few opportunities of noticing the abuse of alcohol among Chinese, as it is unusual.

10. Yes. Of course the longer the habit of opium-smoking has continued the less likely it is to be given up, owing, no doubt, to greater necessity for it medicinally and to an increased weakness of purpose which will prevent the smoker really making the attempt.

I might instance my teacher in Amoy, Mr. Liao, who after some years' smoking gave it up for a time in order to procure a situation.

11. The Chinese would no doubt obtain a supply of opium from elsewhere. Perhaps a few of the Straits, born Chinese might take to champagne or brandy, but it would be a very small proportion.

12. —

13. Not in the Straits Settlements.

14. Opium is frequently taken in the first instance to allay physical pain. It is also taken occasionally by way of being sociable, e.g., when visiting a brothel with friends, or when in charge of a business a pipe is offered to a customer to facilitate the transaction, and the merchant himself smokes out of politeness.

I do not think opium is regarded a prophylactic against fever, &c. It is taken occasionally medicinally, but it does not appear to me that its regular use is considered a prevention of any illness.

15. Yes; in a feeble kind of way, and they no doubt would be able to do so if they had sufficient strength of mind. The late inquiry in Hong Kong as to the use of morphia injections proves that a large number of persons wish to get rid of the habit of opium-smoking, though a large majority will no doubt be content to substitute the "morphia habit."

16. Not among the Chinese, except perhaps a few who have been educated at our schools, and have been taught that England is to blame for the introduction of opium to China.

These few conceal their feelings, and do not display them in any way.

17. No.

18. I have never resided in the native states.

W. EVANS,

Assistant Protector of Chinese.

6th December 1893.

Fourth Witness.—Mr. G. D. Haviland, M.B., M.R.C.S. Curator, Raffles Museum; formerly Medical Officer, Sarawak.

1. By Chinese commonly, by Malays uncommonly.

2. Women to a small extent.

3. When taken in moderation not much effect. When taken in excess very bad, the consumers then lose all self-respect, are much more given to deceiving and stealing, they are unable to attend to their affairs, lose their appetites, and often the means of getting food; they become miserable objects.

They do not, however, cause so much crime and injury to others as those who take alcohol in excess.

I have no personal knowledge of opium consumption amongst Malays. I have seen a few opium consumers in England, and the effect on Chinese seems less injurious than on Europeans, but Chinese habit and conditions of life are so different from those of Europeans that it is difficult to compare the mere effects of the opium.

In particular, a Chinaman is not going against the strong opinion of all his fellows in taking opium, whereas a European is so, and if he takes it must either not have much self-respect to begin with, or must soon lose it, independently of the actual effects of the drug.

4. Smoke and eat, very seldom drink a decoction.

5. The majority do not become "opium-sots"; the majority remain moderate consumers.

6. Incorrect.

My knowledge of the effect of opium on Chinese is chiefly derived from my experience as principal medical officer at Sarawak, which post I held for a little less than two years, the conditions at Sarawak being identical in this matter with those at Singapore. Although I then went into the history of some of the patients carefully, I could not give detailed description of any case extending over several years. The number of patients in the hospital who were suffering in any way from the effect of opium was very small compared with those who were in for other reasons, and in the habit of taking opium.

7. —

8. I have not seen any Chinaman suffering from permanent ill-effect of too much alcohol; the temporary influence of too much alcohol on Chinamen seems different from the influence on the majority of Europeans.

9. I believe it is generally regarded as degrading, certainly a Chinese servant would try and hide from a European master that he took opium.

10. Some opium consumers can break themselves of the habit, if they are moderate consumers.

11. They would surely get opium or some nearly allied narcotic from elsewhere if they could. They would hardly take alcohol as a substitute for opium, but if the opium habit were extinguished, the alcohol habit would probably increase.

12. —

13. Europeans do not, as a rule, adopt Chinese habits, nor the opium habit in particular.

14. Opium certainly seems more suited to Chinese than to European constitutions.

Opium consumption having once become customary amongst a number, others would be sure to try it.

The present method of letting opium farms gives a strong inducement to the farmer to push the sale of the drug.

I do not think that Chinese often take it in the first instance to allay pain. I have never known Chinese, as I have English patients, pretend to be in pain to get opium given them, though I have known them leave the hospital when not allowed to smoke opium.

I do not regard opium as a prophylactic against the diseases mentioned, nor do I think its influence on disease is to any extent the cause of its consumption amongst Chinese.

15. I have several times been applied to by Chinamen for medicine to cure them of their opium habit.

16. With the exception of a few educated Chinamen, the Asiatics would not consider the matter at all.

Feeling of hostility amongst Asiatics is generally reserved for acts of commission. Hostility would show itself amongst the opium consumers against England if she took active steps to prevent them buying opium. It

would probably also show itself against the Government if it collected the opium tax itself directly instead of indirectly through the opium farmer.

17. No.

G. D. HAVILAND, M.B., M.R.C.S.,
Curator, Raffles Museum.

Raffles Library and Museum, Singapore,
December 6th, 1893.

Fifth Witness.—Hon. Martin Lister, British Resident, Negri Sembilan; for nine years in the service of the native states; previously a planter in the native states.

1. Opium is used by Chinese. More by miners than planters. Miners probably 80 per cent. Planters possibly 40 per cent. Only about 5 per mille of Malays use it. Other Asiatics possibly the same per-centage as Malays.

2. As above. Women consume very little, children do not.

3. Opium tends in no way to immorality, quite the contrary. Physically, a heavy smoker becomes thin, but I have seen heavy opium-smokers in usual condition. I believe it to be a valuable febrifuge. The ordinary smoker is strong, and works well. Socially, it may be annoying to the heavy consumer, but not to the ordinary one. I cannot tell the difference in effect on the races. Probably the effect is less felt by the Chinese.

4. They chiefly smoke. The very poor eat opium-dross. I have seen concoctions by Chinese, but these are said to be used medicinally. As there is so little eating and drinking of opium, I do not think that the effects could be analysed.

5. Possibly 5 per cent. become what is termed "opium-sots," but I have never seen a heavy opium-smoker whom I could thus describe. He is always able to carry on his business, travel and walk considerable distances. I know many who are 60 years old and upwards. The large majority is of moderate consumers.

6. Quite incorrect. It is altogether the exception. Certainly (*see above*). I am unable to give the details.

7. The Chinese do in all classes. As far as I can judge, it is quite harmless, and interferes very little with their calling—not more than a pipe of tobacco after meals.

8. Among such races, opium is, in my opinion, far preferable to alcohol. I might even say that if opium was smoked by all races, it would be far preferable to the use of alcohol.

9. By the Chinese in this state it is not condemned, except when it is used immoderately. Only the rich can use it so, and it is thought to be a pity by others when so used. It is far preferable to immoderate alcohol, which is much condemned by Chinese. The Malays condemn opium as they condemn alcohol, being Mohammedans.

10. Yes.

11. I should say for the time it would be disastrous to the consumers in the same way as if salt was cut off. They would certainly supply themselves from elsewhere if available. If not, they would doubtless take to something else, probably something far worse—alcohol, narcotics, and immorality. They would not abstain altogether.

12. About one-third. No. The State Council would decline altogether to extinguish the opium revenue, unless forced to do so by the Imperial Government. To make up the deficit it would have to be in import duties on all merchandise, and on land, and the gravest discontent would be found amongst all classes.

13. No. They probably drink more and smoke stronger tobacco, and a great deal more of it.

Probably because they do not drink.

14. I think in this state very often as a febrifuge.

In some cases possibly to soothe pain. It is used against fever and malaria. I do not know about rheumatism, but I should say it was most probable.

15. Not moderate smokers.

16. None whatever. The hostility would be very great if the opium revenue was extinguished, and the deficit had to be made up by other taxation.

MARTIN LISTER,

British Resident, Negri Sembilan.

Kuala Pilah,

7th December 1893.

Sixth Witness.—Mr. Chew Sin Yong, J.P., Opium Farmer, Penang; a native of Penang.

1. Opium is more generally and more extensively consumed by the Chinese residents in the colony. The Malays and other Asiatic races consume very little in proportion, as only very few amongst them indulge in the drug.

2. The proportion of Chinese adult males is about 20 per 100 of the population, and the rest about one per 100.

No women of any class are known to consume opium except in rare and exceptional cases. No children at all have anything to do with opium.

3. Opium moderately taken, as is done by the better classes of Chinese, has not been observed to produce any effect, whether for good or evil, either morally, physically or socially; on the contrary, a very considerable number of persons who have had some experience of the subject are of opinion that those who use opium moderately and systematically have clear heads and keen memory, and they are equal to a great deal of physical and hard work. As regards consumers of other races, it is difficult to arrive at a correct decision, because Malays and any other Asiatic race in the colony do not use as much opium as the Chinese do, hence no distinction can be drawn.

4. Chinese, as a rule, always smoke opium; they would not take it in any other form, except when pressed by necessity from want of suitable accommodation for smoking; the Malays and other Asiatic races generally take it in the form of pills. Opium is taken in the form of a decoction by boiling the opium skin or leaves, with which the balls are wrapped, in water. This is used by coolies who are engaged in opening up new land in the interior, and are subject to attacks of beri-beri. No distinction can be made as regards the effects of smoking and drinking opium at the same time, as it would depend entirely on the quantity used, some people can take more than others without any harm.

5. The majority of opium consumers do not become slaves to the drug, as they never exceed a reasonable limit. Only the few amongst the lower classes who continue indulging recklessly without any consideration. As regards the rest, it may be safely stated that they are moderate consumers.

6. It is not at all correct to say that "there cannot be such a thing as 'moderation' in the consumption of opium," for the large majority of consumers of all races in the colony are moderate consumers. I have known of many cases who have taken their opium for years without any harm whatever to themselves. In several cases I have known of men who continued to take opium for more than 20 years without experiencing any difficulty in the conduct of their business—they dealt very largely in shipping and other trade, and enjoyed always strong and robust health.

7. Only a small proportion of merchants of any Asiatic race consume opium. Even amongst labourers and artisans the majority do not take any opium. The efficiency of their calling is in no way affected or interfered with by the opium habit.

8. As far as my experience and observations go, I believe that the use or abuse of opium amongst Asiatic races compares most favourably with the use or abuse of alcohol, for in the one case the rotaries are almost altogether free from any evil consequences, while those addicted to the use or abuse of alcohol are subject to and suffer in one way or another from the ill-effects of alcohol.

9. In the opinion of the Chinese, the opium habit is not reckoned as degrading or injurious. I believe, however, that amongst the better and respectable classes of Malays and other Asiatic races they hold it in that light. Such races would consider the opium habit very much less injurious and degrading than the alcohol habit.

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The Straits.

APP. XXV.

10. Yes, all those who desire to break from the opium habit can, and do so without much difficulty. A determination on their part to become free will enable them to resist the temptation.

11. If the supply of Indian opium be struck off, the habitual consumers of that drug residing in this colony will anyhow find means to procure what they want from elsewhere, either by smuggling it from the neighbouring Malayan States or by purchase. They will not, especially the Chinese, take to alcohol as a substitute, for they know that it will not act as a satisfactory substitute for opium, and besides alcohol is open to certain objections which opium is not. There are no narcotics that consumers of opium are aware of except certain expensive preparations of that drug, which are beyond their reach. The other narcotic the Chinese know of is bang and its preparations. They will not have anything to do with it, owing to the dangers it is surrounded with. The low classes of Malays and Indians may take to bang, as they are now indulging in it, but I cannot say that they would do so as a substitute for opium. I cannot say whether or not consumers of opium will abstain from its use altogether, as it will not be easy for a great many of them to do so.

12. The revenue accruing to the colony from the opium and spirit farms of Penang, which are leased together, is at present \$852,000 per annum. If the opium revenue be abolished, the colony will absolutely have no other resources to raise the needful revenue, otherwise to carry on the business of the Government. The people would be displeased and protest against being called upon to provide for the deficit if the opium revenue be removed.

13. I am not aware of any Europeans residing in Penang having contracted the opium habit. I cannot assign any reason for it beyond suggesting that it may be against their customs and habits. The Asiatics contract the habit from their youth from various causes. In the case of many of them, it is recommended by way of medicine, and they acquire a liking for it and continue using it.

14. Chinese opium consumers are led to use the drug in various ways. For instance, a man may call at his friend's house who is an opium smoker, and may be offered a whiff of the pipe. He may take it during his visits for a few days, acquire a taste and liking for opium. Others, again, are recommended by their medical attendants to take opium for the cure of dysentery, diarrhoea, consumption, &c., and thus contract the habit. Many of those who come to the colony from China are already opium consumers, and on their arrival here they continue to use opium. In China the use of opium is very general, and it is considered a mark of respect to offer the opium pipe to the visitors or customers who call at a friend's house or shop. The Chinese, and even Malays and Asiatics, very often take opium to allay physical pain. I know to a certainty that opium is extensively used by the large number of people employed in cutting down jungle and opening newland in the interior, as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, malaria, and certain other ailments which they become liable to by reason of their long residence in the locality. They have great confidence in the efficacy of opium to cure them and give them relief. I believe the Asiatics also regard it in the same light.

15. It is very seldom for any moderate consumers to desire to get free, except in cases where they are short of funds or pressed by any other special circumstances.

16. There is not the slightest feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India to this colony; on the contrary, they are grateful to the Government for the facilities and convenience at present enjoyed by them.

17. None of any consequence.

18. It cannot be stated exactly how far opium consumption is common among the native states, but there is no doubt that a considerable quantity is used by them. The use of opium in those states is not discouraged by their rulers; on the contrary, a large revenue is annually raised by them.

CHEW SIN YONG.

Penang, 9th December 1893.

Seventh Witness.—Mr. Koh Seang Tai, merchant and estate owner, Penang; formerly opium farmer; Municipal Commissioner, Penang; a native of Penang.

1. Opium in the form of chandu is commonly used by the Chinese of this colony, but not by any other Asiatic race except in a very small degree, and then only by Malays.

2. I cannot form an estimate of the proportion of males, but only few women and no children use opium or chandu.

3. My observation of the effects of the use of chandu convinces me that (when used to any considerable extent) the consumer becomes worthless morally, physically, and socially. The demoralisation is the first effect, and is in fact also the first object of using chandoo, the consumption of which gives no pleasure to beginners, who use it to increase the desire for sexual intercourse. After becoming confirmed consumers, they lose that desire almost wholly, and become slaves of the drug, which leads to their complete ruin.

4. In the beginning, all consumers smoke chandu. In the case of rich people, that form of consumption is adhered to, but in the case of the poor (most of whom become poorer in consequence of using the drug) smoking gives place to eating, not chandu, but the refuse of smoked chandoo, which is returned by consumers to the farmers, who sell it to the poor for a price which reimburses them and leaves a profit. The refuse (usually termed dross) is very seldom drunk with water, but the eating of it is common. The difference in the effect is that the eating of the dross ruins more rapidly than the smoking of prepared chandu.

5. Not the majority, but all consumers I have ever known, go on, and after a time become "opium-sots." There seems to be no possibility of moderation, but an ever-increasing desire and a proportionate increase in the consumption by, and demoralisation of, each consumer.

6. The answer to Question 5 applies to this.

7. Not the majority, but a large portion of the business men, artisans, and unskilled labourers, consume chandu. In the case of business men, the effect does not appear to impair their mental energy or clearness of thought, but the habit of consuming chandu makes them prefer smoking to working, so that often duties are delegated to juniors that would be attended to by a non-smoking principal, but at the same time it appears, that with fewer hours' work, a smoker can on an average do as much brainwork as the non-smoker can. Skilled labourers smoke after meals. The effect on their physical energy seems to sustain them between each meal hour; at the end of such a period their energies fall away, but are renewed again by smoking the drug after the meal. In the case of the labourers, who carry heavy weights, they carry in their pockets or purses chandoo dross, a portion of which they eat about half-an-hour before beginning work, and thereby have their impaired energies renewed for a few hours.

8. Few Chinese abuse alcohol, and I do not know of any case of demoralisation in the colony through the use of it. I have not observed the effect of alcohol on the other Asiatic races.

9. The consumption of opium is certainly considered both injurious and degrading, not merely by the Chinese generally, but by all of them, consumers themselves not excepted, for though they cannot stop the habit, they admit the evil.

As in this colony the use of alcohol has not demoralised the settlers, the habit of using it is not regarded as improper.

10. I know of hundreds who have tried, but I have never known or heard of one who succeeded.

11. I believe opium consumers would adopt any course to obtain their favourite drug, because present experience shows that opium-smokers—rich and poor alike—resort to theft, forgery, and all manner of lying in order to obtain a supply of chandoo when, either from want of money or stoppage of allowances, the supply of chandoo is cut off, and I therefore think, that it would be necessary to rigidly guard against smuggling, if the stoppage is to effect any good.

12. My information is, that the revenue returned this year on account of opium averages:—

	\$
Singapore - - - -	94,000 per month.
Penang - - - - -	51,000 "
And Malacca, say, - - -	9,000 "
Approximate monthly average	\$154,000

I believe the colony can raise that sum otherwise, but as to the best manner of raising it, that could, I think, be deduced from the facts which would be brought out by a careful inquiry into the nature of imports and exports, as also the articles consumed by the settlers. It may, however, be pointed out that, assuming the stoppage of the opium traffic would involve the institution of a new staff of officials, and so render it necessary to raise not only \$154,000 per month, but the cost of the new establishment as well, then probably \$164,000 per month would cover what would be necessary, but, on the other hand, the new staff could at the same time attend to the matters bearing on the revenue from spirits, and as by the stoppage of the use of the opium drug it may be expected that the consumption of spirits would be increased, there would probably be a large increase in the revenue on that account alone. In any event, it is known that the present revenue of the colony from spirits is, roundly, \$43,000 per month, that is at 75 cents per gallon, and if the duty were increased to \$1.50 per gallon, as has been suggested by His Excellency the Acting Governor, there would be at least an increase of \$43,000 derived from that source, leaving \$121,000 to be made up, a sum representing less than 30 dollar cents per month per head of the population, and which could probably be obtained from the other sources indicated. The people would certainly object to the new taxes—Europeans and Asiatics alike—for most of them are not at present able to bear any considerable drag, but when they realized that the object was a good one, which, besides saving a people from ruin, would result in a great decrease in crime and greater efficiency of the workers, while the whole burden would not be felt locally, I believe all would agree to the new taxes.

13. People of the European race in this colony do not consume opium. "Why not?" is a question I cannot answer.

14. Most consumers are led to use the drug from a belief that it will lead to pleasure as explained in answer to Question 3. Others drift into the habit accepting the hospitality of opium concerning friends, just as it is said some Europeans are led into the use of alcohol. Opium is not taken in this colony as a protection or relief from fever, rheumatism, or malaria, nor is it regarded by the Chinese as useful in any such cases.

15. The desire appears to be constant, but along with it there seems to be a conviction that they are powerless to free themselves.

16. Among the thinking portion of the Chinese it is felt that England is too good a nation to engender a feeling of hostility among any except rivals, and as besides the Chinese in this colony quite understand the just intentions of the Imperial Government, there is no probability of a hostile feeling being created among the Chinese towards England, but it is felt that the opium traffic is a stain on the fair fame of the British people, and that owing to her power in the matter it is England's duty to mankind to efface that stain if it be within the limits of possibility to do so.

17. None, except that it will be to the advantage of the whole if the opium traffic can be entirely stopped.

18. Most of my knowledge of native states affairs come to me at second hand, and though I have no doubt that it is quite reliable, yet I think it better to leave these questions to be answered by those who frequently see things as they are in the states.

Edinburgh House, Penang, KOH SEANG TAT.
11th December 1893.

Eighth Witness.—Mr. James Miller, J.P., partner, Messrs. Gillilan, Wood, & Co.; 25 years resident in the Straits Settlements.

1. By Chinese commonly. To a small extent by Malays and Asiatics.

2. Of Chinese, at least 75 per cent. Of Malays, perhaps 10 per cent. Women and children none.

3. Taken in moderation it has no apparent effect, and what effect it has is probably beneficial. In excess it

makes a man neglectful of his work, dreamy, and silent; he grows pale and thin; he is less inclined to social intercourse. Malays are more affected than Chinese in the few cases when they take it.

4. I should say smoke, but I cannot speak with confidence.

5. No. The majority are moderate consumers.

6. It is not correct. I know many cases where men have taken opium for years without apparent harm to themselves. A Chinese servant of mine has, to my knowledge, smoked opium since 1868; occasionally I have noticed him to be slightly dreamy and stupid, but he is active, intelligent, and thoroughly trustworthy. He is a Cantonese. I have almost daily dealings with a trader who smokes regularly every day, and has done so for years, who is one of the best business men among the Hokkien Chinese in Singapore, and I could give many other similar instances that have come under my observation.

7. Practically all the Chinese coolies, fewer of the artisans, and only a limited number of merchants.

The Chinese coolie, after a hard day's work, is enabled, by the use of opium, to enjoy more refreshing sleep, and arise more invigorated the following morning, than he would without the use of it. This is what coolies tell me.

I have already stated that the traders who smoke opium that I have known, are not affected in the efficiency of their calling.

8. There is less tendency among the races where opium is used to abuse the drug than to abuse alcohol, and the abuse of opium does not manifest itself in anything like so objectionable a manner. Further, while a drunkard is frequently given to immorality and crime, a man under the influence of opium is never so inclined.

9. An "opium-sot" is regarded among Asiatic races as we regard a drunkard, but the moderate use of the drug is not considered degrading or injurious.

10. I cannot answer this question from my own knowledge or observation.

11. There would be riots amongst the Chinese coolies. A temporary scarcity has now and then occurred in the native protected states, and riots have always resulted, which have ceased on receipt of supplies. They would certainly not abstain altogether.

12. This question has doubtless been already answered by members of the Legislative Council. I have not got the figures by me.

13. No, I know of no case of Europeans contracting the opium habit. They prefer alcohol.

14. It is regarded as a prophylactic against fever, malaria, &c.

15. Not to my knowledge.

16. None whatever.

17. No.

18. The consumption of opium in the native states and around the colony goes on to much the same extent as in the colony itself. The rulers do not discourage its use further than by taxing the drug heavily, and thereby deriving a revenue from it. The public or general opinion of the native states regarding the drug, its use, &c., is much the same as in the colony.

JAMES MILLER.

Singapore,
19th December 1893.

Ninth Witness.—Mr. Manasseh Meyer, merchant; partner, Meyer Brothers; Municipal Commissioner, Singapore. First visited the Straits in 1862, and has been permanently established in Singapore since 1873.

1. Opium is consumed by Chinese and some of the other Asiatic races. I am not aware that Malays consume it, except some Javanese.

2. About 30 per cent. of the Chinese adult males, and 5 per cent. of the natives of Bengal and its north-western provinces, consume opium. As to women, I have made several inquiries, and find that the habit amongst that sex is entirely confined to an ill-famed class of Chinese only; no children of any race consume it.

3. The effect of opium on consumers:—

Moral.—They seem to me are very quiet and law-abiding people.

APP. XXV.

Physical.—On Chinese as smokers of opium it is rather detrimental when taken in excess. No bad effect on Indian consumers is perceptible.

Social.—They are less social.

4. Chinese chiefly smoke, artisans (Chinese) during the day drink a decoction of opium, other Asiatic race eat it; the effect on the whole is hardly noticeable in moderation.

5. A considerable proportion of opium consumers are moderate in their use of the drug, but those who use it in excess are slaves to it.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in opium. I know of a man named Nassim Reuben (who left India a few years ago for his native land in Turkish Arabia), who had been a habitual eater of opium for about 30 years, and he did not increase the dose during the period, nor did it do him any harm; on the contrary, he declared its use to be greatly beneficial.

7. There are certain classes of labourers and artisans, the majority of whom do consume opium.

The rikisha and coal coolies, miners, bricklayers, hawkers, and painters claim that they cannot be efficient in their calling without its use. The sudden changes in the temperature, say from 150° to 80°, and *vice versa*, are conducive to the habit among this class. Of other labourers and merchants, only a small percentage use opium.

8. The effect of opium on those that use it, as compared with the effect of alcohol upon drinkers amongst the Asiatic races, is that while the former are quiet, calm, and harmless, the latter become quarrelsome and violent.

9. Not amongst the Chinese who come from China, but amongst the Babas, or Straits-born Chinese, to a certain extent, it is considered degrading.

The fact that the Malays of this colony are not opium consumers goes, I think, to show that they are afraid of acquiring the habit.

10. Yes. Mr. Lim Cheong Sian, of 26, South Canal Road, broke himself of the habit after several years' regular use.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, consumers would supply their wants from elsewhere—China-grown opium, Malwa, Turkish, and Persian.

The stoppage of Indian opium would not prevent consumers obtaining it.

12. About half of the colony's revenue is derived from the use of opium; if the revenue from opium was extinguished, the colony could not possibly raise the needful revenue otherwise, except by direct taxation, while, on the other hand, the use of opium would continue just the same, if not increased. The people would say that Government were unjust and acting unfairly towards the large class who look on it as a necessity, and who are willing to pay for it.

13. I am not aware of any European here who has contracted the habit of smoking opium. Asiatics are more liable to contract the habit, as they believe it to be a necessity in many cases.

14. Opium consumers are led to the habit, partly as a luxury and partly to allay physical pain, and to withstand exposure. Opium, within my knowledge, is a prophylactic against rheumatism, malaria, and its consequences.

15. Those who indulge in it to great excess do desire to get free from it, or at least to reduce the quantity, but those who take it in moderation and for medicinal purposes would not think of leaving off the habit, on the contrary, they recommend its beneficial effects to other sufferers.

16. None whatever. England is not forcing the opium upon the people, but consumers are using and buying it of their own free will. In my opinion, the Asiatic races would, on the whole, be hostile to the opium being stopped, both consumers and non-consumers, the former because of depriving him of his wants, and the latter owing to compensating taxation.

17. Opium consuming in excess is not more injurious than any other intoxicant when taken in excess.

M. MEYER.

10th December 1893.

Tenth Witness.—Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Straits Civil Service, British Resident, Perak; 23 years resident in the Malay Peninsula.*

[N.B.—Except where otherwise stated, these replies refer to the people of the State of Perak, in the Malay Peninsula.]

1. Yes.

2. I can only make a rough guess, but my own view, and that of well-informed natives is that 60 per cent. of the Chinese in this state are opium-smokers; from 5 to 10 per cent. of Malays, and about one-tenth per cent. of Northern Indians eat opium. A very large percentage of Javanese and Buggis (natives of the Celebes) are opium-smokers, probably over 50 per cent. I have even heard it said that 75 per cent. of the adult male Javanese and Buggis smoke opium. About 4 to 10 per cent. of Chinese women are opium-smokers, and perhaps 1 to 2 per cent. of Malay women. Children do not smoke, but Chinese boys begin from 18 and upwards, and Malays from about the same age.

3. The opinion of Chinese on smokers of their own race is that morally they are not injured by it, physically they are only injured after years of the habit, when they are consuming large quantities, while socially there is a prejudice against smokers, though it is stated that the habit sharpens a man's wits. The "prejudice" is that a deal of time is wasted in smoking, that the habit grows on a man, and after years weakens him physically and emasculates him, while he finds it difficult to smoke if travelling, and cannot, therefore, work so hard as a non-smoker. On the other hand, they all maintain that its good effects are wonderful on a man afflicted with almost any ailment, overcome with fatigue of body or mind, or suffering from hunger, and they say when, for the first five to ten years, only small quantities are smoked, the man is physically as strong as, or even stronger than, the non-smoker.

I agree with these views.

As to effects on different races, I can only speak as to Chinese and Malays, and I think the effect on Malays is decidedly worse than on Chinese, because the Malay is naturally indolent, and the smoking of opium makes him more lazy and useless than he would otherwise be. On those who have to work, and work hard—elephant-drivers, for instance—the evil effect is not noticeable, and in some notable instances of smokers who are wealthy men of rank, with practically no work to do, though they have smoked for the greater part of their lives, it would be very difficult to say they have suffered from the habit.

4. Almost invariably they smoke, not opium, but a preparation of opium called chandu, in which there is a very small per-centage of raw opium. One ball of Indian opium is made into 30 tahlil of chandu, and one tahlil is equal to 10 chi or 100 hun. A moderate smoker will only consume from three to ten hun in 24 hours, while a very heavy smoker can manage a tahlil, or even more. The price of five hun of chandu is five cents of a dollar, or three halfpence. Amongst Chinese and Malays opium is hardly ever eaten, except on a journey or under circumstances which make smoking (an elaborate process) difficult or impossible.

I cannot speak to the different effects of smoking or eating opium, because the latter is so rare here; but it seems natural that it would be less deleterious to inhale the smoke of a burning preparation than to eat the same preparation.

What I believe is certain is that the worst form of taking opium is the hypodermic injection of morphia.

5. By far the majority of opium-smokers indulge moderately in the habit; immoderate smokers are the exception. The Chinese say that the wretched, wasted-looking skeletons of men that are occasionally seen are decrepit paupers, who, owing to some infirmity, have been unable to work, and so unable to procure a sufficient supply of opium, and not that their appearance is the result of immoderate use of the drug. That this is correct is highly probable, because it would cost a man 80 cents a day to smoke one tahlil of opium, and the wages of a good Chinese labourer are from 30 to 50 cents a day, the latter being very high, though tin miners can earn even a larger wage.

6. It is not incorrect but absurd to say so, but the general tendency is for a man after five to ten years of the habit to increase the quantity he consumes. Even so he can be moderate.

I know a Chinese who has been in my own employment as cook for 15 years, and he has been an opium-smoker all the time and long before he came to me, and

* For other communications from Perak, see page 346.

I cannot remember that he has ever been off work for a day. He is a very intelligent, respectable man, and always ready to do more work than a European would do if similarly employed.

I have known for nearly 20 years a Malay Raja, who is said to be nearly 80 years of age (a phenomenal age for a Malay), and though he has been an opium-smoker from his youth, and is by far the heaviest smoker I know, he is exceptionally active and intelligent, and no one could tell from his appearance or conversation that he is an opium-smoker.

I know any number of other instances of the same kind, and I certainly also know cases of opium-smokers who are very useless members of society, but some of them I did not know before they took to the habit, and others that I did know were just as useless before they began to smoke opium.

7. Of Chinese labourers, probably a majority. Of Chinese merchants, no. Of Chinese artisans, doubtful.

When smoked in moderation I should say the habit interferes very little, if at all, with their efficiency. In the case of labourers exposed to the weather, malaria, &c., I believe the moderate smoking of opium acts as a preventive against those forms of disease to which they would be most liable.

The labourers and the artisans have fixed hours of work, and their smoking is not allowed to interfere with them, but if the merchant sacrifices to smoking the time that should be given to affairs, no doubt his business will suffer, even though, as Chinese smokers and non-smokers equally maintain, his habit sharpens his intelligence.

8. Malays hardly ever consume alcohol; if they do so in moderation it has no special effect on them, but as it is forbidden by their faith, they certainly lose caste. Opium is also forbidden, but the opium-smoker is regarded with indulgence, while the drinker of intoxicants is distinctly condemned and despised, the more so, of course, if he indulges to excess. A drunkard makes a noise and becomes a nuisance to others; the opium-smoker desires only absolute quiet for the thorough enjoyment of his smoke. Instead of swearing, insulting, or assaulting others, he only thinks and sleeps and dreams. It is under the influence of the opium pipe that a clever Chinese trader often conceives his most successful schemes.

Chinese drink spirits; sometimes, but very rarely, they smoke opium as well. As a rule, the labourers smoke, the shopkeepers and better classes drink. I asked a Chinese headman, a non-smoker, who has been 48 years in this state, and whom I have known for 20 years, why this was. He said, "You cannot give coolies spirits; they would fight and decline to work. People who drink usually want to make a row. No one wants his coolies to fight and make rows, so employers prefer to see them smoke opium. Wealthy Chinese rather like to see their male children take to opium when they begin not too young, say at 18 or 20 years of age; it keeps them at home, and saves them from getting into trouble." That was said to me yesterday.

It is a fact within my own knowledge that many of the Chinese merchants in the Straits drink spirits, and in quantity, and I have heard it said by experienced medical officers that they often shorten their lives by the practice. The Chinese Straits-born women also drink spirits. They may or may not do it to excess—I should be sorry to say that there can be no such thing as moderation in the consumption of spirits by the Chinese because some few within my knowledge have drunk to excess. Racial characteristics count for something: Chinese do things with their whole heart—that is how they make money—and that is how they gamble and sometimes lose it.

9. Asiatic races are more concerned with their own individual business than with the moral obliquity of classes. In 20 years' residence among the Malays and Chinese I have not heard anything like a general condemnation of the use of opium as a degrading habit. I do not think that is the light in which they regard it. They do not think of general effects so much as how certain circumstances affect themselves, their relations, or friends. I never heard the opium habit spoken of in general terms, but if either a Malay or Chinese speaker referring to any one says, "he is an opium-smoker," it is not intended to be a compliment.

The second part of this question I have answered in reply to No. 8. Malays undoubtedly consider it is more degrading to drink intoxicants than smoke opium. The Chinese who themselves habitually drink spirits and do not smoke opium very likely consider the latter

a bad habit, but, as I have already said, they prefer to employ an opium-smoker rather than a man who, in his cups, is likely to give trouble.

10. Yes. I know a celebrated Malay Raja who for over 20 years had been an opium-smoker, but three years ago he broke himself of his habit. Chinese find it more difficult, but say that many do break themselves of the habit with the help of something which is given them at the hospital dispensaries.

In the State prisons opium is forbidden, except to certain patients in the gaol hospital. This compels total abstinence from opium, but most of those who have performed abstained go back to the habit on their discharge from gaol.

11. I put these questions to a very experienced non-smoking Chinese headman. His first answer was, "It cannot be done, it is impossible," and that he repeated over and over again; but I pressed him, and said, "Never mind, suppose the supply is absolutely cut off, what then?" "Then," he said, "the Chinese will follow the opium to wherever they can get it, and you will certainly ruin this country, for all the Chinese, both those who smoke and those who do not, will leave it, for even the non-smokers depend upon the smokers to such an extent that they cannot carry on business without them."

To the Chinaman "business," i.e., the pursuit of money, is the whole duty of man. I speak, of course, of the Chinese emigrant, not of the literary classes, who seem to prefer to stay in China.

As to getting a supply of opium from elsewhere than India, my Chinese friend said they no doubt produced opium in China, but it was a very different article to the Indian preparation, and Chinese smokers accustomed to the other would certainly not have it. He said that what they liked about the Indian opium was its delicate aroma, which the Chinese opium did not possess.

As to exchanging opium for alcohol, he seemed rather astonished at such a suggestion, and said that intoxicants aroused all the worst passions in men. If, however, such an exchange were desired, he said the opium-smokers would not have it, for many Chinese could not stand the burning sensation in their throats caused by swallowing spirits.

At the idea of total abstinence he smiled, and asked me what pleasure in life was to be provided in exchange for the thousands of labourers whose horizon is practically bounded by the mine or the field on which they work, and whose house is a few boards with a protecting roof.

I also consulted a Malay chief, himself an opium-smoker of 20 years' standing. As regards the Chinese, he expressed an opinion identical with that of my Chinese friend. As to himself and other Malay smokers, he said, "We must either have the opium or some medicine that will supply its place."

I hardly think that either of these men realized that it was possible to seriously consider the absolute stoppage of the opium supply.

My own view is that it is a practical impossibility to prevent opium-smokers obtaining opium, that neither Malays nor Chinese (especially the former) would exchange opium for alcohol, but that if any form of missionary enterprise could bring that about the effort could only be regarded as a transcendental crime against millions of people to whom the miseries which follow the drunkard are as yet almost unknown.

Even people who but rarely give way to the use of superlatives must, if they know the East with true knowledge, be appalled at the very idea of millions of Asiatics, with their tempers and in their climate, being urged to the consumption of spirits and other exciting intoxicants in anything like the same proportion that prevails in the West.

It may be said that Eastern people, earning small wages could not afford to buy much spirit. That is true; they could not buy much of the least harmful kinds of spirit, but once implant the taste for drink, and means will be found to procure enough of the cheapest and most poisonous forms of alcohol to spread crime and misery throughout the land.

As to total abstinence from opium, smokers will not be made to abstain as long as the drug can be got. Even though capital punishment were inflicted for smoking opium, it would still be smoked. So much might be said and written on the desire of a section of human beings to impose their wills and opinions on other, and possibly larger, sections of similar beings, that it is better to leave this part of the subject. Only it is well to realise that the consumers of opium are a fairly

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numerous body, and they are not confined to the natives of China. They can probably be counted by millions in India, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Malay Peninsula, and what is known as the Malay Archipelago, and it is certain that they can no more understand why their consumption of opium should be interfered with than the consumption of intoxicants and tobacco, or bread and meat, by the European. To force them to put up with the interference would be a sufficiently difficult task.

12. Perak is not a colony, but a native state. About one-sixth of the revenue is raised from a duty on opium. If that revenue were extinguished by shutting out opium, the general opinion, with which I concur, is that no intelligent form of government could be maintained, for the Chinese would leave the State, and the mines and plantations would be closed. The state would relapse into jungle, with Malay hamlets by the rivers, but their inhabitants would only produce just sufficient for themselves, as there would be no outside demand. The roads and railways would hardly be used, administrative machinery would scarcely be wanted, and the public buildings would fall to pieces.

Not only would there be no opium revenue, but without Chinese there would be none from tin, or, indeed, from almost any other source, and under those circumstances it would certainly be difficult to raise a revenue.

If the Chinese were kept, and the opium revenue abandoned, that is, if the drug were admitted free of duty, and the population generally asked to make good the loss, those who were not opium-smokers would say they did not see why tobacco, or tea, or rice, or salt, or letter-writing for instance, should be taxed in order that opium-smokers might indulge themselves more cheaply. The opium-smokers would probably prefer to pay a duty on the drug rather than be subject to more direct taxation, such as a poll-tax, which once was in force here.

13. No. First, because they have from early years been taught to look upon it as a most vicious and degrading habit. In youth, when bad habits are, perhaps, most often acquired, Europeans have no opportunity of trying this one. By the time they are brought in contact with opium-smokers they are probably themselves tobacco smokers, or moderate or immoderate consumers of some intoxicant, and do not want opium. Besides, it is an indulgence that has little attraction for a European, and the very fact that Chinese and other Asiatics are given to it would set a European against it. To really enjoy opium-smoking means to give to it many hours of the day or night, which Europeans prefer to employ in other ways. Most Europeans, one might almost say all, have other forms of pleasure open to them, even under the most trying conditions of life; but many Chinese have literally no distraction to occupy the hours of leisure between work and sleep, and often they have no money with which to go out and seek amusement, but by the Chinese system their masters will give them opium on account, and they are often glad to do so, because they believe it protects the men from malaria, bowel complaints, and other ailments. I should add that one or two Europeans have told me they had tried opium-smoking to see what it was like, and got from it no sensation whatever.

The above are only some of the reasons why Europeans do not contract the habit of opium-smoking, and why Asiatics are more liable to it. Others may be read between the lines, especially if it be borne in mind that the proportion of Malay smokers in their own country to Chinese smokers, when out of China, is probably not more than as one is to six or ten. I am assured by Chinese that if 50 or 60 per cent. of Chinese labourers in the Malay Peninsula are opium-smokers, 30 to 40 per cent. of them were not smokers when they arrived from China, but have contracted the habit since they left their homes and came under the influence of specially monotonous conditions of work in a trying climate.

14.—I. I have already said how Chinese labourers come to use the drug. The force of example (for there are always some who smoke), the monotony of existence, and the want of something in the shape of pleasurable sensation, the facilities given by Chinese employers for indulgence in this form of excitement rather than any other, such as alcohol, its comparative cheapness, its reputation as a prophylactic and reliever of pain. I have also said that well-to-do Chinese fathers look with an indulgent eye on the contraction of this habit by their sons if they do not begin too young. Chinese women who live with, or are married to, opium-smokers, sometimes adopt the habit to keep the men company.

They also sometimes take to it on the advice of people who tell them it will protect them from sickness and relieve them from pain. Chinese prostitutes are mostly smokers.

Malay women become smokers under similar circumstances. Malay men almost invariably begin when quite young, by smoking a few pipes with friends for "the fun of the thing," and to see what it is like, just as Western boys begin to smoke tobacco.

II. Yes; not, I think, usually, but very often.

III. I do not know that I am entitled to say it is within my knowledge, but many experienced medical men have assured me that such is the case, and I believe it, especially as regards malaria and bowel complaints.

IV. Yes, by all, Chinese, Malays, Indians, and Siamese.

15. Some Chinese do, but they are the exceptions. Of Malays of the Peninsula, I think usually, yes; it is condemned by the Mohammedan religion, which they profess.

16. Emphatically no. I have never heard of such an opinion being expressed by any Asiatic here.

17. Only this, that I consider the Europeans who wish to put down the consumption of opium by Asiatics persistently exaggerate their case. The habit is not, in my opinion, so vicious or degrading as these people represent it to be, and it is a fact that by far the majority of Europeans who are entitled to speak on the subject from personal knowledge do not sympathise with those who are engaged on a crusade against the consumption of opium.

The immoderate use of opium is distinctly hurtful, so is the immoderate use of wine or spirits, or the most excellent food. The most healthy forms of physical exercise, if indulged in to excess, will seriously injure the body, while mental exercise, even religious excitement, may by immoderate indulgence injuriously affect the mind, and possibly develop into mania.

It should not be forgotten that, as I stated in the answer to Question 4, in the preparation of the raw opium to make it into chandu for smoking, the drug is raised to a great heat some three or four times, so that when it is used by the smoker the hurtful properties of the active principle have been reduced by successive boilings, and what remains is burnt in the pipe with fire, and only the smoke is inhaled.

The hospitals in this State are free, and they are largely patronised by the Chinese labouring classes, the majority of whom are opium smokers. I recently called by telegram for a return of the Chinese patients in all the State hospitals at noon on that day, and the result was that, with about 1,000 Chinese patients, just over 50 per cent. of them were opium-smokers. The conclusion to be drawn is that proportionately fewer opium-smokers than non-smokers are obliged to seek the hospital.

In the last annual report of the Principal Civil Medical Officer of the Straits Settlements, it is stated (page 5) that out of 119 cases of poisoning admitted to the colony's hospital during the year 1892, 96 were cases of poisoning by alcohol. At page 19 of the same report there is a "table showing the probable causes, apparent or assigned, of the disorder, in the admissions, discharges, and deaths of the year 1892." The table gives intemperance in drink, 10 cases; opium-smoking, three cases.

Opium-smoking in moderation is not particularly reprehensible; indeed, it has advantages, and seems suited to the circumstances of the Asiatics who are addicted to the habit. An immoderate opium-smoker is not likely to be a useful member of society, and everyone must deplore the spectacle of a man who is so besotted with opium that he has no interest in life but the indulgence of his passion for the drug. It must, however, never be forgotten that even in these very exceptional cases the immoderate smoker, while injuring his own health, is not a danger to his family and society in the way that a drunkard is. It would be hard to prepare a catalogue of crimes committed by men or women whose worst passions had been aroused by the immoderate use of opium. Nor have I heard that an immoderate opium-smoker transmits any legacy of disease, mental or physical, to his descendants. The immoderate opium-smoker is his own enemy.

How does the drunkard's record compare with this?

I personally do not understand what good claim a section of humanity can establish to interfere with another section in the indulgence of a habit which at its worst cannot be shown to imperil the liberty,

property, or well-being of citizens who prefer some other form of indulgence or to live lives of asceticism.

When the interference comes from an alien race, dwelling 10,000 miles away, with hardly one sympathy in common with the people sought to be thus dragooned, the assumption of a right to say, "This you shall and that you shan't" seems hardly tolerable.

If the majority of the English people determined that no more opium should be produced in or exported from India, that would not put an end to the consumption of opium by the Chinese, and it is hard to see how it could be enforced against natives of India. But granting that it could be done, and the object was simply one of self-sacrifice and morality, the rest of the world would hardly appreciate either the excellence of the motive or the magnitude of the sacrifice, unless England first removed the drink beam from its own eye.

18. I have already answered this question with reference to the native state of Perak, and that is a type of the other Malay States. Over 50 per cent. of the Chinese population are opium-smokers, and perhaps less than 10 per cent. of the Malays. The Malay rulers do not discourage the practice of opium-smoking. They do raise a revenue from the consumption of the drug. It is paid in the shape of an import duty on the raw opium, and amounts at present to 320 dollars a chest of 40 balls in the two largest states, Perak and Selangor.

There is probably no native "general opinion," in the ordinary acceptation of the term, regarding the drug. If a Malay is asked, he will say it is a bad habit for Malays, and contrary to the Mohammedan teaching. I have already given the Chinese view.

I do not think the consumption of opium has any effect "on the people at large," if by that is meant the feelings of non-smokers towards those who do smoke. I do not think the moral atmosphere is perceptibly tainted by the fact that a large number of the community are opium-smokers. Amongst people who indulge in any habit which gratifies the senses some are certain to indulge to excess. That is the case with a small per-centage of opium-smokers, and no one seeks to defend them.

(Signed) F. A. SWETTENHAM.

The Residency, Perak,
4th December 1893.

Eleventh Witness.—Dr. W. C. Brown, J.P., the oldest established private medical practitioner, Penang.

[N.B.—Only questions of a statistical and medical nature are answered.]

1. Principally by Chinese, but the better class of Malays, that is, wealthier classes and native chiefs, are much addicted to the habit. Natives of India to a small extent.

2. Of Chinese adult males, about one-half, probably slightly under than over, are consumers. Malays, probably 5 to 8 per cent.; the proportion would be much higher, but they are not to any extent wage-earners, and cannot afford to purchase it. Its consumption among them is, therefore, limited almost entirely to men of independent means. Of rajahs and native chiefs 90 per cent. smoke opium. I should compute the proportion of opium-smokers in Tamil and natives of India at 1 per cent.; in Straits-born men of mixed descent (principally Malays and Moslem natives of India), at 5 per cent. This latter class are fairly well off.

ii. Chinese women smoke to some extent, 2 or 3 per cent. of respectable women, but probably 70 per cent. of the prostitutes smoke. No children of any race smoke opium. Women of other races than Chinese very rarely.

3. Opium, as taken by 95 per cent. of its consumers, is taken in limited quantity, $\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ chi per day. A chi is the tenth part of a tahl, a little over an ounce. It is taken in the form of a watery extract, not unlike ext. opii. of the Pharmacopœia Britannica, prepared by the opium farm, and known as chandu. This is smoked in opium pipes. A chi of chandu weighs about 50 to 52 grains apothecaries' weight. A coolie generally smokes half a chi a day. A chi costs about 26 cents of a dollar.

In quantities up to $1\frac{1}{4}$ chi daily, it in no way interferes with the power of doing work. It is generally taken in two smokes, one at 10 to 11 a.m., the other about

7 p.m., by average smokers; but sots will smoke eight or 10 times a day, and consume 6 or 8 chi or more.

Its effects in moderate quantities are:—Moral: Not deteriorating. It acts, to some extent, as an aphrodisiac, and is, therefore, much consumed in brothels. Apart from this, it is in no way antagonistic to the normal exercise of the moral faculties. Physical: It increases the capacity for muscular exertion. There is no diminution of muscular tissue or absorption of fat, as there is in consumers of large quantities. It acts by directly checking tissue waste, and the rapid metabolism that arises from hard muscular exertion. Coolies who use opium in moderate quantities are distinctly longer-lived and more capable of prolonged fatigue than others who do not. They do not, as a rule, go to sleep after smoking. When they stop work they lie down, and in resting smoke a little opium, and afterwards rest for half an hour to an hour. They usually smoke after eating, not before. It has no constipating effect after they become accustomed to its use. At first it has, and its use is accompanied by headache, and sometimes nausea. It does not increase the secretion of the skin. It increases the relief that is afforded to a tired system by rest after hard work. Coolies and others who use it in moderation, however, get accustomed to have it, whether they are at work or not, and there is very great discomfort and restlessness if they do not get their usual regular dose.

The social effects of opium-smoking in moderation may be taken as nil. It is very different when taken in excess.

The effects are the same in each race; conditions are altered by the fact that amongst the Chinese the great bulk of the consumers are labourers, the reverse being the case with Malays.

4. The only method of opium consumption that I know of in the Straits is smoking chandu.

5. About 3 per cent. of Chinese opium-smokers become slaves to the habit; they smoke from 2 to 5 chi a day, and sometimes more. If they smoke more than 4 chi a day they may be regarded as "sots"; it becomes impossible for them to throw off the habit; and a cure may be regarded as impossible. Cures (with smokers up to 3 chi) are practicable, easy, and frequent. Only a very small proportion of opium-smoking Chinese labourers become "sots," about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Of merchants and men of independent means, the proportion is much greater, about 10 per cent. According as the necessity of wage-earning and daily manual labour is felt, the proportion of smokers who become "sots" is smaller; and as circumstances are easier, and necessity for regular work less, it is greater. Seventy-five per cent. of Malay Rajas who smoke may be regarded as opium "sots."

It is, therefore, quite incorrect to say that there is no such thing as moderation. I know of many cases (that I am quite sure of) where opium has been taken for years without hurt of any sort, and with benefit. From 50 to 60 per cent. of the coolies employed in manual labour come under this category.

7. As far as labourers are concerned who take it in small quantities, it is, as I have said, distinctly beneficial. As to merchants, the circumstances are altered by the fact that they do not so carefully limit their consumption, and the reverse is the case.

8. Alcohol affects all Asiatics much more injuriously than opium. They do not appear to have the same power of restraint in consumption that they have with opium. About 50 per cent. of the lower class of Tamils (who do not use opium, but consume *Cannabis indica*) are addicted to alcohol, in the form of coco-nut tree toddy and rice spirit.

9. It is not condemned by any race as a habit. If not taken in moderation, or when such quantities are taken as to hinder a man carrying on his duties or business, the condemnation is universal by all races.

They consider the alcohol habit more degrading.

10. It entirely depends on the dose usually taken. (See above, question 5.) It depends on this much more than on the length of time the habit has been contracted. No doubt, when the consumption rises to about 3 chi a day, opium-smokers find it an expensive habit, and endeavour to stop it. If they really mean to try to stop it, it can be easily cured by gradually decreasing doses of morphia by mouth or hypodermically.

11. They would supply themselves with opium from elsewhere. No drug could take its place. They

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certainly would not abstain altogether, and as certainly would not take to alcohol.

12. ———

13. Europeans do not contract the opium habit to any extent. I believe the idea that in smoking opium they would be putting themselves on a level with Asiatics, and confessing a partiality for similar tastes is repugnant to Europeans, and acts as a deterrent. In cases of isolation, where a European has to live more or less as a native, it is not uncommon to find the opium-smoking habit established. A European regards (erroneously) a Chinaman as a foul feeder, and he regards opium-smoking with aversion, simply because it confesses a similarity of tastes.

14. There is sociability about opium-smoking, and young men of good position often take to it, with other forms of dissipation, purely for social reasons. To some extent this is true with coolies also, but they believe strongly in its effects as helping to make work easier, and as a prophylactic against various diseases.

It is an undoubted fact that mortality and sickness amongst opium-smoking coolies on unhealthy work, opening jungle, clearing land for plantations, &c., is much less than amongst non-smokers. This has been established by statistics again and again, and is well-known to the coolies themselves. It may be looked upon as a prophylactic against malaria. I should not like to say it is so against rheumatism as this is too unfrequent a disease here to allow reliable statistics to be deduced, but it is so regarded by coolies. It is also claimed for opium that it is prophylactic against the effects of chills, catarrh, diarrhoea, &c., and I am inclined to accept this theory. I have, as far as diarrhoea is concerned, very strong proofs of its efficacy in preventing soizures.

All Asiatic races make these claims on its behalf. Indeed, they urge its efficacy for most diseases.

16. No.

17. No.

18. ———

W. C. BROWN, M.D.

Penang,
20th December 1893.

Twelfth Witness. — Mr. W. H. Treachet, C.M.G., British Resident, Selangor; formerly Governor of British North Borneo; 23 years' service in Borneo and the Malay Peninsula.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by Chinese in Selangor, and by a very few Malays and Indians.

2. As a conjecture only, I should say that 25 per cent. of Chinese adult males here are consumers. Very few Malays and Indians are consumers.

I know of no Malay women in this state who use opium. I have known cases in Borneo of women of Malay race acquiring the habit from Chinese men with whom they lived.

It is exceptional to meet a Chinese woman who consumes opium, perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. may do so.

Children do not consume opium.

3. Amongst the Chinese, the not immoderate use of opium appears to have no observably bad effects, moral, physical, or social, with, perhaps, the exception that opium consumers are said to be not so desirous or not so capable of becoming fathers. Chinese labourers in mines and on railway works are the best and strongest labourers we have, and a large number of them consume opium.

I know, however, of European employers of Chinese labour who give the preference to those who do not use opium, and I am of opinion that the same holds good as regards some Chinese employers.

It appears to be undoubted that the use of opium is beneficial to those who are exposed to malarial influences, as is the case with our Chinese tin miners.

I have known the keenest Chinese traders and the strongest labourers to be large consumers of opium.

If a Chinaman meets with misfortune or reverses, and takes to the excessive use of opium to solace himself, the consequences are disastrous, and he may become an "opium-sot" in the same way that a European may become an "alcohol sot."

I consider that the use of opium is more likely to affect Malays injuriously than Chinese, who are a more

robust race and live better. As a rule, it is only good-for-nothing Malays who take to opium. I know, however, Malays of rank who consume opium to a considerable extent, and who retain their mental faculties undiminished.

4. Opium is chiefly smoked in Selangor, but the poorer Chinese eat opium dross, that is to say, the residue of opium that has been smoked and has been reprepared for consumption.

It is said that it is more difficult to abandon the habit of eating than of smoking opium.

5. A majority of opium consumers in this state are moderate consumers. (See reply to Question 3.)

6. It is quite incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.

In Borneo and in the Malay Peninsula I have known many Chinese merchants and traders who had taken their opium for years, without, so far as I could perceive, harm to themselves. With the time at my disposal just now, I am not able to give descriptions in detail.

7. I should say 25 per cent. of the Chinese of all professions and trades, including labourers and artisans, consume opium. If the consumers are naturally energetic, hardworking men, their efficiency is not diminished. In the case of miners and others exposed to malarial influences the working efficiency of the consumer is probably increased.

8. The Chinese are very abstemious in the use of alcohol, and the Malays are abstainers by their religion. I cannot make the required comparison.

9. Chinese who do not smoke opium sometimes refer disparagingly to those of their countrymen who are consumers.

With Malays it is considered a degrading habit as regards their own countrymen, but it must be remembered that there are Rajas and Sultans who consume the drug and are looked up to by their subjects.

I consider that the opium habit and the alcohol habit would be compared on the same footing. If carried to excess, both would be equally condemned.

10. I believe consumers do break themselves of the habit, and that the longer the habit has continued the more difficult it naturally is to break it off.

Immoderate consumers probably experience the same difficulty in abandoning the habit that an immoderate alcohol user is said to experience in abandoning the alcohol habit.

11. Were the supply of Indian opium cut off, I should say that consumers in the Straits would endeavour to procure opium elsewhere. They would not become total abstainers.

12. The total revenue for the ensuing year, 1894, is estimated at \$2,733,465, of which it is estimated that \$383,400 will be derived from opium.

So long as the tin mines hold out, Selangor could manage without opium revenue, but expenditure on such useful works as roads and railways it would be necessary to curtail. So long as the importation of opium is not universally prohibited the people would consider the relinquishment of the revenue therefrom a silly and incomprehensible course of action.

13. I have not met any European who has contracted the opium habit in the East. The reason is that it is not a custom practised in European countries, and Europeans come to the East with their habits more or less formed.

In China, opium, I understand, is consumed. The European takes alcohol, to which he has been accustomed in Europe, the Chinese opium.

14. Few of the newly-imported poor Chinese labourers are opium consumers on arrival. They contract the habit as they obtain good wages and as they see others of their class and nationality indulging in it, and find that, exposed as they are to malarious influences, the use of opium is beneficial. I cannot say of my own knowledge that opium is a prophylactic against fever or rheumatism or malaria, but I consider that it allays pain in rheumatism and it is certainly a partial prophylactic against malaria. Chinese miners believe it to be such a prophylactic.

15. Probably a considerable number of the better class consumers of opium amongst the Chinese would be glad to free themselves of the opium habit

16. In Selangor there is not a vestige of a feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India.

17. No, but I should wish to point out that I have replied to these queries without making any special inquiries in the matter (not having been requested to do so), but have relied on my general impressions, gained after a residence of over 20 years in the East.

18. Answered in the replies to the above queries, so far as regards the State of Selangor.

W. H. TREACHER,

Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, British Resident, Selangor.
28th December 1893.

Thirteenth Witness.—Mr. Alexander Gentle, President of the Municipal Commission, Singapore; formerly a merchant; 29 years resident in the Straits Settlements.

1. Opium is commonly smoked by the Chinese in this colony, especially by the lower classes, artisans, and coolies. There are, however, many exceptions. Most of the trading classes use it very moderately, and many of the Straits-born Chinese do not use it at all. Its use is rare among Malays, and involves loss of character and good name among all Muslims. Among other Asiatic races its use is exceptional.

2. I conjecture that about 50 per cent. of our adult male Chinese of the coolie and working classes smoke opium more or less, and perhaps about 25 per cent. of the trading and wealthier classes. Among respectable women it is much less common, and I think unknown among children.

3. Chinese have told me that opium when first indulged in acts as a stimulant; the smoker gains weight and becomes fat. In course of time the stimulating effect wears off, and the sedative alone remains. I cannot generalize as to the effects of its moderate use; nor could I tell by looking at him whether a Chinese used opium or not, unless he used it to great excess, and had done so for years. I have known many Chinese who have smoked moderately for 20 years, and spring all that time have been punctual in the discharge of their duties. The same could hardly be said of Malays, who have less self-command, but the Malays who use opium are generally men of bad character, and no general inference can be drawn from their habits.

4. Smoking is the usual form of consumption among Chinese. I have heard that Indians and other Asiatics take it in other forms.

5. My experience is that the vast majority of smokers continue moderate consumers all their lives. Two causes contribute to this—first, the drug is an expensive luxury; a moderate consumer must spend 10 to 15 cents of a dollar a day, that is \$3 to \$4½ a month—a large proportion of a labourer's earnings, which seldom exceed \$9 a month and are often not more than \$6; secondly, the Chinaman knows perfectly well that opium dissipation means to him poverty, privation, and sickness. The worst cases of abandonment to the drug I have known, outside the criminal classes, are where a man having made a small competence or having sons to work for him, retires to idleness and self-indulgence.

6. Those who doubt that a moderate use of opium is possible should correct their impressions by observing the boatmen, wharf and warehouse coolies, market gardeners and planters of Singapore. With rare exceptions these men use opium, it is their only solace after a hard day's work; but (if they have escaped syphilis) their physique is invariably good, and their industry, frugality, and contentment are remarkable.

7. (See the reply to Question No. 2.) The use of opium tends to sedentary habits, and excess, no doubt, impairs energy, activity, and enterprise.

8. Opium is the less hurtful of the two, both to the state and the individual.

9. No Chinese willingly admits the habitual use of opium. He is ready enough to allow that his friends and countrymen indulge. A Chinese would be more ashamed of being called a drunkard than an opium-smoker; he loses in public esteem by the former more than by the latter.

10. Yes. Many fight against it, and I believe successfully.

11. The effect would be much the same as if a gang of British navvies or coal heavers had the public-houses suddenly closed to them, and they could get neither beer nor spirits. They would first sulk, then knock off work, then riot and loot the shops. If overpowered by force, they would betake themselves to the neighbouring countries, where they could gratify their tastes, and the word would be passed on to every port in China to avoid Singapore as no longer the land of freedom and good wages.

12. The estimated revenue of the colony for 1894 is \$3,818,170, towards which opium and spirits (which are farmed together) contribute \$2,364,000.

It is impossible to conceive of the opium revenue as extinguished by a stroke of the pen. If, in the course of generations, men voluntarily cease to use or abuse the drug, such a social revolution will bring with it new fiscal conditions and opportunities and in the long run the state might not be the loser.

13. Europeans almost never; their active habits demand stronger excitements. The Asiatic does not look on physical exercise as a relaxation; the comfort and *insouciance* produced by opium are more to his taste.

14. Imitation and a desire to share in what comforts others are no doubt incentives. Many of the Chinese live among such physical discomforts that anything that deadens them to external influences may be welcome. Some Chinese employers are not averse to paying their coolies partly in opium, on the "truck" system, and probably make a profit thereby. Others refuse to employ coolies or workmen who smoke opium; this is the strongest fact I know against the habit. Men who are sick or in pains do use opium as a solace; it is also resorted to in order to stave off hunger and fatigue by those who have to make extra demands on their strength and endurance. I cannot say if it will ward off fever and rheumatism or malaria from the healthy, but I believe that men suffering from these complaints will be rendered indifferent to them for the time being by opium.

15. Those who go to excess sometimes ask for medicine to allay the craving.

16. No.

17. The most striking feature is the situation is this: It is not to the Malay or the Indian, who has comparatively no vices, but to the opium-smoking Chinese that we owe almost the whole material prosperity of this colony. It is he who fells the jungle and tills the soil and extracts the metals and pushes his way into solitary places, where others would starve. He is the most patient fisherman and gardener, the hardiest sailor, and the most enterprising trader. This may be in spite of, not because of, his opium. Yet I doubt if without that ready and unflinching comforter he would endure the privations he does.

18. The above remarks apply to the "native states," whether "protected" or solely under Malay rule. I do not think the rulers actually discourage the use of opium, nor do I see how they could if they would. The revenue is generally "farmed."

(Signed) ALEX. GENTLE.

Singapore,
30th December 1893.

Fourteenth Witness.—Mr. W. G. Shellabear, late R.E., missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America; six years resident in the Straits Settlements.

Preliminary Remarks.

I am a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. My work is among the Malays and, to some extent, among the Malay-speaking Chinese. I am not acquainted with the Chinese language, but through the medium of Malay I am able to converse with a considerable proportion of the Chinese population.

I first came to Singapore seven years ago, and for the first three years of my residence in Singapore I was serving as lieutenant and local captain in the Royal Engineers. During that period my work lay entirely among Malays, the company of which I was in command consisting of 54 men of that nationality. I had a Malay servant, and I hardly ever spoke to a Chinaman.

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While I was in the army I had no particular interest in the opium traffic, and, like the great majority of residents in Singapore, I took no trouble to inform myself on the subject, and was never inside an opium shop but once, and then could not make myself understood, as the men there did not understand Malay.

In the year 1890, after a period at home, I returned to Singapore as a missionary, and it was then for the first time that I began to come across the opium question. I first heard about opium chiefly from the Chinamen employed in our mission press and in conversation with other missionaries with respect to definite cases which had come under their observation.

I soon found that, in consequence of the violent attacks made upon missionaries in the local papers on account of their opposition to the opium traffic, it would be necessary for me to make a personal study of the question in order that I might be able to take my stand upon my own personal knowledge. Since then I have made every endeavour to acquaint myself with the facts of the case, have conversed with many Chinamen on the subject, and have visited a large number of opium shops, accompanied by a qualified interpreter.

In my replies to the questions asked by the Opium Commission, I have endeavoured to confine myself to the facts as I know them from personal observation, and I have sought to avoid hearsay evidence.

Answers.

1. Opium is commonly consumed (smoked) by Chinese in this colony; a small proportion of the Indian population consume opium, and a very small proportion of Malays.

2. I should conjecture that about 12 per cent. of the Chinese adults smoke the pure opium. In addition to this number, there are very many who cannot afford to buy the pure opium, and therefore smoke the highly injurious opium-dross.

A large number of Chinese women smoke opium in their homes; women do not smoke in the opium shops, they are there sometimes for the purpose of exciting the sexual passions of the men who are smoking. Opium is smoked in the brothels, but not by the women; its use in the brothels is for the purpose of exciting the sexual passions.

I have seen children in opium shops suffering from the effects of the fumes, but I never saw a child smoke. Young men when they attain the age of puberty frequently begin to smoke for the purpose mentioned above.

3. The chief outward sign of the physical effects of opium with which I am acquainted from my personal observation is a flabbiness of the muscles and a paleness of the skin; I have noticed these characteristics in opium shops, and have had my observation in this respect corroborated by natives. These effects are noticeable after a few months of smoking, and the majority of the men found smoking in any of the opium shops will be found to be in this condition, for on inquiry it will generally be found that most of the smokers in Singapore have not been smoking very long. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the rapid immigration.

Men who have been smoking for a long period, if they have been too poor to buy nourishing food, become terribly emaciated; many such cases may be seen in the opium shops and walking about the streets of Singapore.

Lassitude is another effect of opium-smoking. I have found that when men are habitually drowsy and unfit for their work the natives at once suspect them of smoking opium. The Chinese are ashamed of the opium habit, and many of them try to conceal the fact that they are smokers.

When going long rides in rikishas I am always careful to avoid men who have the appearance of being opium-smokers, because after the first mile or two they are very slow runners, and seem to have no strength to pull the rikisha. Sometimes these men will confess to being smokers, but not always, as they are ashamed of the habit. When I have asked those rikisha pullers who are in the best training and are the fastest runners whether they smoke opium, I have invariably received an indignant denial.

The moral and social effects of opium on those who consume it may best be inferred from the suspicion with which the Chinese universally regard the opium-smoker. To such an extent is this the case that any employé of the opium farm in Singapore who is known to smoke opium is at once dismissed.

4. I have no knowledge of any method of consuming opium other than smoking.

5. The universal testimony of the Chinese is that those who once take to the habitual use of opium are unable, except in very rare cases, to leave it off.

As stated above, I have been struck with the fact that a very large proportion of the smokers in Singapore state that they have not been addicted to the habit very long; such men smoke from 20 to 30 cents worth of opium a day, and as they earn as coolies on the average 40 cents a day, their consumption can hardly be considered moderate from a financial point of view. I should think there is not the shadow of a doubt that such men must eventually become "opium-sots," if they are not so already.

6. When opium is taken to excite the sexual passions, as it most frequently is, the object is to produce a kind of intoxication which, as I understand the word, is inconsistent with moderation; for if a man drinks whisky in order to get drunk, he cannot be considered a moderate drinker.

When opium is smoked as an antidote for pain, the object with which it is smoked is different, but the result is the same; hence I cannot understand the appropriateness of the word "moderation" when applied to the smoking of opium.

At the same time it is, no doubt, true that in some cases men have continued to smoke opium for a number of years in comparatively small quantities, and when they have been able at the same time to supply themselves with a sufficiency of nourishing food, the physical effects have been produced more gradually than in the typical case.

Cases of this kind occur among the wealthy and influential class of Chinese, and I do not feel at liberty to insult any Chinese family by mentioning names. But I have in mind a well-known Chinese resident of Singapore, whose office I have frequently visited. As often as not I have found him lying on his couch and smoking, and in such a case it was impossible to get anything out of him. His customers, no doubt, had the same experience as I had, and the natural result was that his business went to the dogs. He was a very rich man, and no doubt had plenty to eat, which would account for the fatness of his body, as the opium would account for its flabbiness. To the casual observer there was no apparent ill effect from his smoking, but as a matter of fact he was little else than a useless lump of fat, incapable of attending to his business or anything else, and hardly ever leaving the house. A few weeks ago a young Chinaman was speaking to me about this same man, and without any suggestion on my part admitted the failure of his business to opium.

7. The consumption of opium is not to my knowledge peculiar to any particular class of the Chinese. Most of the opium-smokers here are coolies simply because coolies form the majority of the population.

The effect of opium on the efficiency of labourers and merchants has been described above. But I might add that I once employed an opium-smoking carpenter for some weeks in our mission press; I should not have kept him so long but that I had taken some trouble to instruct him in the particular class of work that I was having done, and I have taken very good care to avoid opium-smokers since then. The objection to this man was that he was hardly ever fit for work, and never did a real day's work all the time he was with me; and also he was frequently sneaking off to have a smoke.

8. I cannot speak of the effect of the abuse of alcohol upon the Chinese, because I have never come across any cases of the kind.

9. As regards the Malays, it is well known that both opium and alcohol are prohibited by their religion; but whereas the use of alcohol among them is not very uncommon, and is not looked upon as a scandal, the opium habit is very uncommon among them, and is looked upon as most degrading.

In the native mind the use of opium appears always to be connected with debauchery, hence they are ashamed of it, for the Chinese have quite as much sense of sin as Europeans when the subject is treated in a serious manner. But when a European whose life the Chinaman knows is not spotless treats the subject of opium-smoking with levity, it is not surprising that the debauched Chinaman tells the not-too-particular European that opium is "banyak bagus," a splendid thing; so it is truly, a splendid thing for lust. Anyone who has had a very little experience of natives is aware that their first inclination is not to answer according to

their convictions, but to give the answer which he thinks will best please the European.

10. Answered above under (5).

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, the Chinese would undoubtedly supply themselves with the drug from elsewhere, if it were not prohibited.

The experience of the gaols shows that the sudden cutting off of the supply of opium from individuals produces only temporary pain and inconvenience.

I have been supplied with the details of several cases of men in Singapore who have been cured of the opium habit, but I never heard of any tendency on the part of these men to take to alcohol when the opium was kept away from them.

12. Over 50 per cent. of the revenue of the Straits Settlements is derived from opium. If this source of revenue were abolished, the deficit could undoubtedly be made up, the wealth of Singapore being very great.

The wealthy people would strongly object to the abolition of the opium revenue, because they feel that it will very largely fall upon them to make up the deficit. The wealthy Chinese bewail the demoralisation of their fellow countrymen, and in many cases of their kinsmen; but in spite of this some of them will uphold the opium revenue rather than submit to taxation.

13. I have heard of Europeans being seen smoking in opium dens in Victoria Street, but I have never seen one.

14. The testimony of the natives is that lust is the chief inducement to the use of opium. Opium-smokers find that the drug allays pain, and for that reason they frequently recommend its use to others.

I never heard a native suggest opium as a remedy for fever, but they thoroughly understand the value of quinine for that purpose.

15. I have asked a number of smokers, both in Malay and by interpretation, whether they desired to get free of the opium habit, and I have never yet received an answer in the negative.

16. I have heard Malays complain more than once of the extension of the opium habit among their race by the agency of the opium farm.

I remember especially the words of Munshi Ismail, formerly interpreter at the Supreme Court, who is now dead. He spoke very bitterly of the way in which the farmer sent opium up the rivers, giving it away to the Malays, knowing that if they acquired the habit he would have a sale for his opium on a second occasion.

17. I have no further remarks to offer.

18. I have no personal knowledge of the native states.

W. G. SHELLABEAR.

Fifteenth Witness.—Mr. H. Riccard, Superintendent of Police, Penang; 12 years resident in the Straits Settlements.

1. Opium is consumed by Chinese, Malays, Indians, and Armenians.

2. I would say from 15 to 20 per cent. of Chinese, 1 per cent. Malays, and 1 to 2 per cent. Indians. Women consume opium, but those who do so are mostly Macao Chinese women, Siamese and Malay women.

3. Opium consumers of the poorer class soon become physically unfit for labour, owing to not having means to support themselves with proper food, as they will spend their money on opium, although they have nothing left to get food with. Opium-smoking appears to have the same effect on the different races, with the exception of the well-to-do Chinese, a great many of whom have smoked opium for years, and it does not seem to affect them much.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium, except the Sikhs, who eat it.

5. The majority of opium-consumers become slaves to the drug, but a considerable proportion of the consumers are moderate consumers.

6. There is such a thing as "moderation" in the consumption of opium. I know several cases where consumers have taken opium for years, and it does not appear to have harmed them in any way. Li Ah Yeang, goldsmith in Bishop Street, is one who has smoked

opium for years, and it does not seem to have affected him. There are several others whom I know.

7. A large majority of the Chinese artisans and labourers consume opium, but a smaller number of the merchants do so. With regard to artisans and merchants, it does not seem to affect them as to the efficiency in their calling, but to labourers it does.

8. Very few of the Asiatics are consumers of alcohol to any extent.

9. Consuming opium is not considered as degrading by the Chinese, Malays, or Asiatic races. They consider the use of alcohol far more degrading.

10. A number of consumers of opium have been trying lately to break themselves off from the use of opium by having morphia injected into their arms.

11. In my opinion, consumers would try and procure it from elsewhere. I am certain they would not abstain from the use of it if it were possible to get it.

12. No. Opium-smokers very often commence the use of it from being in company with friends who consume the drug.

I have known instances where consumers have been led to the use of it from sickness, but more often from custom or being led to it by others.

15. Lately, a number of Chinese have been trying to break off the use of opium by having morphia injected into their arms, and they think that in a short time they can break this off, and it seems to have the same effect as smoking, and is less expensive.

16 and 17. No.

H. RICCARD.

Sixteenth Witness.—Mr. August Hüttenbach, Merchant, Partner Messrs. Hüttenbach, Liebert & Co., Messrs. Hüttenbach Brothers, Agent, British India Steam Navigation Company, 20 years resident in the Straits Settlements.

I am a merchant, and my profession has not led me to acquire so close a knowledge of all the points which go to make up the 18 questions, as would make my evidence deserve special weight. I will, therefore, only reply to those questions upon which I believe my experience justifies me in forming an opinion.

5. The great majority of opium smokers do not become "opium-sots," but only an infinitesimally small proportion, if any. I have found the majority to be moderate consumers.

6. That there is such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium I consider to be beyond the shadow of a doubt.

I know many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves.

A good local case is at the moment consul here for one of the empires of the East.

8. The use or abuse of opium by Asiatics—as regards its physical and moral effect—is to be highly preferred, according to my opinion, to the use or abuse of alcohol.

If it could be supposed that I personally had only the choice left between becoming either afflicted to the vice of opium or alcohol in its worst or any form, I would assuredly prefer and unhesitatingly choose the former.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, consumers would, I believe, certainly supply themselves from elsewhere, just as tobacco smokers in England would supply themselves from elsewhere if supplies of tobacco from any given country were cut off. If the supply were cut off from all ports, i.e., if the import of opium were to be prohibited, I think it would lead to serious disturbances, falling off of immigration, and—in the Straits—general retrogression.

12. The colony, I think, could, were the opium revenue extinguished, raise the needful revenue otherwise. Of the people who make up the population of this colony, very few would ever know and still less understand loss of opium revenue and the obligation to make up the deficit.

Of those who do, I venture to opine that the majority would believe the Government to be frivolously creating disturbance and inconvenience without benefit to any section of the community.

16. The Asiatic races in this colony are not aware that England can allow or disallow the export of opium

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from India, and there can thus be no feeling of hostility on that score.

Were it, however, to be forbidden and become understood that England is responsible for prohibition, the probabilities are that such a feeling of hostility would then arise. In fact it may be considered certain.

How such hostility would manifest itself is difficult to forecast, but with an article in such constant use as opium, it would probably lead to riot and bloodshed.

18. If taxing the use of opium means discouraging the use of opium, the rulers of the native states do discourage it, although they raise revenue from it.

The public or general opinion of the native states, as far as such an opinion can be said to exist, I would take to be, that the drug and its use is doing no real harm, satisfies the appetite of the users and the cravings for a tickling of the palate to many who but for the drug would probably go in, to excess, for the satisfying of other and more lowering and enervating cravings.

I take it, for instance, that but for opium the deplorable ravages caused by the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, the injustice of which is a source of serious and bitter feeling against the Government, among the community would be still greater.

A. HÜTTENBACH.

Penang, 5th January, 1894.

Seventeenth Witness.—The Rev. A. Lamont, Missionary, Presbyterian Church; 3½ years resident in the Colony of China.

1. Yes, by Chinese. I do not consider myself competent to speak of any other section of the Asiatic races.

2. Thirty per cent. of adult males from among the Chinese. The question of women consuming opium is inseparably bound up with the social evil. Women of the prostitute class are trained in the brothels to prepare the opium pipes for men. A proportion of these women (what proportion it is difficult to say) eventually become opium consumers. Of the entire Chinese female population here in Singapore (among the Chinese there are five or six men for every one woman in the Colony), there are two important subdivisions—(1.) the Straits-born Chinese female population; these represent the permanent Chinese family life, and opium consumption is rare among them; but it is otherwise with (2.), the prostitute class, which is about as great numerically as the former mentioned class.

Children do not consume opium. The children of opium consumers in infancy suffer irritation, and the parent occasionally makes the child inhale whiffs of the opium pipe. Beyond the stage of infancy the child seems to be free from hereditary incubus in the matter of opium smoking.

3. The effects of opium are degrading in all three senses specified in this question. Morally and socially opium degrades the Chinese as well as any other race. Physically this is not so. The Chinese as a muscular people have greater powers of physical endurance, and the opium habit in destroying a Chinaman's physique accomplishes a result which is all the greater in proportion to the amount of extra physical endurance which it has had to overcome.

4. Chinamen who have money to spend smoke opium and continue to smoke it. The coolie classes eat opium dross, which is opium in its cheapest and deadliest form. The effect of eating opium dross—the almost inevitable end of the inpecunious coolie who has previously learned to smoke opium—is rapidly disastrous. The monied Chinaman who consumes opium—(1.) smoking the drug in its least harmful form, and (2.) having nutritious food at his command—can remain an opium smoker for a very long time without evident prejudice to his bodily health.

5. The best answer to this question is that opium smoking—the normal use of opium—is a growth, which is relatively rapid or gradual according to the character, temperament and circumstances of the individual consumer. Beyond a preliminary stage, at which stage the habit may be voluntarily relinquished, this growth is an inexorably real one. Beyond this preliminary stage, a man is a slave to the opium habit in the sense in which any man is a slave, say, to a tumour which grows in his body. As the result of the

preliminary stage, a craving for the drug has been created, and only by external force (such as a man being put into prison) can the consumer be weaned from the habit which keeps growing and increasing as it grows. Any distinction that there may be between the physical and psychical world ceases to be in the career of the opium smoker. An opium smoker would rather starve than do without his opium.

I do not think that the phrase "opium sot" is a happy one as applied to a fully developed opium smoker; "sot" implies the maximum of animalism, and this is much more applicable to a confirmed drunkard. The opium "wreck" is rather a species of disembodied spirit beyond the range of possibilities, either for morality or immorality, except in so far as his own life is an utterly wasted one.

As a student of a man's life not merely viewed as that life is at isolated points of time but viewed as a whole, *i.e.*, as a connected series of successive intervals of time, I believe that the average opium consumer becomes at a comparatively early stage in his career a slave to the drug.

6. "Yes" and "No" are both correct as answers to this question. "Opium in moderation" is true in the sense of its being the quantum necessary to satisfy the craving, which increases in intensity on the individual subject, and more or less rapidly demands an increase in the dose of opium consumed.

The phrase "moderation" is most misleading; "moderation" is true in the sense that it is co-extensive with the full measure of the consumer's capacity.

Beyond the playing a preliminary stage as I have indicated, opium is indulged in mainly for purposes of intoxication. "Opium in moderation" is, therefore, as regards the full grown opium smoker, a contradiction in terms.

Among my personal friends I have many opium smokers who have taken opium for years. He would be a bold man who would assert that these have "taken opium without harm to themselves," such an assertion in the case of any one of these smokers could only emanate from a most superficial acquaintance with his life and circumstances.

7. Opium consumption, as I have indicated, is prevalent among the coolie classes. The rikisha coolie in the midst of his toilsome life takes refuge in opium. Opium dross eating is particularly prevalent among rikisha coolies.

The subject matter of this answer encroaches on a great economical question. That an opium dross eater becomes unable to pull or push his rikisha is what ordinarily happens. The only difficulty involved here is the consideration (presumable) that, to some extent, the opium habit may be the consequence, not the cause, of physical infirmity, created really by other causes. But as regards the Chinese labourer subject to an employer, *e.g.*, in a workshop or factory, the subject is more complex. There is, *e.g.*, an important sense in which the opium smoker is more valuable, in some cases, to his employer than the non-smoker. The non-smoker, thrifty and able to save money, soon goes back to the bosom of his family in China. To the extent to which the Chinese immigrant realises his own expectations as a progressing being, discontented on that account with his lot or constantly seeking to better it, to that extent is he deemed unsatisfactory by the employer of labour to whom a change of labourers is unwelcome on account of extra expense incurred in procuring men to take their place. The opium smoker paying for his luxury cannot save money, and is, therefore, more acceptable to his employer, to whom absolute dependence on the part of servants is most desirable. This economical consideration has, I believe, a vital bearing on the true answer to this question.

8. The customs of the Chinese, besides the quality of Chinese intoxicants, prevent drunkenness from being a national vice among the Chinese. Drunkenness, however, is growing among the Straits Chinese, who are, on account of their circumstances, the children of two distinct civilisations. Nor is such a growth of drunkenness diminishing the appetite for opium as amongst the Straits-born Chinese. The opium vice is less palpable assuredly, yet it is more inexorable than drunkenness.

9. The habit of opium-smoking, or the use of opium in any other way, is universally condemned by the Chinese. Many Chinamen, however, whom I have met here, have, speaking from a national pride, extolled opium-smoking as a vice as compared with drunkenness as amongst Europeans. But such praise of opium is a purely relative praise. A Chinaman will invariably

admit that both opium-smoking and drunkenness are bad.

10. Very rare.

11. This is a difficult question. Chinese opium consumers would rather have a bad time of it, thus forcibly deprived of their opium. My opinion is that there is no hope for the regular opium-smoker. Repressive legislation, if judicious, would be of advantage only to future generations.

The opium-smoker would, if he could, supply himself with opium from elsewhere. When he could not get Indian opium, he would do the next "best" thing—he would smoke Chinese-grown opium. If that were stopped, he would, like a prisoner in the gaol, just have to do without it.

A confirmed opium-smoker is capable of doing a great many things. It is, therefore, difficult to prophesy exactly what he would do without his opium. He would consider alcohol a poor substitute. In disgust at not having opium, he might "abstain altogether."

12. Over 50 per cent. of the entire revenue of the colony.

As to raising revenue otherwise, I cannot make any suggestions.

With regard to the last part of this question, public opinion in Singapore lacks solidarity. "What the people would say," &c., involves a generalised answer necessarily equivocal as representing the people as a whole, and therefore most misleading.

13. No; because (1) there are proportionately few Europeans altogether; (2) European social habits are more friendly to drunkenness than to opium-smoking; (3) the Europeans as immigrants from England and elsewhere are the creatures of a different civilization, including different external circumstances, e.g., opium is not obtainable in England as it is in China and the Straits.

In addition to other considerations already mentioned, Asiatics are more liable to contract the opium habit on account of—

- (1) Race peculiarities and race temperament in particular.
- (2) Climate and other external environment.
- (3) Easy access to the use of the drug.

All of these causes act and react on one another.

14. A question for medical experts.

15. Habitual consumers invariably desire to get free from the habit at such times, as they exercise the prerogative of "looking before and after."

16. There is, as regards the Straits-born Chinese, a distinct absence of national sentiment. In a few only of those Chinese in the colony is there such a feeling of hostility as that indicated in this question. Social distinctions and caste notions as inculcated theoretically and practically by the members of the European community have naturally done much to produce anti-foreign feeling in the more educated Chinese, and Britain's opium policy towards China is, professedly, one of the main foundations on which this feeling rests.

17. If Her Majesty's Imperial Government, as the result of the work of their Commission, can do anything to alter the *status quo*, such fresh legislation can be effective only in view of the interests of posterity. There is no hope to be entertained for the present generation of opium consumers.

ARCHIBALD LAMONT.

English Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese,
Singapore, 9th January 1894.

Eighteenth Witness.—Mr. T. S. Kerr, M.B., C.M., Acting Principal Civil Medical Officer; 10 years in the medical service of the Straits Settlements; for three years previously a private practitioner in Singapore.

1. Opium is largely consumed by the Chinese in the Straits; it is also consumed by the native races of Malaya, e.g., Malays, Javanese, Bugis, &c., and other Asiatic races, though to a much less extent.

2. Of Chinese adult males, I believe between 60 and 70 per cent. use opium; of Malays, including Javanese and Bugis, about 2 or 3 per cent.; of other Asiatics, about 5 per cent.

Women use opium, though markedly less so than men; as use amongst Chinese women is chiefly confined to the prostitute class, but Javanese and Malay women use it

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also. No instance of children addicted to opium has come under my observation.

3. So far as I have been able to determine, the moderate use of the drug, beyond waste of time, produces no deleterious effects, either morally, physically, or socially; immoderate use induces enfeeblement of mental powers, perversion of moral faculties, and physical incapacity.

4. Smoking is the chief mode of consumption, though a few eat it, the latter mode being chiefly affected by natives of India. I believe the effects of eating the drug to be more marked than those of smoking. This is perhaps specially noticeable if from any cause the consumer is suddenly deprived of his drug. The smoker recovers more rapidly than the eater.

5. The great majority of consumers I believe to be moderate in their use of the drug, but only from necessity. Opium sots are the exception. If a smoker can get more of the drug, he will do so, and if, having contracted the habit, he has unlimited means at his disposal, the tendency is to go on increasing the quantity until eventually he is a wreck bodily and mentally. This is, however, the exception, the consumer adapting himself to the quantity his means permit him to purchase.

6. Strictly speaking, I believe there is no such thing as moderation in the consumption of opium; but, as already explained in answer to question 5, the large majority limit their supply to their purchasing power, and this practically amounts to a moderate use of the drug.

I have met with cases of coolies who have taken opium for years, apparently without injury to themselves. They looked well, and were able to do a hard day's work. As an instance amongst the better classes, a clerk and accountant in a large firm has used opium for 10 years, latterly, I should say, moderately. Beyond a sallow look and being somewhat thin, he enjoys good health. His employer assures me he is always capable of doing his work, and does it well.

7. The majority of labourers and artisans amongst the Chinese consume opium; the merchants in a minor degree. As used by the majority, it does not appear to affect their calling.

Carpenters, as a class, I believe are large consumers. They are, generally speaking, very industrious, and turn out excellent work.

8. Much in favour of the former. The moderate use of opium, so far as I have seen, does little if any harm. The use of alcohol by a native is almost invariably followed by varying degrees of intoxication, detrimental alike to the consumer and to the community.

The evil effects of the immoderate use of opium are long in making themselves felt, and can be recovered from without permanent damage resulting. Such is not the case with the abuse of alcohol.

9. The better class of Chinese, I believe, regard the opium habit as objectionable; at all events they do not care to employ as house servants opium-smokers. As regards their coolies, they are indifferent from necessity.

10. I believe not.

11. If the Indian opium were cut off, they would supply themselves from elsewhere. Even now, I believe, a large quantity of the opium in use is grown in China.

Presupposing opium unobtainable, they would probably take to some other narcotic, or alcohol; if to the latter, so much the worse.

12. —

13. No. Climatic influences, imitation, and the fact that the Asiatic prefers to take his pleasures, generally sensuous, in a way which gives least trouble to himself, induces him to use opium. The European, on the other hand, as influenced by early training and environment, prefers recreation involving intellectual work, skill, or physical exertion.

14. Amongst the Chinese it is practically a national habit, on a par with the use of tobacco or alcohol in other countries. Imitation influences some, while others take to it from vicious motives. In some cases it is first used to allay physical pain, chiefly the pain of chronic rheumatism, here very prevalent. Only one instance of the use of opium as a prophylactic against malaria has come under my observation; in this instance the consumers were Sikhs, who, I believe, regard it as a prophylactic in malaria.

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from India, and there can thus be no feeling of hostility on that score.

Were it, however, to be forbidden and become understood that England is responsible for prohibition, the probabilities are that such a feeling of hostility would then arise. In fact it may be considered certain.

How such hostility would manifest itself is difficult to forecast, but with an article in such constant use as opium, it would probably lead to riot and bloodshed.

18. If taxing the use of opium means discouraging the use of opium, the rulers of the native states do discourage it, although they raise revenue from it.

The public or general opinion of the native states, as far as such an opinion can be said to exist, I would take to be, that the drug and its use is doing no real harm, satisfies the appetite of the users and the cravings for a tickling of the palate to many who but for the drug would probably go in, to excess, for the satisfying of other and more lowering and enervating cravings.

I take it, for instance, that but for opium the deplorable ravages caused by the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, the injustice of which is a source of serious and bitter feeling against the Government, among the community would be still greater.

A. HÜTTENBACH.

Penang, 5th January, 1894.

Seventeenth Witness.—The Rev. A. Lamont, Missionary, Presbyterian Church; 3½ years resident in the Colony of China.

1. Yes, by Chinese. I do not consider myself competent to speak of any other section of the Asiatic races.

2. Thirty per cent. of adult males from among the Chinese. The question of women consuming opium is inseparably bound up with the social evil. Women of the prostitute class are trained in the brothels to prepare the opium pipes for men. A proportion of these women (what proportion it is difficult to say) eventually become opium consumers. Of the entire Chinese female population here in Singapore (among the Chinese there are five or six men for every one woman in the Colony), there are two important subdivisions—(1.) the Straits-born Chinese female population; these represent the permanent Chinese family life, and opium consumption is rare among them; but it is otherwise with (2.), the prostitute class, which is about as great numerically as the former mentioned class.

Children do not consume opium. The children of opium consumers in infancy suffer irritation, and the parent occasionally makes the child inhale whiffs of the opium pipe. Beyond the stage of infancy the child seems to be free from hereditary incubus in the matter of opium smoking.

3. The effects of opium are degrading in all three senses specified in this question. Morally and socially opium degrades the Chinese as well as any other race. Physically this is not so. The Chinese as a muscular people have greater powers of physical endurance, and the opium habit in destroying a Chinaman's physique accomplishes a result which is all the greater in proportion to the amount of extra physical endurance which it has had to overcome.

4. Chinamen who have money to spend smoke opium and continue to smoke it. The coolie classes eat opium dross, which is opium in its cheapest and deadliest form. The effect of eating opium dross—the almost inevitable end of the inpecunious coolie who has previously learned to smoke opium—is rapidly disastrous. The monied Chinaman who consumes opium—(1.) smoking the drug in its least harmful form, and (2.) having nutritious food at his command—can remain an opium smoker for a very long time without evident prejudice to his bodily health.

5. The best answer to this question is that opium smoking—the normal use of opium—is a growth, which is relatively rapid or gradual according to the character, temperament and circumstances of the individual consumer. Beyond a preliminary stage, at which stage the habit may be voluntarily relinquished, this growth is an inexorably real one. Beyond this preliminary stage, a man is a slave to the opium habit in the sense in which any man is a slave, say, to a tumour which grows in his body. As the result of the

preliminary stage, a craving for the drug has been created, and only by external force (such as a man being put into prison) can the consumer be weaned from the habit which keeps growing and increasing as it grows. Any distinction that there may be between the physical and psychological world ceases to be in the career of the opium smoker. An opium smoker would rather starve than do without his opium.

I do not think that the phrase "opium sot" is a happy one as applied to a fully developed opium smoker; "sot" implies the maximum of animalism, and this is much more applicable to a confirmed drunkard. The opium "wreck" is rather a species of disembodied spirit beyond the range of possibilities, either for morality or immorality, except in so far as his own life is an utterly wasted one.

As a student of a man's life not merely viewed as that life is at isolated points of time but viewed as a whole, i.e., as a connected series of successive intervals of time, I believe that the average opium consumer becomes at a comparatively early stage in his career a slave to the drug.

6. "Yes" and "No" are both correct as answers to this question. "Opium in moderation" is true in the sense of its being the quantum necessary to satisfy the craving, which increases in intensity on the individual subject, and more or less rapidly demands an increase in the dose of opium consumed.

The phrase "moderation" is most misleading; "moderation" is true in the sense that it is co-extensive with the full measure of the consumer's capacity.

Beyond the playing a preliminary stage as I have indicated, opium is indulged in mainly for purposes of intoxication. "Opium in moderation" is, therefore, as regards the full grown opium smoker, a contradiction in terms.

Among my personal friends I have many opium smokers who have taken opium for years. They would be a bold man who would assert that these have "taken opium without harm to themselves," such an assertion in the case of any one of these smokers could only emanate from a most superficial acquaintance with his life and circumstances.

7. Opium consumption, as I have indicated, is prevalent among the coolie classes. The rikisha coolie in the midst of his toilsome life takes refuge in opium. Opium dross eating is particularly prevalent among rikisha coolies.

The subject matter of this answer encroaches on a great economical question. That an opium dross eater becomes unable to pull or push his rikisha is what ordinarily happens. The only difficulty involved here is the consideration (presumably) that, to some extent, the opium habit may be the consequence, not the cause, of physical infirmity, created really by other causes. But as regards the Chinese labourer subject to an employer, e.g., in a workshop or factory, the subject is more complex. There is, e.g., an important sense in which the opium smoker is more valuable, in some cases, to his employer than the non-smoker. The non-smoker, thrifty and able to save money, soon goes back to the bosom of his family in China. To the extent to which the Chinese immigrant realises his own expectations as a progressing being, discontented on that account with his lot or constantly seeking to better it, to that extent is he deemed unsatisfactory by the employer of labour to whom a change of labourers is unwelcome on account of extra expense incurred in procuring men to take their place. The opium smoker paying for his luxury cannot save money, and is, therefore, more acceptable to his employer, to whom absolute dependence on the part of servants is most desirable. This economical consideration has, I believe, a vital bearing on the true answer to this question.

8. The customs of the Chinese, besides the quality of Chinese intoxicants, prevent drunkenness from being a national vice among the Chinese. Drunkenness, however, is growing among the Straits Chinese, who are, on account of their circumstances, the children of two distinct civilisations. Nor is such a growth of drunkenness diminishing the appetite for opium as amongst the Straits-born Chinese. The opium vice is less palpable assuredly, yet it is more inexorable than drunkenness.

9. The habit of opium-smoking, or the use of opium in any other way, is universally condemned by the Chinese. Many Chinamen, however, whom I have met here, have, speaking from a national pride, extolled opium-smoking as a vice as compared with drunkenness as amongst Europeans. But such praise of opium is a purely relative praise. A Chinaman will invariably

admit that both opium-smoking and drunkenness are bad.

10. Very rare.

11. This is a difficult question. Chinese opium consumers would rather have a bad time of it, thus forcibly deprived of their opium. My opinion is that there is no hope for the regular opium-smoker. Repressive legislation, if judicious, would be of advantage only to future generations.

The opium-smoker would, if he could, supply himself with opium from elsewhere. When he could not get Indian opium, he would do the next "best" thing—he would smoke Chinese-grown opium. If that were stopped, he would, like a prisoner in the gaol, just have to do without it.

A confirmed opium-smoker is capable of doing a great many things. It is, therefore, difficult to prophesy exactly what he would do without his opium. He would consider alcohol a poor substitute. In disgust at not having opium, he might "abstain altogether."

12. Over 50 per cent. of the entire revenue of the colony.

As to raising revenue otherwise, I cannot make any suggestions.

With regard to the last part of this question, public opinion in Singapore lacks solidarity. "What the people would say," &c., involves a generalised answer necessarily equivocal as representing the people as a whole, and therefore most misleading.

13. No; because (1) there are proportionately few Europeans altogether; (2) European social habits are more friendly to drunkenness than to opium-smoking; (3) the Europeans as immigrants from England and elsewhere are the creatures of a different civilization, including different external circumstances, e.g., opium is not obtainable in England as it is in China and the Straits.

In addition to other considerations already mentioned, Asiatics are more liable to contract the opium habit on account of—

- (1) Race peculiarities and race temperament in particular.
- (2) Climate and other external environment.
- (3) Easy access to the use of the drug.

All of these causes act and react on one another.

14. A question for medical experts.

15. Habitual consumers invariably desire to get free from the habit at such times, as they exercise the prerogative of "looking before and after."

16. There is, as regards the Straits-born Chinese, a distinct absence of national sentiment. In a few only of those Chinese in the colony is there such a feeling of hostility as that indicated in this question. Social distinctions and caste notions as inculcated theoretically and practically by the members of the European community have naturally done much to produce anti-foreign feeling in the more educated Chinese, and Britain's opium policy towards China is, professedly, one of the main foundations on which this feeling rests.

17. If Her Majesty's Imperial Government, as the result of the work of their Commission, can do anything to alter the *status quo*, such fresh legislation can be effectual only in view of the interests of posterity. There is no hope to be entertained for the present generation of opium consumers.

ARCHIBALD LAMONT.

English Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese,
Singapore, 9th January 1894.

Eighteenth Witness.—Mr. T. S. Kerr, M.B., C.M., Acting Principal Civil Medical Officer; 10 years in the medical service of the Straits Settlements; for three years previously a private practitioner in Singapore.

1. Opium is largely consumed by the Chinese in the Straits; it is also consumed by the native races of Malaya, e.g., Malays, Javanese, Bugis, &c., and other Asiatic races, though to a much less extent.

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also. No instance of children addicted to opium has come under my observation.

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10. I believe not.

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Presupposing opium unobtainable, they would probably take to some other narcotic, or alcohol; if to the latter, so much the worse.

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15. Yes.
 16. _____
 17. Opium I regard as the alcohol of the East.

T. S. KERR.

Nineteenth Witness.—Mr. J. Y. Kennedy, J.P., Merchant, Partner Messrs Allen and Kennedy; president of the Municipal Commission, Penang; formerly M.L.C.; 19 years resident in Java and the Straits Settlements.

1. Opium is largely consumed by Chinese in the Colony, and, to a smaller extent, by Malays. I do not know about other Asiatics.

2. From what I have heard and seen (I have no statistics to guide me), I should say that about 20 per cent. of the Chinese in the colony smoke opium. I believe the number of Malays who smoke it to be much smaller.

3. I have observed no particular effects on the great bulk of opium consumers. They appear to me to be physically, morally, and socially neither better nor worse than non-smokers. I know opium smokers who are physically feeble, and who possibly injure themselves by smoking; but in every instance that I can call to mind the men are naturally physically weak. From what I have seen, I think it would be about as reasonable, when a non-smoker is physically weak, to say it is because he is a non-smoker, as to say, in most cases of physically weak smokers, that they are so because they are smokers. I refer here entirely to Chinese. I cannot speak from experience about Malays.

4. The only opium consumers I have met have been, I believe, smokers.

5. I should think that not one opium-smoker in 100 (again I refer to the Chinese) becomes an opium sot; and personally I have only known one man whom I believe to have been a slave to the drug, and to have hastened his end by excessive use of it. Nearly all smokers are moderate consumers.

6. It is absolutely wrong to say that there cannot be moderation in the consumption of opium.

7. The majority of the Chinese (who form the bulk of population of the Straits Settlements) with whom I have come in contact are not opium-smokers. They have chiefly been merchants and traders, and some of the shrewdest of them have been moderate smokers. I have, however, in my mind's eye now a man who smokes and has smoked opium for years in large quantities. Physically he is a miserable looking man, but this, I think, is constitutional. Mentally he is one of the clearest headed men I know. About his morals and social qualities I can say nothing.

8. My experience, ranging over a period of more than 19 years in Java and the Straits, leads me to believe the abuse of opium is rare. There can be no comparison between the harm done by alcohol and that done by opium, either in the number of those who suffer or in the extent of the suffering in individual cases. Just as some men injure themselves by eating too much butcher's meat, others, probably, injure themselves by taking too much opium. But the injury in both cases is physical. Opium-smokers do not, so far as my experience goes, either go mad or commit crimes in consequence of smoking to excess, as excessive drinkers of alcohol do in consequence of excessive drinking.

9. I have heard Chinese condemn opium-smoking as degrading, but always, it appeared to me, more because they had been brought up to think it so than because of conviction founded on evidence. All natives that I have met look upon the excessive use of alcohol as degrading.

10. I cannot answer this from personal knowledge.

11. I cannot say.

12. Nearly two-thirds of the revenue of the colony is derived from opium. Were this source of revenue extinguished, I do not know what could take its place without causing injury to the industries and trade of the colony, and discontent among the people. They would think the Government mad to abolish it.

13. I have only known one European opium-smoker. He contracted the habit some years ago, and it appeared

at one time to have completely demoralised him; but he managed to break himself of it, and is now a respectable member of society.

14. I cannot answer this.

15. Not to my knowledge.

16. There is no hostility towards England among the inhabitants of the Straits Settlements for allowing the export of opium from India.

17. I have no remarks to make.

18. I cannot say how far the consumption of opium is common in the neighbouring native states. The rulers of those of them with which I am personally acquainted all raise revenue from it, and I believe those with which I have no personal acquaintance do the same.

J. Y. KENNEDY.

Penang, January 8, 1894.

Twentieth Witness.—Mr. Hugh Clifford, Acting British Resident, Pahang; 10 years' service in the Malay Peninsula.

1. Opium is very commonly consumed by the Chinese in Pahang, and more rarely by the Malays. Other Asiatic races in this state are not often addicted to its use.

2. Of Chinese, a proportion of probably not less than 85 per cent. are consumers. Of Malays, the proportion is probably not more than 3 per cent.; many Chinese and some Malay women smoke opium. Children do not indulge in the habit.

3. On the Chinese the habit has no appreciable effect, except in very exceptional cases. On the Malays, as a rule, the effect is far more marked. Their natural indolence is considerably increased, they appear to degenerate physically, becoming emaciated, and in many cases suffering severely from chronic constipation and piles. The habit brings them into constant familiar intercourse with the Chinese, to whom the Malays usually consider themselves superior, and it tends to cause them to lose much of their customary self-respect. Their fear of cold often makes them more or less personally uncleanly, which is not usual among Malays under ordinary circumstances.

4. Consumers almost invariably smoke opium, except when travelling, when opium is sometimes eaten as a substitute, but all appear to prefer the former method of consumption.

5. The majority of both races appear to be moderate smokers, though they are all unable to discontinue the habit at will.

6. No. I know of several such cases. One case of a Malay Raja of my acquaintance is particularly remarkable. The man in question is over 60 years of age, and has indulged in opium for the last 40 years. He shows no sign of the supposed effects of the drug, and has within the last year had a child born to him. All his children are perfectly healthy, and he himself is more hale than many non-opium smokers of the same age. His case among Malays is certainly an exceptional one, but among Chinamen many parallel cases could be found with little difficulty.

7. The majority of Chinese labourers, merchants, and artisans smoke opium. The habit does not appear to affect their efficiency in any way. At the present time there are a number of coolies employed underground in the gold mines of this state, the majority of whom are opium-smokers, who work eight hours a day with perfect ease. A number of coolies in this state earn their living by carrying loads, weighing as much as 120 lbs., distances of 15 miles a day. With hardly an exception, these men are moderate opium smokers. The merchant and the artisan appear to be no more affected by the habit than are the labourers.

8. It compares very favourably. A native who is a confirmed drunkard could not be employed in any position of trust. This does not apply to the opium smoker. Drink appears to have a far more marked effect on Asiatics than on Europeans, just as opium seems to affect the latter more seriously than the former. The physical effects of drink on Asiatics are more marked than any which are produced by opium. The habit of drunkenness is, however, comparatively speaking, rare.

9. It is condemned by the Malays because it is contrary to Mohammedan law and is, therefore, regarded as sinful. By the Chinese it is not regarded as degrading or injurious, unless it is taken in excess. By both races the alcohol habit is regarded as infinitely more degrading than the opium habit.

10. Occasionally, but very rarely.

11. The price of opium would rise, and money which moderate consumers now devote to the expenses of their wives and children would be employed to purchase the amount of opium to which the consumer had accustomed himself. In very few cases would it lead to the reduction of the amount of opium consumed. Those who could afford it would buy the same quantity of opium elsewhere. Those who could not afford to do so would probably take to eating it, when a smaller quantity is required to obtain the soothing effect which is induced by smoking opium. Others would very probably take to alcohol or some other narcotic. Few, if any, would break themselves of the habit.

12.—(1.) About \$15,000 per annum.

(2.) No.

(3.) They would object to additional taxation which was necessitated by what they would regard as an inexplicable caprice of the Government.

13. No.

14.—(1.) Among Malays the habit is usually begun by the consumer smoking small quantities of opium in order to increase his virility. The habit thus formed is not usually abandoned.

Among the Chinese the habit is largely due to the force of example, and much as men drink "for company."

(2.) Not usually.

(3) and (4.) No, but the habit is sometimes formed by being taken medicinally by natives suffering from dysentery.

15. Only in the case of Malays, who often regret the habit because it is expensive.

16. Certainly not.

17. (1.) In the native states of Tringganu, Kelantan, and Patani, opium smoking prevails among the Chinese and Malays in about the same proportion as is the case in Pahang.

(2.) No.

(3.) A considerable proportion of their revenue is raised from the opium farms.

(4.) The general opinion of the natives in this state appears, as far as my knowledge of the people goes, to be the same as that which I have already expressed.

HUGH CLIFFORD,
Acting British Resident, Penang.

British Residency, Pahang,
21st December, 1893.

Twenty-first Witness.—Mr. George C. Wray, Straits Civil Service, Protector of Chinese, Straits Settlements; 12 years resident in the Straits Settlements and China.

1. Yes, commonly by Chinese, not so commonly by Malays.

2. Perhaps 50 per cent. of our Chinese males over 20 years of age.

Few women smoke; children not at all.

3. The moderate use of opium does not (more than does the moderate use of food and drink) affect the moral and social condition of its consumers, and is beneficial physically.

Excessive opium smoking (like excessive eating and drinking) is, of course, baneful.

4. Consumers in the Straits generally smoke opium.

5. No. The vast majority remain moderate consumers, and are in no way slaves to the drug, or "opium sots."

6. It is wildly incorrect to make such a ridiculous statement.

I know many cases of consumers in every rank of life who have smoked for years, are still moderate consumers, and enjoy their opium without apparent harm to themselves. The only description possible of such cases is that some are personal friends of mine with whom I have smoked opium on occasion. They have taken their "quantum" of the drug for years

without appearing to suffer in health, or to have a morbid craving for increasing the dose, just as people of Western origin can take a certain number of cigars or glasses of wine daily for years without apparently suffering in health or becoming drunkards.

7. The majority of our Chinese labourers and artisans (and, I believe, the best and healthiest of them) are moderate opium smokers. The drug appears to benefit them and compensate in some way for the poorness of the rice diet with savouries, which is the national heritage of the Chinese poorer class. We Occidentals, with flesh diet and our national use of alcoholic stimulants, do not require opium. The jinrikisha pullers, dock labourers, and cooling coolies are moderate consumers, and are splendid workmen.

8. The use of opium is, I consider, not open to the same medical objections as those which are made against the use of alcohol, and the cases of abuse of opium here are far less common proportionately and infinitely less disastrous than are cases of abuse of alcohol in Europe. A large amount of alcohol is consumed here by natives, especially by the Straits-born Chinese, but I only know isolated cases of the abuse of it visibly affecting the health of the consumers. As the majority consume opium, and the minority alcohol, it is not easy to make a comparison between the effect of the two habits.

9. Chinese are unanimous in condemning the abuse of opium as degrading and injurious, and the use of it is, therefore, frequently condemned as being possibly introductory to the abuse of the drug.

Oriental have a greater dread of the alcohol habit than of the opium habit.

10. Yes, frequently, when they find they are smoking to excess, or beyond their means. Numbers are also broken of the habit in gaols and hospitals.

11. Opium would temporarily go up in price enormously; immigration of Chinese would stop, the Act would be a real hardship to the majority of our Chinese labourers, who would throng to the country or port where opium was most easily obtainable. They would not take to alcohol, "or abstain altogether" if they could help it.

12. See official returns.

The people generally would blame the Government and desert the colony, which would suffer irretrievably from such a fatal policy. The Straits Settlements are a popular resort for Chinese and others, because they get what they want, (*e.g.*, just government, well-lighted and watered streets, opium, &c., &c.) at a fair cost. Remove these conditions, and we court unpopularity.

14. Partly from curiosity, and partly because seeing others indulging in the luxury they elect to try it themselves.

(2) No.

(3.) I have no personal knowledge of the effects of opium as against the diseases mentioned.

(4.) Some Chinese believe in opium as a prophylactic.

15. I have heard those who smoke opium excessively say so, and I have observed cases in which they have given up the habit. Moderate opium smokers have no cause for complaint, unless they find smoking too expensive.

16. I have never heard of it.

17. I think that an infinite variety of rubbish and mis-statements is promulgated on the subject of opium-smoking. The Chinese whose anti-opium opinions are quoted by agitators are mainly the converts of European missionaries, whose intolerant views they have adopted on becoming Christians. I have frequently heard preachers inveigh against opium-smoking in the category of the deadly sins.

It is a poor argument against opium for missionaries to quote, as an independent expression of Chinese opinion, the views which they have with difficulty forced their converts to accept as part and parcel of Christianity.

The crusade (as is the teetotal movement) is moreover conducted unfairly. Individuals in the last stage of disease, whose lives would be intolerable were it not for the benefit derived from opium, are picked out and even photographed for exhibition as typical opium-smokers; no notice is taken of the thousands of healthy, sturdy labourers whose photographs are not projected on screens at anti-opium meetings, but who take opium moderately, and apparently thrive on it; probably few

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in these audiences have dreamt of the existence of such a class!

It is easy to detect an excessive opium-smoker as it is to detect a confirmed drunkard, but it is unfair to lead the easily-persuaded European philanthropist to infer that the excessive smoker is the ordinary type of opium-smoker.

I consider that it is as unreasonable to think of cutting off the supply of Indian opium because a certain number smoke it to excess as it would be to contemplate stopping the import of tobacco because a minority ruin their digestion by excessive smoking.

GEORGE W. WRAY,
Protector of Chinese, S.S.

10th January 1894.

Twenty-second Witness.—Shaik Eusooff, Merchant, Penang; a leading member of the Mohammedan community.

1. Yes.
2. —
3. —
4. People chiefly smoke and eat and even drink decoction of opium. The smokers ruin their health.
5. Those who consume greatly become slaves to the drug, and eventually turn out "opium sots," and others who use moderately do carry on their trade.
6. There is moderation to everything, and those who are idlers stick to it day and night. Yes; I have known a respectable Asiatic Mohammedan Kling merchant consuming opium for years secretly, yet without harm to himself. I have also known a Bengali Asiatic who had been using opium for many years, and he kept up himself well up to his death. I have also known a Penang born Eurasian, he looked well. He was very regular in his duty. His son, when young, took to consume opium and became useless, and used to go about with very dirty dress, and even in Chinese dress, and sometimes Malay's, and now he became a physician, dressing well in his style and looking well.
7. Labourers, to my understanding, never use. The one I have mentioned in the foregoing paragraph was a merchant, and the other was a physician.
8. —
9. Almost all the races consider the habit of consuming opium to be condemned and injurious.
10. They can hardly break themselves from the habit.
11. If the supply of opium is cut off, it would be very hard on every nation of consumers; the strong consumers would depart from the colony and go to a place where they can obtain opium. They can hardly obtain from elsewhere when the Government stops it, and they will also stop importing, that is why the reason many consumers leave the colony. They can never abstain from it, and there will be also riots in the colony.
12. Colony derives revenue from opium enormously, and if it is extinguished it would be very difficult to raise the needful revenue from other sources, particularly at the present time. I think to accrue such a large income like opium revenue, there will be no other chance than to impose taxes on import and export goods. The people will no doubt grumble when the Government imposes the new tax, but gradually will become accustomed to it.
13. No, because the Europeans have much in their way to take liquors of different sorts, because they know well that opium will make them dull, but liquors will keep them alive. The Asiatics fall and addict to it more because in many places they have heard or known very little about liquors.
14. People become used to it by friendly associations, and very seldom they do take to allay any physical pain. In my knowledge opium by itself is of no good to any sickness, except for doctors who use this with their prescriptions when required. The Asiatics never regard it so, but they mix it in medicine.
15. Opium-consumers generally try to get free from the habit, because they found it makes them dull.
16. I have never heard of any such hostile feeling.
17. Consuming opium is as bad as many other things, such as drinking, gambling, &c. One that falls in its habit excessively, it will do him a great injury in this world.

18. Opium is mainly consumed in native states. Some of the rulers and their relations are consumers. They do not discourage its use, they do largely raise revenue from it. Malay inhabitants, who are generally idlers of those native states, when once they become accustomed to it never abstain from using it and particularly this class of people eat very poorly and it brings them down at once.

SHAIK EUSOOFF.

Twenty-third Witness.—Mr. A. W. S. O'Sullivan, Straits Civil Service, ten years resident in the Straits Settlements.

1. Commonly by Chinese and Siamese, much less so by Malays and other races. By Tamils hardly at all, as they prefer alcoholic stimulants.
2. About 50 per cent. of Chinese males and 5 per cent. of Chinese females are opium consumers. Of Malays perhaps 2 per cent. I know no instance of a Malay woman taking opium; the betel-chewing, which is universal among them, seems to take the place of other stimulants. Nor am I aware that children of any nationality indulge in the drug, but to this there are no doubt exceptions.
3. I have only watched the effect of opium on the Chinese coolie. I should say that it was soothing and not deleterious, especially to men engaging in hard physical labour, provided it is not indulged in to excess, but excessive opium smoking is the exception.
4. They generally smoke in this colony.
5. The majority are moderate consumers. The "opium sot" is a rarer sight here than the habitual drunkard in England.
6. To the best of my belief wholly incorrect. I have not, however, ever followed out any special case.
7. A majority of the Chinese labourers do certainly consume opium. I know that many of the merchant class are addicted to spirits, having myself seen them in various stages of intoxication. It is my opinion that opium affects men of sedentary employments more than those whose occupations involve much physical exertion.
9. I believe that the majority of Malays, being Mohammedan, look on opium eating (in common with the consumption of alcoholic liquors) as objectionable, as being opposed to the tenets of their religion. Respectable Chinese regard excessive opium taking as both injurious and degrading, as it no doubt is.
10. I believe so.
11. I have no doubt that those who could afford it would, in the case supposed, get opium from elsewhere. Those who could not afford to buy the drug at an enhanced price would probably take to alcohol.
13. I know of no case of a European contracting the opium habit. I think this is probably because the taste for alcoholic stimulant is, to a greater or less degree, hereditary in most Europeans, and they naturally adhere to their national habit, just as the Chinese do to theirs. Spirits too are cheaper and less troublesome to absorb. Opium smoking requires considerable patience on the smoker's part, much preparation being required for a few whiffs.
15. No, as a rule they prefer to continue.
16. Not that I ever heard of.
18. I have no experience of opium consumption in the native states.

A. W. S. O'SULLIVAN.

Twenty-fourth Witness.—Mr. Seah Liang Seah, J.P., Merchant, formerly M.L.C.; one of the principal Chinese in Singapore; a native of Singapore.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by people of Chinese, Malay, and other Asiatic races, especially Chinese, as they are the majority of the population in our colony.
2. The proportion I venture to say that the adult males of Chinese are about 40 per cent., Malays and other Asiatics are about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. There are women

(Chinese) consumers of opium about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., most of them are in the country districts. Children: none consume opium.

3. I observe opium effects moral and physical, they have lazy propensity always, when smoking must be lying down; most of the consumers are poor, they generally bear in their minds wild thoughts and act against morality; I believe they are sociable; as far as I know the effects on each race are the same.

4. Generally consumers smoke opium (as people smoke tobacco in pipe) but the poor consumers eat and smoke the dregs; I am not aware that they drink decoction of opium in the colony, probably physicians use it for medicinal purposes; as I am not a smoker of opium, I am unable to explain its effect taken in all these forms.

5. Yes, and become "opium sots"; generally they use moderation, but when they get free they indulge it.

6. Cannot if they get free; about 10 per cent. of the consumers without harm.

7. Yes, as to the effect on their efficiency in their calling I believe all of them, more or less, are affected because, they become weak and languid and require much rest; but Chinese fishermen, consumers of opium, it seems does not affect them for they go through their work laboriously and efficiently.

8. In comparison to my observation that the consumers of alcohol are worse than the consumers of opium.

9. Yes, they are to my knowledge—so is with the alcohol consumer's habit.

10. If they wish to abandon the habit, they can, but gradually.

11. Should the supply of Indian opium were cut off, opium consumers would suffer by its effect, *i.e.*, by getting different kind of sickness, and would certainly find means to supply themselves with opium from elsewhere; as to substitute alcohol or other narcotic I have no knowledge of it; they cannot abstain at once.

12. Large proportion of the colony's revenue accrues from opium; if the opium revenue is extinguished, our colony cannot raise the needful revenue otherwise, and if the loss of opium farming and the obligation to make up the deficit, I think, people would say the scheme is unwise; it would benefit other nationality, and would cause burden to the colony.

13. I am unable to answer this question fully, but there are to my knowledge of a very few. I hope the European will give its right answer.

14. To my knowledge opium consumers led to use the drug when they are invited to a party (it is the fashionable custom with the Chinese), the guests are offered with a smoking of opium, thereby, they get into the habit; also when they take it to allay physical pain; to my knowledge opium is not prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, but when craving for opium they feel different kind of sickness were upon them, and when they smoke opium all feelings of sickness leave them.

15. With my knowledge opium consumers desire to get free from the habit.

16. I suppose there is no feeling of hostility in our colony by any Asiatic race against England for allowing opium to be exported from India, but the opium consumers regret themselves to get into the habit of opium smoking.

17. Generally people of the opium consumption are disliked to be engaged as employés.

18. To my knowledge almost the whole of the native states around the colony is common to opium consumption. The rulers of those states encourage its use, for they raise revenue from it. As far as I can learn the public or general opinion of the native states that, opium affects its consumers and on the people at large.

11th January, 1894.

L. LIANG SEAH.

Twenty-fifth Witness.—Mr. John Anderson, J.P., Merchant, Consul for Siam; thirty-two years resident in the Straits.

1. If, by the expression "commonly consumed," it is meant to ask—"Is the consumption or use of opium common to the whole community of Chinese, Malay and other Asiatic races in this colony and peninsula?"—then the answer is, "No"; and this negative reply applies whether these nationalities or races be taken collectively or separately.

2. From what I have observed, I give the following as my impressions, *viz.*—

(a) The percentage of Malays who use opium is very small indeed. I am inclined to believe that the Malay of Singapore (so called) having, practically, nothing to do with the use of opium, is due to (1) that he does not enter into continuously hard and trying physical labour calling for special stimulation to the system; and (2) that it would in many cases be considered as clashing with his creed as this construed by most, or many of them.

(b) *Other Asiatic Races.*—Coromandel Coast races and other Southern India people who come here may, I think, be said to have practically no connexion with the opium question.

(c) *As to other classes of Indians or other races (except Chinese),* their consumption of opium is, I should say, insignificant in quantity, as far as Singapore and the Malay Peninsula is concerned. I am speaking of opium in the form in which it is prepared in the Straits Settlements and Malay Peninsula for smoking, commonly known in Malaya as "chandu." Speaking generally, and at guess, I should say that the use of the drug, other than in the form of chandu might be put at under 1 per cent. of the whole population.

(d) *As to the use of opium by Chinese,* I would divide the Chinese into three classes, *viz.*—

(1)—*Straits-born Chinese.*—Of these I should say that opium smokers did not exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of that class. The Straits-born Chinese almost invariably earn their livelihood as clerks, store-keepers and light workers (*i.e.*, in the sense of physical labour).

(2)—*Chinese from China,* who have established themselves here in trade and shop-keeping and who (from a monetary point of view) are in circumstances from fair to well-to-do. Among these, I would put, by approximation, users of opium at between 15 per cent. to 20 per cent.

(2)—*Chinese of the Colony and hard labour class.*—I would judge that from 30 per cent. to at the outside 40 per cent of these use opium.

In my observation the use of opium by women is exceptional.

I have not known it used by children.

3. The answer to this question in large measure depends on the extent to which the consumer uses opium. If its use be abused by excessive indulgence, the effects morally, physically and socially must decidedly be prejudicial to the consumer. Its use in moderation, as a stimulant to the system of men who engage in constant hard and trying physical labour, in my opinion, helps to the maintenance of the working powers of such consumer.

I do not think that the effect on consumers of each race is or would be the same. Chinese, as a race, are naturally active, determinedly persevering, and physically energetic. The Malay is quite differently constituted, being naturally inclined to indolence. While a working Chinaman might use opium to an advantage, the Malay, if he used it habitually in the same quantity as the Chinaman, would, I should say, certainly find it to his detriment. A Chinaman, if of naturally indolent disposition and sluggish temperament, would, I should say, be detrimentally affected by its use in the same way as would a Malay consumer.

I should say that the use of opium by Malays generally (if such a thing could happen) would be detrimental and injurious.

4. My observation and knowledge applies chiefly to the use of opium (chandu) as smoked. Smokers sometimes also eat opium. Of its use drunk, as a decoction, I have no knowledge.

5. I should say that the great majority of opium smokers become "slaves" to the drug, but I only adopt the expression in the sense and to mean that once they come to it they usually continue to use it. As to the question: "Do I find that the great majority of opium consumers eventually become opium sots?" I say, as my impression, "No." It would, however, be very difficult to prove this either in the negative or in the affirmative; for the great majority of opium smokers in Malaya cannot be followed individually. They come mostly from China, work, earn, and go back to China, there to spend or retire upon their earnings; and it is significant that most of them returning to their mother-country take accumulated earnings with them.

I have reason to believe that opium smokers in the Straits (speaking generally) reduce their habitual

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consumption of opium when reduction in their earnings takes place.

6. I do not believe it to be correct to say that "there can be no such thing as moderation in the consumption of opium." In Singapore there are, among the non-smoking Chinese, men who claim to know of consumers who have taken opium for years without apparent harm.

The class of Chinamen who, individually, are constantly under my observation from year's end to year's end, are not opium smokers, so I cannot, from my own certain knowledge, give descriptions in detail of any instances such as are referred to in the last preceding paragraph.

7. This question has, to some extent, been dealt with by answers under 2 (d 1, d 2, and d 3).

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

As a class, most painters are opium users. In their case, I think it reduces the effect of poison inhaled into the system from paint.

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

9. Speaking generally, Malays and other Asiatic races (I do not here embrace Chinese), non-users condemn the habit. Non-using Chinese, to a great extent, condemn it. Consumers say it would be a hardship to them to be without it.

10. Some opium smokers have broken themselves of the habit.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the effect on the labouring Chinese population of this neighbourhood, who are consumers, would be hardship, inasmuch as they would be deprived of what they themselves find by use and experience to be a stimulant, useful and more or less necessary for the maintenance of physical working power and energy, and a preventive of fevers and illness.

The consumption of alcohol would probably increase.

But if the Chinese opium using labourer could get opium from elsewhere than India, he would get it.

If he could not get it in these Settlements, he would, by preference, go to work in a country where he could get it, and the Chinese labourer in these Settlements and in British Malaya being, by his work, one of the main pillars to their prosperity and progress, if he be forced (by prohibition of what he finds to be and may consider to be a necessity for his welfare) to seek his living and money-making elsewhere, prosperity and progress in this neighbourhood must cease.

The Indian labourer will not and cannot do work that the Chinese are suited for. They are differently constituted.

12. For the proportion of revenue derived from opium, see Blue Books.

If opium revenue were extinguished, I cannot see how the colony could otherwise (in the colony) raise the equivalent difference and "carry on" successfully. Its supply of cheap and efficient labour would decline seriously, property would depreciate, and, under existing system of government, bankruptcy would be speedy.

As to "what the people of the colony would say to the loss of opium revenue and the obligation to make "up the deficit," there would not, under such circumstance be many people (of the revenue creating class) left to say anything, let alone to exact deficit of revenue from.

13. Europeans do not, in any numbers, contract the habit of opium use.

If they were constituted, and worked as Chinese labourers are and do, and worked under same conditions of system, living, habits, and surroundings, Europeans might perhaps find the use of opium of some benefit.

14. I should think that opium consumers of the labouring classes are often led to first use of the drug from being given to understand that is a stimulant which gives them staying power.

Doubtless, in many cases, it is taken in the first instance to allay pain.

From what I have been told by consumers, I believe that opium is a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, and malaria.

15. Some opium consuming Chinese (those who go to excess particularly) would desire to get rid of the habit. Others would not. Others again are indifferent.

16. No. No feeling of hostility against England. Such an idea is, to my mind, quite absurd if applied to these parts:

17 and 18. As in the case of alcohol and tobacco, so also in the case of opium, there are abuses and excesses.

But, on the whole, opium, in my mind, is of benefit to the majority of the Chinese labouring classes who use it in moderation in the Straits Settlements and Native States of the Malay Peninsula.

If it were possible to absolutely cut off the use of opium, say, among the scores of thousands of Chinese coolies who on the Malay Peninsula produce every year more than half the whole world's output of metallic tin, these States and the Settlements would revert to poverty; not merely because excise revenue would be lost in the first instance, but because the Chinese labourer of the class that is found most efficient here would seek fields elsewhere, under rule that would not capriciously debar him from the use of what he not only considers to be a reasonable luxury, but what he also by experience finds to be a comforting and beneficial stimulant more or less necessary to his constitution and conditions.

If the British Government should ever pass legislation to prohibit the importation into and the use of opium in the Straits Settlements and the British Protected States of the Malay Peninsula, such prohibition would, in my opinion, ultimately produce a use of opium in these parts doubly greater than is the case under the present system of taxed permission.

Entire prohibition of opium would necessarily mean extinction of the present "farm" system, and with prohibition declared as a policy, the Government could not then recognize, nor permit either directly or indirectly importation of opium as at present.

Smuggling would, therefore, then commence on a large scale. And the geographical and topographical conditions of these countries and districts are such that if Government had to maintain an establishment to even check smuggling, it would be at a cost enormous and ruinous. And even then the check would be but partial, for when a Chinaman puts his hand and brain to smuggling, it would be difficult to find his equal in ingenuity, persistence, and success at that craft.

The extent to which smuggling can be carried on here, is, in some way, evidenced by its rampancy, notwithstanding strictest surveillance, some years ago, when the control of opium in Singapore, Johor, Rho, and the Karimon Islands was in various competing hands, instead of, as at present, under one control, or almost so.

And even just now, with all the watch and guard that a system which, under the circumstances, is about as searching and well organised as it possibly can be (without involving more inconvenience to the public than is now the case), smuggling is, I believe, carried on to an extent not inconsiderable.

In the course of a long residence in this Settlement of Singapore (I have lived here from my boyhood continuously, except for one absence of a year and-a-half, for 33 years) it has, in my later years of residence here, been my privilege to have had staying with me and introduced to me, passing-through travellers of missionary or ministerial calling, both men and women, and it has sometimes happened that these have expressed a wish that I would take them to see "something of opium."

In such a case I have taken my visitor to what Europeans and Americans call an "opium den," but what is commonly and more correctly spoken of as an "opium shop." With most of the people that I speak of, hurriedly passing through the Settlement to "see something of opium" means that they want to see the process of smoking opium; and the quickest and surest way of (in one sense) satisfying them is to take them to an opium shop, this being an establishment, the Chinese proprietor of which sells opium prepared for smoking, which the buyer can either consume on the premises, or can take away to smoke elsewhere. It follows that in most cases the smokers whom the visitor finds and sees indulging at these establishments common to a paying but low-class public, are men shrivelled, shrunken and decrepit, whose features and frames have clearly written upon them evidence of years of extreme indulgence and excessive abuse of opium, in fact, "opium sots" of the most extreme type that could be collected. I try to impress upon my visitor that this is

not an example of the use of opium, but is a picked concentration of "sots," and that what I have shown him or her in the opium smoking way is about the equivalent of a selected gathering of the most confirmed and besotted drunkards who cling to the doors and bars of gin palaces of a Saturday evening in the lower quarters of London. But in most cases I have felt certain that, upon what I have been compelled to show them, my visitors have left, believing in themselves that "now they know all about opium, and how evil a thing it is."

Last week I met a Church minister who has now had some years of experience and observation in this place. I asked if he had the Royal Commission questions on opium sent to him for replies. He said "No," and he added that if they had been sent to him the summary of reply that he would have given would probably have been that he had come out here strongly imbued with the idea (acquired in Britain from reading and hearsay) that the Chinese population in Singapore, or most of them, were victims to and ruined by opium, but that experience, observation, and knowledge on the spot of what actually existed had soon disabused his conceptions, and had shown him that the anti-opium agitators in Britain based their movement upon misconception.

I have travelled on both sides of the Malay Peninsula, over tin mining districts, and have seen thousands and thousands of Chinese miners working in swarms at tin mines, displaying physical energy and endurance that the white man, under similar conditions, could not have and apply, and at same time keep his full health. These mines are all open workings, and in the majority of them water is abundant, generally far too much so.

And when I have seen these Chinamen after working all but naked for hours together in water up to their knees, go back to their quarters and either before or after their meal, or both, smoke a pipe or pipes of opium, apparently without prejudicial effect, I have marvelled at the arbitrary inconsistency of some people in Britain who, with no true knowledge of the matter, certainly with no personal knowledge or experience, many of whom have never even seen a Chinaman, much less know what he is, or what he requires, would say to him, "Opium you shall not have."

What would happen were the same persons to legislate for the gentlemen who, for pleasure, fish in British streams, standing for some hours in water, to debar them absolutely from whisky or other stimulant! The Chinese opium-using tin miner under his conditions and circumstances needs or wants his opium fully as much as does the other his whisky.

What is one man's meat may be another man's poison. A Chinaman tin miner could not work on alcoholic stimulant. With opium he certainly can and does, and of those that can beat or compete with him at his work, in this climate, I know none.

Europeans and people of European extraction who are settled in these parts are what I would term our "responsible inhabitants." In number they are many; in numerous instances their term of residence has been long, their experience ripe, and their knowledge of the subject close; among them are men of education and high principles; they are men of thought, and men who are able to discriminate between evil and good, and who claim to side with the latter; they are not heathens, but mostly are Christians.

The responsible inhabitants, by residence and experience on the spot, and by contact with the population, have acquired personal knowledge of the country, of its climate and conditions and of its people, their constitution, disposition, habits and needs, to a degree which it is impossible to attain except under these conditions.

There would seem then to be at least reason in the suggestion that upon this opium question the personal experience and knowledge and the opinions of a very large majority of these responsible inhabitants should be accepted in arriving at a decision as to whether the use of opium is to be prohibited or is to be permitted.

If a consensus of opinion from this body of people, experienced and of common sense, be taken, opium will not be absolutely condemned.

That opium leads to the ruin of some who use it is undoubted, but these are certainly not in the majority, and I take it to be but reasonable that this disadvantage (which is certainly not limited to opium) must give way to the claims of a large majority.

Let any intelligent and inquiring man travel throughout Singapore and the Malay Peninsula, in high and low quarters, and let him make his observations and draw his conclusions from a complete and thorough examination into the matter, on all sides and as a whole. Then if he be completely unbiassed, that man will be

compelled to admit that opium is not the unmitigated curse to the people of these parts that some incorrectly informed people claim it to be.

Singapore, 2nd January 1894. JOHN ANDERSON.

Twenty-sixth Witness.—Mr. J. K. Birch, Straits Civil Service; 21 years resident in the Straits.

1. Yes, by Chinese and Siamese. Not commonly by other Asiatics.

2. Estimated from 40 to 50 per cent. of males of Chinese race and 5 per cent. of females of same race and Siamese. Children do not.

3. I cannot say what the moral effects of opium are on a Chinaman. In excess, it tends to cause idleness, but so will indulgence in any narcotic or spirit. The most noticeable physical effect is the reduction in flesh of consumers of opium, which is promptly put on again if the consumption is temporarily stopped. [See Frison Table below.]

4. Opium is principally smoked here in the form of chandu. It is also swallowed and drunk; in these cases the object is either to counteract the effects of leaving off smoking or to alleviate sickness.

5. I believe moderate consumers form the large majority.

6. Yes. Yes.

7. Probably the majority do not smoke, but I have no reliable statistics to offer. The effect on moderate smokers' work is inconsiderable.

10. Yes, they can and do so by taking opium in other forms, usually chandu dross pills.

13. I have not known of any instances. It is probably due to their being brought up in countries where the custom is prevalent or the contrary.

14. Generally it may be presumed for pleasure, as in similar habits. In some cases certainly to relieve pain or sickness. Opium is not considered a remedy for fever, but is taken for rheumatism, cough, chest and bowel complaints among Chinese.

15. Some do so.

16. Not.

J. K. BIRCH.

PARTICULARS OF PRISONERS admitted into PRISON who are addicted to OPIUM-SMOKING when FREE MEN:—

Name.	Date of Admission.	Sentence.	Weight on Admission.	Age.	Weight taken on 9th Jan. 1894.
Lim Ah Ki -	5/12/93	6 weeks -	lbs. 127½	Years. 27	lbs. 130½
Goh Sean -	5/1/94	7 days -	110½	50	112½
Kim Chong Ngoh	31/10/93	4 months	169	39	114
Said bin Awang -	14/12/93	3 months	106	27	110½
Hong Ah Chong -	8/12/93	6 weeks -	104	61	104½
Ng Sew Yeong -	11/11/93	3 months	73	33	92½
Goh Teng Lye -	6/1/94	3 weeks	112½	49	116½
Lim Sam Tek -	15/12/93	3 months	101½	23	102
Wong Ah Lam -	28/12/93	6 weeks -	115	26	115½
Ng Bah Han -	15/12/93	6 weeks -	113	35	117
Ng Chuah -	29/12/93	3 months -	123½	31	127½
Mun Ah Yew -	7/11/93	3 months -	96½	33	100½
Hamat -	18/12/93	6 weeks -	106½	38	113½
Lim Ah Nghi -	27/11/93	2 months -	78½	20	84
Chin Ah Lin -	5/1/94	10 months -	82½	24	84
Nahin bin Mahomed.	1/1/94	3 months -	86	40	89½
Tang Sah Ji -	16/12/93	2 months -	106½	30	113½
Li Chan -	21/12/93	2 months -	81½	27	80½
Wong Ah Pee -	25/10/93	3 months -	87½	31	94½
Lim Long -	10/11/94	5 months -	110½	52	115½
Mat Ah -	18/12/93	6 weeks -	100½	35	107
Chan Yaw -	6/12/93	6 weeks -	97½	29	104½
Tan Ah Hong -	6/1/94	1 month -	104	53	105
Li Pong Lye -	21/12/93	6 weeks -	131½	37	137½
Kim Seng Jim -	31/8/93	6 months -	88½	33	111

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Twenty-seventh Witness.—Surgeon Major O'Sulli van, A.M.S., Acting Colonial Surgeon and Municipal Health Officer, Penang; three years resident in the Straits.

I would premise that my information with reference to this subject has been derived from (1) personal observation at the gaol and pauper hospital, the opium shops, and to a very small extent from patients seen in private practice; and (2) from interviews with Chinese of all classes, including opium dealers, brothel keepers, and a large number of working men. I have also derived some information of trustworthy Eurasians conversant with Chinese.

Answers.

1. In Penang, opium is commonly consumed by Chinese and Siamese: Malays and Indians practically do not use it.

2. It is estimated that some 30 per cent. of adult male Chinese and Siamese take opium in some form. It is but very exceptionally consumed by women, and never by children.

3. Generally speaking, opium smoking in those who persist in its use leads to moral, physical and social deterioration. The degree and rapidity of the downward course vary mainly according to the material condition of the individual. A wealthy man, whose business demands considerable mental exertion and who can always supply himself with sufficient food, resists the effects of the drug for a long time. He becomes thin and ascetic in appearance, and loses physical strength, but his intellect appears to be in no way enfeebled.

On the man who has to work daily by manual labour to obtain his daily food, the effect after a few years—three or four—appears to be either that, noticing the loss of physical power and inability to earn as much as will keep him in opium and food, he makes a successful effort to get rid of a habit which he well knows to be undermining his strength, or that he gradually loses self-control, spends in opium what should go for food, becomes unable to earn a living, and steals in order to procure money to satisfy his craving. I have noticed frequent examples of this nature in the prison at Penang, and all classes of Chinese agree that such is a normal end of the impoverished opium-smoker who has not had the energy to throw off the habit as soon as he perceived that it began to interfere with his power of work.

Socially, the wealthy smoker gradually falls out of society and spends all his time on the opium couch. The poor man spends his time between the prison and pauper hospital, where he eventually dies, nominally from debility, diarrhoea or other disease, but really from the deleterious effects of opium.

4. They chiefly smoke a preparation of opium called chandu; the very poor eat the dross that remains at the bottom of the pipes, which is sold chiefly by owners of opium shops and well-to-do-smokers. Its effect is said to be more deleterious than smoking chandu.

Subcutaneous injection of morphia is now largely used for the purpose of enabling the smoker to break himself from the habit. This is done by gradually decreasing the dose and the number of injections, and some men who have adopted the system speak highly of its success. The Chinese, by the way, perfectly recognise the principle of using gradually lessening doses to cure them of the vice, and they complain bitterly that opium farmers will not permit the sale of drugs which are prepared with small doses of opium to secure this purpose.

5. A large proportion of smokers, it would appear from my inquiries, become slaves to the habit. A few wealthy men who have unlimited leisure practically become sots. The effects of opium on the intellect are not analogous to those of alcohol; the terrible moral depravity and intellectual degradation that affect the alcoholic drunkard do not occur in the excessive opium-smoker.

6. With few exceptions, the amount of opium consumed is only limited by the ability to purchase and leisure to smoke it. The majority of opium smokers appear to retain for many years sufficient discretion and self-control to regulate their consumption so as to leave a margin of wage for food. For example, Yan Sung, a huckster, has been taking opium for 20 years, and during that time his consumption has been regularly 18 cents (about one drachm) worth per diem. He earns about 30 cents per diem. He looks rather bearded, and says that, could he afford the luxury, he would smoke more opium.

A nother example is Yeoh Keat, a proprietor of jirikishas. He has been smoking for 37 years, and has during that time regularly smoked 30 cents' worth of chandu daily. He has no desire to increase his allowance, though he could well afford to do it. This is the only man of the labouring class whom I have met who has saved money while smoking opium. He was naturally a man of great strength, and is still muscular in frame and keen in intellect, though in appearance he looks some 10 years older than his actual age. I expected a defence of opium from this man, but was surprised to find that he was quite as energetic as the average Chinaman in his condemnation of it. He in effect said that the habit was very vicious and nearly always led to physical and moral degeneration, and that the opium smoker would steal without scruple if pushed to extremity in order to procure his chandu.

7. No.

8. During three years' residence in Penang I have not met a Chinaman who was an alcoholic drunkard. I have seen a few drunk; they conducted themselves like drunken Westerners.

9. The universal opinion in Penang is that opium-smoking is a great and degrading vice. The few Malay smokers are outcasts. Asiatics know practically nothing of the alcoholic habit, and are therefore unable to make comparisons. I have met a few wealthy Chinese who are in the habit of taking alcoholic drinks in moderation, and they say that alcohol is preferable, but I attach no value to the opinion, as they really do not know what the abuse of alcohol means. To Malays alcohol and opium appear to be equally objectionable. Tamils rarely take opium.

10. Very commonly. When a labouring man finds that all his earnings threaten to go in chandu, and that he is losing strength, he generally makes an effort to free himself from the habit, and he often succeeds.

11. Chinamen will have opium. If it cannot be procured from India, they will very soon effect arrangements to get it elsewhere.

12. This question will doubtless be answered by persons conversant with the subject.

13. No. Accident, religion and differences in the facilities for obtaining food probably account for the difference between Europeans and Asiatics in this respect.

The fact that Europe was unable to produce opium and that alcohol had become the habitual stimulant of Europeans before opium could be cheaply imported and that it was introduced as a poisonous drug administered as such with a sparing and trembling hand by medical men I look upon as accidental circumstances in favour of alcohol and against opium. Christianity in the West, as Mohammedanism in the East, discouraged its use, and as the people had a pleasing substitute in alcohol, they allowed themselves to be guided by their clergy. The difficulty of producing food and obtaining clothing and heat has been always too great in Europe to allow the commonality leisure for opium smoking. It can only be the stimulant of wealthy persons in Europe, whilst in Asia nature is sufficiently generous to allow all classes to indulge the luxury.

14. Seventy-five per cent. of smokers acquire the habit in brothels, 20 per cent. of the remainder commence it to relieve cough and physical pain, and 5 per cent. acquire it from association with friends who are smokers.

Every prostitute in every Chinese brothel in Penang is furnished with an opium pipe by the brothel-keeper. I recently visited these brothels to note their sanitary condition, and I noticed that the opium pipe was a constant and prominent article in every room. I was informed that every man who stays a night at a brothel smokes or tries to smoke chandu, and as a large proportion of the Chinese here are unmarried robust men who frequently visit brothels, it is easy to understand that they soon acquire a tolerably intimate acquaintance with the drug.

I have not heard that the Chinese look upon opium as a prophylactic or cure for malarial fevers. Most smokers, when asked why they contracted the habit, state that it was done to relieve cough or rheumatic pain.

15. Yes.

16. I think not.

17. Two facts indicate very clearly to me that the Chinese in Penang consider opium a degrading vice.

(1.) No opium-smoker will get domestic service in a Chinese house; and every smoker I have spoken to was obviously conscious that his habit was vicious, and he nearly always excused himself by protesting that he began to smoke only to relieve pain or cough.

D. O'SULLIVAN,
Surgeon-Major, A.M.S.,
Acting Colonial Surgeon, Penang.
Penang, 10th January 1894.

Twenty-eighth Witness.—Dr. W. Gilmore Ellis, M.D., M.R.C.S., Medical Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum; six years resident in the Straits.

1. By Chinese.

2. About 40 or 50 per cent. of the Chinese are consumers. A few Malays smoke opium, but I should think not 1 per cent. A few women smoke, but certainly not 1 per cent. I have never heard of children smoking.

3. In moderation, I consider opium smoking does no harm morally, physically, or socially. It certainly helps and stimulates either physical or mental exhaustion.

4. They chiefly, I may say nearly invariably, smoke.

Opium eating or drinking undoubtedly does act harmfully both upon the physical and mental condition if taken to any extent, more especially because the amount of opium required is likely to increase from day to day, and the consumer becomes an opium sot.

5. On the other hand, but a comparative few opium-smokers become sots, the large majority regularly smoking a small amount which, if not beneficial, is certainly not harmful to them.

I should consider that in Singapore more than 75 per cent. of the opium smokers are very moderate consumers.

6. No, certainly not. I personally know many moderate consumers who have smoked for years without any apparent harm, mentally or physically.

Tinⁿ Nye Ek, at. 35, my Chinese teacher, commenced smoking opium 11 years ago, was induced to do so by a friend. Has smoked regularly ever since. Only smokes in the evenings, and then but five or six pipes. Does not smoke in the mornings, as he has work to do, and therefore has no time. Besides, opium is expensive. If he missed smoking any evening, about 8.30 (half an hour after his usual time to commence) he would start sweating profusely. This would last about an hour, and he would be generally uncomfortable and distressed until he procured his customary pipe. He but seldom exceeds his usual quantity, not more than four or five times a year, these occasions being holidays when having a "burst" with friends. He is a clever, sharp man, with a bright eye and clear complexion, physically very strong and in good health.

He tells me that he considers his thinking powers increased by his small consumption of opium, and that it gives him extra strength and keeps him healthy.

Tng Kat Keng, Chinese, at. 27, Chinese letter writer. Began to smoke opium six years ago when suffering from dysentery. Has smoked regularly twice a day ever since, at about 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. Usually smokes about three or four pipes in the morning and the same quantity in the evening.

He has often told me that if he misses smoking either in the morning or in the evening it causes him to feel tired and unable to work or think well, otherwise he feels nothing.

He is an intellectual, pleasant, strong and healthy looking young Chinaman. I have seen him daily for the past year. Have often seen him smoking, but have never known him otherwise than sharp and able.

He tells me he but very rarely exceeds his usual amount of the drug, and this I also know from my own observation.

7. Roughly, the ratio of smokers to non-smokers would be about the same in the three grades, perhaps slightly larger in the labourers.

Tan Kye Lan, at. 43, manufacturer and merchant. An excessive opium smoker for 20 years, averaging 60 pipes and often more a day. He is emaciated, lips blue, face greenish coloured, eyes dull, but says he is quite well and has rarely been ill. He is a very clever business man, made all his money himself, is worth about \$200,000, and is making money now, being one

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of a very few. More or less similar cases might be multiplied to any extent among labourers, merchants, or artisans, showing that even excessive opium-smoking does not prevent efficiency in their calling. Only in the worst "opium sots" would efficiency be ruined.

8. I can best answer this question by relating briefly the experience I have gained during the past five and a half years as Medical Superintendent of the Singapore Lunatic Asylum.

Since January 1888, the total admissions and re-admissions into the asylum have been 1,236. Of these 75 were stated to be due to alcoholism and 24 to opium-smoking. Many of the cases returned as being due to alcohol were not insane in the ordinary meaning of that term, but were delirious from drinking bouts of the poisonous stuff usually sold to natives as brandy, whisky, arracks, &c., and they all quickly recovered. Other cases were due to the results of long continued drinking, and had typical symptoms of alcoholic insanity, and advanced alcoholic disease of the cerebral blood-vessels was found post-mortem in several fatal cases.

In a few of the cases only did careful inquiries fail to bear out the assigned cause.

I have carefully inquired into the histories of the 24 cases in whom, upon admission, opium smoking was stated as the cause of their insanity. None of them were the emaciated opium sot, in fact one rarely sees that being in Singapore; all had been opium-smokers, but in moderation. I was able to make out other causes for their mental breakdown in three-fourths of the cases; in the remaining six I could discover no cause. There were no special or peculiar symptoms in their forms of insanity, some were acutely maniacal, others melancholic, and others were demented. I am of the same opinion still with regard to opium-smoking being a cause of insanity as when I wrote in my report for the year 1891:—"Three cases returned as being due to opium-smoking were admitted suffering from ordinary forms of insanity, but I think it most probable that the smoking of opium was really the cause of their disease."

9. In moderation, no. Alcohol, even if taken moderately, would be considered somewhat degrading, especially by the Malays. I have frequently heard Chinese say, "Alcohol makes a man noisy and quarrelsome, opium makes him sleep."

10. Occasionally. I have had patients in the lunatic asylum broken of the opium habit without much trouble when first admitted, and who, having recovered, have been discharged and re-admitted after intervals of more than a year, upon their recovery from their second attack of insanity, assure me that, during the whole time they were outside they had not smoked opium once even.

One of these cases was first admitted as suffering from insanity due to opium-smoking; in him the cause of his insanity, as I was able to find out, was undoubtedly heredity.

11. In my opinion they would buy from China or from wherever else it could be obtained. Many would doubtless, failing opium of a good quality to smoke, take to drinking laudanum or morphia—habits that would be injurious to them to a far larger extent than opium-smoking ever could be.

13. No. They have their alcohol, to which many of them go when suffering from that same nervous depression that drives the Chinaman to his opium.

14. To ease pain, to stimulate them when doing difficult and exhausting work, for its action on the generative organs, to drive away misery and care, and last though by no means least persuaded by their friends who are already consumers, just as many a young European is thus led to drink. I have had no experience as to the prophylactic powers of opium, but it is so regarded by the majority of the Chinese here as to malaria and bowel complaints. They also regard it as an aid to digestion.

15. Many do and many do not. Poor people are the most prone to try and free themselves from the habit on account of the expense.

16. I have heard one or two Chinamen say so, but the majority only object to the import tax, as it makes opium dear, and for this they blame the British Government.

W. GILMORE ELLIS, M.D., M.R.C.S.

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The Straits.

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Twenty-ninth Witness.—The Honourable A. M. Skinner, C.M.G., Straits Civil Service; Resident Councillor, Penang; 26 years resident in the Straits.

1 and 2. Opium is consumed in Penang, as in the other Settlements, by nearly half of our labouring Chinese and a few Malays in the upper classes. The Siamese, whose numbers are small, frequently smoke opium. Neither women nor children indulge in the practice.

It is difficult to say more precisely what proportion of each race, and of the different Chinese tribes, smoke prepared opium. The maximum percentage has been placed as high as 60 or 70 per cent. for the Tie Chew "Gambier and Pepper" planters and for prosperous miners. On the other hand, a careful census inquiry recently taken in one district gave the result as being only 16 per cent. among the planters and 50 per cent. among the miners. For the whole of the Chinese, I estimate the proportion at about 35 per cent. for the Chinese population of this Settlement, not much less for the Siamese, but at not more than 1 per cent. for the Malays and Klings; the comparative expensiveness of the drug as compared with cheap spirits probably keeps the latter from indulging.

3 to 9. The effects of opium, both moral, physical and social, vary considerably in the different classes. On domestic servants, clerks and those whose work is light, it is far more injurious than on hand labourers, miners and artisans.

The great majority of smokers do not become "sots"; and in fact the majority who use the drug are "moderate." Some of the lower class, but few "eat" it; scarcely any "eat," but all "smoke" in the public opium-rooms. So far as I know, it is not recognised among the labouring class, or those who employ them, as any drawback to indulge in the habitual use of opium. On the other hand, the feeling against employing clerks and domestics who smoke is very strong, and I think is almost universal. I should say that, while "physically" and "morally" the effect of alcohol is decidedly worse than that of opium, yet as I read the word "socially," the case may be said in that respect to be the very opposite; for the respectable Chinese merchants, shop-keepers, clerks and domestics are in a marked degree indisposed to confess to any opium-smoking or to admit opium-smokers to their employment. Various explanations are given of this fact; but it seems in any case to be firmly held as part of the recognised Chinese code of moral opinion. "Alcohol" would probably come under the same ban; but this is seldom or never indulged in by opium-smokers.

11. If the Indian supply were cut off, opium would undoubtedly be obtained from elsewhere; there is no desire on the part of the great majority to free themselves from the habit, or to co-operate in restricting the supply. On the contrary they would be likely to abandon a country where the supply was restricted, or even where the superior Indian quality was not obtainable.

12. The revenue of the Settlement for 1893 was \$1,325,000; of this, \$600,000, or 45 per cent., was derived from opium. It is, I find, a common error to overstate this proportion.

16. There is absolutely no feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India. The great majority here are in fact wholly ignorant of the geographical and historical bearings of this question.

18. The rulers of the Malay and Siamese States around Penang decidedly do not discourage the use of opium; but, as a main source of their revenue, are anxious to encourage it as much as possible. Our strict Excise laws in this Settlement unquestionably operate far more directly and effectively to check the consumption in Kedah and the Siamese States; for all the opium they can import must necessarily pass through this port and is under the resident councillor's supervision, to check any smuggling back to Penang.

The other questions are such as require special means of information to answer usefully.

A. M. SKINNER,
Resident Councillor of Penang.

11th January 1894.

Thirtieth Witness.—The Honourable J. M. Vermont, J.P., M.L.C., Planter; 46 years resident as a planter in Province Wellesley.

1. Owing to the high initial cost of opium, the tax on it after it is manufactured into chandu—thus enhancing its value—prevents its being commonly consumed by the lower classes of Asiatics, as it is beyond their means; only well-to-do persons, labourers, or tradesmen earning a high rate of wage are able to indulge in the habit, as it is looked upon as a luxury and in many cases a sedative.

2. The proportion of adult males who consume opium in its different forms, I do not think exceeds 15 per cent. of the population. Chinese are the principal consumers, as they are able, by their energy and general superior intelligence, to earn a higher rate of wage than the other nationalities. Malays come next, but in a smaller proportion, as only the well-to-do can afford to indulge in the luxury. Among the natives of Southern India, of which a large proportion of the population is comprised, they seldom or ever indulge in it; if they do, they have imbibed the habit in India; there are a few who either smoke or eat bhanga as a substitute. A very few females of any of these nationalities use opium; if it is done, it is medicinally. I cannot say I have ever known a single case of children using it.

3. As far as my observation goes, I do not think the effects of opium are as demoralising if taken in moderation, as among those who use intoxicants in the shape of spirituous liquors. Physically, in my opinion, a labourer feels better after his whiff of opium, in somewhat the same way as Europeans do from the effects of a tobacco pipe or cigar. Socially, there is this important difference, it does not make him quarrelsome as in the case with the generality of dram drinkers; in fact it is apparently soothing to the nerves and invigorating to the system, allays pain, and, on long journeys, will assuage the pangs of hunger.

4. Opium is more generally smoked than eaten, although the poorer classes, failing their inability to smoke, will eat opium when practical even to the extent of using the dross and chew paper which opium has been in contact with. I am unable to distinguish between the effects of each, except that the front teeth of smokers are generally black.

5. The cost of opium prevents the majority of consumers becoming slaves to the drug; they are never, as far as I am aware, "opium sots"; at all events, this I say with a certainty, I have seen more "beer and whisky sots" than ever I have seen what could be called an "opium sot." An opium-smoker will resume work or business almost directly after the effects of his smoke has been dissipated, not so the habitual drunkard.

6. Certainly there can be, and there is, such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium; its primary cost compels it to be so. I know numerous cases of men who have been smokers for years, and have suffered no ill effects from it. I have many in my mind's eye, but about whom it would be invidious to give their names.

7. The majority of labourers do not consume opium, the price makes it almost prohibitory. I have been now 48 years working as a sugar planter, and have perhaps had more men of the Chinese and Tamil classes passing through my control than generally falls to the lot of one individual in his lifetime. I have now on this estate some 400 Chinese, of whom only 15 are regular opium smokers, and that in moderation. Of the 1,500 Tamils—men, women, and children—I am not aware of a single opium smoker among them. I have also some 20 Chinese tradesmen, of whom only three are regular opium smokers, but although they are such, it does not incapacitate them from work. Some of the Chinese merchants are no doubt regular opium smokers, but it does not impair their keenness in business transactions.

8. The Chinese who smoke opium are quiet and inoffensive, and are fit for work soon after doing so. The Tamil race are often addicted to drinking alcohol, are quarrelsome and pugnacious when under the effects of drink, requiring a day or two to get over their debauchery.

9. The habit of smoking opium is so ingrafted among the Chinese that it cannot be looked upon as degrading. The only people I have ever heard speaking against it are missionaries. Of course a man who smokes has to

pay for it, and consequently has less money to spend in other ways, but the same may be said of those who indulge in costly wines and expensive cigars. Chinese are an abstemious race, their national drink being "samsoo," a harmless kind of spirit. It is only in coming in contact with Europeans that they learn to drink brandy and other liquors. Malays, by their religion, abhor alcohol, or should do so. The lower classes of Tamils are great drunkards. I certainly think the opium smoker is preferable to the alcohol user.

10. Some do try to do so, especially among the converts at the suggestion of their minister.

11. It is human nature to take stimulants of some kind or another. Were opium prohibited it would cause rioting and warfare; it would be smuggled into the colony in every imaginable way and means. We have only to look at what goes on now. With all the supervision of the renters of the farm, smuggling goes on to an unknown extent; it is smuggled by sea and all along the frontier. Do your best, those who indulge in opium will and must have it. It would be regrettable if they took to alcohol or some baser narcotics, which might be injurious to their health. Certainly they would not become abstainers; they would prefer leaving the colony for other places where opium was procurable.

12. The Straits Settlements is well known as a free port, and one where the bulk of the people are the lightest taxed of any part of the world; it is mainly due to this that it has become so important a colony.

The principal source of revenue is derived from what are called "Licenses," the monopoly of selling opium, spirits, and pawnbroking. From these three sources more than two-thirds of the revenue is derived; it is an easy tax to collect, affecting only those who choose to indulge in smoking and drinking, therefore not touching the general population who abstain from these luxuries; it also reaches those persons who, in a great measure, have certain advantages, but who in no way contribute anything towards the expenses of Government except in this way. Extinguish this source of revenue, the colony must necessarily collapse, as the only device the Government could fall back upon for revenue would be the very objectionable one of an import and export duty, and perhaps an onerous land tax—a very uncertain source of revenue; introduce these, touching as it would in a great measure the whole population, rebellion and discontent would be the result. The question is asked, "What would the people say to the loss of the opium revenue and the obligation to make up a deficit?"

There is no doubt the reply would be that the English nation to act thus had become a nation of fools by allowing themselves to be led in this way by a lot of fanatics. Our neighbours, the Dutch and French, would take advantage of the position of things, and take away our trade. It is lamentable to think that such a suggestion could ever be contemplated or enter the head of any sane man.

13. Europeans do not contract the opium habit, for the reason they have alcoholic and narcotic stimulants, besides many other sources, ways and means, to occupy their time. Asiatics, when a day's employment is done, have very few sources of amusement. In the Straits Settlements the law is very stringent against gambling; theatres and other ways of amusement are costly, so that many, having no way of occupying their time, indulge in the habit.

14. Opium consumers no doubt are led to use the drug to allay physical pain; it acts as a prophylactic in fever or rheumatic localities. Not being a medical man, I am not in a position to say more, but we have only to look at the Fens of Norfolk and see the reasons why it is used in low-lying districts.

15. They may do so when they find it is an expensive habit, but, like drunkards, it is difficult to break off the custom.

16. I have never heard any feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India; if any has arisen, it has been brought on by the discussions that has been going on lately on the subject.

J. M. VERMONT.

Batu Kawan Estate,
15th December 1893.

Thirty-first Witness.—Mr. G. T. Hare, Straits Civil Service; eight years resident in the Straits and China.

1. Opium is more commonly consumed by Chinese. Malays and other Asiatic races consume very little.

2. From about 20 to 30 in a 100 adults smoke opium. Very few women smoke; no children smoke.

3. The opium-smoking of habitual consumers does not appear to have any result, moral or social, that calls for notice. Physically, the skin of an opium-smoker of many years' standing and of fairly heavy habit becomes tinged with yellow, but this only applies to the men who smoke a great deal. Of course the truth is that you can no more pick out the opium-smokers from a crowd of ordinary Chinese than it would be possible to pick out those who took alcohol from those who did not from among an equal number of Europeans. I have personally known many Chinese of all classes for some years, and then suddenly surprised them smoking. I mean that I had not previously been able to gather from anything in their demeanor, conduct, or physical bearing that they were habitual consumers of opium. This I know to be the experience of many Europeans who see much of Chinese life. I distinguish, in answering this question, from noticing the effects of immoderate opium consumption. The above remarks are confined to ordinary opium-smoking, the practice not the exception. The effects of immoderation in opium-smoking, like intemperance in the use of any stimulant, is morally, socially, and physically an evil.

4. —

5. The large majority are moderate consumers. Very few exceed a limit that their reason, pocket, and self-control prescribe for each. Excess is confined chiefly to bad characters among the lower orders. I have met with very few cases of excess amongst the educated and mercantile ranks. This, of course, is only natural, as the more intelligent classes are more temperate than their inferior. Yet even amongst the intemperate, the hopelessly bad cases (like chronic dipsomaniacs) are by no means so numerous as commonly represented. I once, about two years ago, went round some 20 odd licensed opium divans (opium "dens," or opium "hells," as some people call them) in Singapore. This was a very severe test. Everyone knows that a registered opium divan is the rendezvous, in most cases, of all the social outcasts of Chinese society, and the place where the so-called "opium sot" flourishes and abounds best. I mean to say no respectable Chinese go to these common opium divans unless they are, as some are, confined to a clique or run for the use of people in one particular street, and that here (as in a low-class gin palace alcohol sots would be found in largest numbers) the largest number of opium sots should be found. In those 20 odd licensed opium shops, however, I only found, out of some 80 odd smokers, 10 odd who had contracted an unconquerable craving for the drug. The rest, although heavy smokers, all said they had stopped short of the yin or unsatisfiable craving for the drug.

6. It is absolutely incorrect and false to say there cannot be moderation in the consumption of opium. The large majority of opium consumers of all classes and nationalities in the colony are temperate consumers. Personally, I can speak of very many cases of Chinese who have taken their opium without harm to themselves for years. In fact, there are very few of my Chinese acquaintances who do not take opium. I do not care to give instances in the Straits, though I could do so by the score, but confine myself to China, and mention three cases that I remember:—

(a.) In 1888 I went, when studying Chinese in the Hok-kien Province, to an island called the "Golden Gates," or Quemoy, near Amoy. There I made the acquaintance of the Tin-Tai, or Chinese official in charge of the district, and was often at his *yamen*, or with his son. Both father and son were opium-smokers of many years' standing. They smoked nearly every morning and evening, and were, as far as I could judge, as robust, healthy, and happy as anyone else. Both of them, too, were much more active than the majority of Chinese officials I have met.

(b.) In 1889, in the city of Chiang Chiu, in the Hok-kien Province, I rented a large Chinese house, the lower part of which was sublet to a Chinese schoolmaster of considerable repute and standing. He was a kind of "coach" for the candidates for the first Chinese degree, and had a number of Chinese schoolboys as well under his care. He was working

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from 6 a.m. off and on, all through the day up till 8 p.m., and had only one assistant. He was a moderate opium-smoker of nearly (then) 14 years' standing. He took two pipes a day—one in the mid-day, and one, long one, at night. He had done this regularly, he told me, ever since he took to the drug. I never saw a finer specimen of the literary class in the Hok-kien Province than this old gentleman was. He was about 50 and, to all outward appearance, as hard and hale as one could wish.

(c.) When in Amoy studying Chinese, I was on very good terms with the proprietor of a very large Straits, Manila and Amoy firm of the surname—chop—Ki, and often stopped at his house in the island of Quemoy, where he had considerable property and other business. He was a man of about 50 odd, and had smoked opium for over 20 years. When in his house I found that he took two regular doses a day, and never exceeded this limit. He had a great deal of work to get through, both in Amoy and in Quemoy (his town and country residences), and his opium-smoking did not appear to interfere with his capacity for business at all. He was a man of robust health and had an enormous appetite. Had I not known him in his private life, I should never have thought he was an opium-smoker.

In addition to the above three cases, I may add that my first and oldest Hok-kien teacher, Eu Seh, was a moderate opium-smoker, but that this habit of his never interfered with his duty to me. During the three years I engaged him in China and the Straits he did not fail once in being punctual in his attendance, or in attention to his work every day during the three years I read with him.

7. Comparatively few merchants take opium; the labourers and artisans take more. The effect of the habit of opium-smoking on the efficiency of their calling is often marked. An opium-smoker under press of work will outlast another man who goes without the stimulant. I do not know, and never heard, of any Chinaman's efficiency on his calling being interfered with by the moderate use of the opium stimulant.

8. As far as my experience and observation goes as regards the use of opium compared with the use of alcohol, I am of opinion that the mere use of alcohol by the Chinese is worse for them and less suited to their nature and disposition than the use of opium; as regards the abuse of alcohol amongst the Chinese (nearly all confined to the Straits-born Chinese), I am very strongly of opinion that the evil results are far greater than those that follow from the abuse of opium-smoking. Drunkenness, though very rare in China, is not uncommon among the Straits-born Chinese, and a Chinese drunkard, besides being always quarrelsome and brutal, is always unfit to do any work. On the other hand, the opium-smoker who has indulged too freely and got the opium *yin*, or craving, is yet sober and peaceful and, in the majority of cases, able to do work, e.g., very many of the rikisha coolies (nearly all the low-class of men) smoke opium in excess, yet live on from day to day merely by pulling their rikishas—by no means light labour. Victims of excess in opium-smoking are, of course, as untrustworthy and shifty as drunkards and morphia sots, and nothing can be done with them.

9. I have never heard of the habit of moderate opium-smoking being considered degrading or injurious by Chinese. Excess and abuse of the habit is, of course, condemned. In the opinion of the better classes of Chinese, opium-smoking is looked upon as a doubtful benefit, in that many persons would be better off without this stimulant, just as many Europeans think "drink" a by no means unmixed blessing because many abuse its use. But compared with the alcohol habit, the Chinese consider the opium habit less injurious and less likely to degrade a votary who smokes to excess. It is true that if a Chinaman is about to engage a manager for his business, or get his daughter married, or intends to enter into partnership, he will prefer an opium abstainer to an opium smoker. But if he cannot get that, he will be just as content with the other. The real reason is, of course, that the Chinaman, who has ever a keen eye to the future in all his doings, thinks that an opium abstainer cannot go wrong, because he does not smoke now, although he may smoke and smoke to excess another day, but that an opium-smoker is a possible opium sot that would give trouble, just as a blue-ribbon temperance man would be preferred for many employments at home over an alcohol drinker who is always a possible drunkard.

10. Yes. Anyone who desires to break off the habit can, by exercising self-control, cure himself of the habit. It is difficult to do, but there can be no doubt that it can be done. But few moderate ordinary smokers break themselves of the habit without some strong reason, at they find they are much better with the stimulant than without it.

11. If the supply of the opium from India was cut off, I have no doubt that opium from China and other countries would be smuggled in, and the Government would find it just as impossible to detect and suppress this as to detect and suppress Chinese gambling, as the Chinese could easily, drive a coach-and-four through any anti-opium importation legislation. I do not think they would take to any other narcotic. They would certainly not take to alcohol; the consumption of bhang might increase a little. The Chinese would certainly not abstain from smoking altogether. If the Government pushed matters to extremes, there would certainly be an exodus of Chinese from the Straits Settlements and Protected Native States to other colonies where more common sense prevailed.

12. —

13. I never heard of an habitual European opium-smoker. Europeans, I take it, do not smoke opium, because it does not suit them, and because there is no accommodation provided for them. The European does not like lying on a flat surface and sucking a pipe. His joints are not supple like the Chinaman's; the position, however, for enjoying the dreamy soothing pleasure of the pipe is recumbent, and the European does not like this. Further, opium has not the same soothing effect on the full-blooded European as it has on the slow, phlegmatic, and lymphatic Chinaman. I have tried smoking opium, but could not attain to the dreamy intoxicated stage that a Chinaman falls into after a few long whiffs.

14. The habit is easily learnt. The upper classes learn it in the interchange of social courtesies. The pipe is offered to a guest, just like a glass of sherry at home to a visitor. Others take to it to ease pain or assuage sorrow and distress. The gay young man about town will take it, believing in its aphrodisiac virtues. Friends and students persuade friends to smoke to keep one another company. Others take it under medical instructions, chiefly as a prophylactic against fever and beri-beri.

15. I have often heard of consumers trying to break off the habit, but on inquiry it turns out that they usually have some strong personal grounds for trying to do so. They find perhaps that it does not agree with them so well as it used to, or that they are spending too much on it, and have under pressure of circumstances to retrench, or they may be afraid of losing their self-control and becoming enslaved to its use, or they may have to do worse where opium-smoking is not allowed, and so on.

16. I have never heard of such a feeling either in China or in the Straits Settlements. On the other hand, I have repeatedly heard complaints made against the British Government for selling its opium so dearly in the Straits Settlements, and the wish expressed that opium could be bought as cheaply here as it can be got in China.

17. I am strongly of opinion that the moderate use of the drug is not attended with any evil results. The Chinese as a race, are far more temperate, frugal, and abstemious than Europeans, and can be trusted to look after themselves; they are naturally a sober people and fond of industry and quiet. They find in the drug rest for the body after heavy work, fresh invigoration and energy after mental labour for the over-taxed brain, and sleep and peace when suffering from pain or harassed by distress. Personally I do not think alcohol can be compared to opium as a judicious stimulant and narcotic. Both have victims of abuse and excess, but that is no reason why the great majority of ordinary opium-smokers or alcohol drinkers should be denied the use of their smoke or liquor in moderation. Moderation, however, in eating, drinking, and most things is greater among the Chinese than among Europeans, and it will be less an insult to common sense if we wait till we reform our own intoxicated Western habits before we surprise the sober Chinaman with a proposal to do away with his soothing chandu pipe. The perpetual sunny days and languor of our tropical climate induces more Chinese to smoke opium in the Straits Settlements than in China, and without discussing the good or evil of the system, chandu smoking is now become a luxury or necessity to immense numbers of our Chinese

subjects here. The Dutch will not allow many Chinese to settle in their colonies because their own population is so dense; the French drive the Chinese out of Annam and Tongkin by their extortion and taxation. If opium-smoking is prohibited in the Straits Settlements, the British Government will undoubtedly (if matters are pushed to extremes) drive away a number of law-abiding industrious Chinese, and further place an enormous number of more lawless and turbulent classes in direct opposition to the Government, as opium smugglers. No legislation, however stringent, could hope to suppress opium-smoking in the Straits Settlements. In a colony where three-quarters nearly of the property, trade, and business is in Chinese hands, where the Europeans are, compared with the Chinese, a mere handful, any repressive legislation of this kind that was opposed to the reason and common sense of the Chinese would be doomed to failure. After opium-smoking had been repressed on paper, opium-smoking would continue just the same in practice. On the other hand, the Government would have lost its opium revenue, and would be further, probably, hopelessly supporting a special opium-smoking detective department that, open to all kinds of bribery and corruption, and afraid to touch the better classes of Chinese who smoke, in time becomes a mockery and disgrace.

18. I have never been in the Protected Native States,
G. T. HARE,
Acting Assistant Protector of Chinese,
Singapore.
29th December 1893.

Thirty-second Witness.—The Honourable The Dato Mantri (Minister) of the Sultan of the State and Territory of Johor.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese, Malays, Javanese, Bugis, and Tamils in Johor.

2. I think about seven per cent. of the Chinese, and about two per cent. of the other Asiatic races in the aggregate, smoke opium in Johor. Very few of the women, but none of the children smoke opium.

3. I have observed that opium consumers generally become weak and emaciated; that the want of opium would turn some who have not the means to get it into thieves; and that they do not misbehave themselves in society.

4. As far as I know, opium consumers in Johor chiefly smoke opium.

5. The habit creates a hankering for the drug on each opium smoker, and all more or less become slaves to the drug, but there are some who are moderate consumers.

6. The slaves of the drug cannot take it moderately. There are consumers that have taken opium regularly for a number of years, who are stout and look healthy.

7. The majority of labourers, and some merchants and artisans of the Chinese and other Asiatic races, consume opium, but the habit does not seem to affect their efficiency in their calling, so long as they can get to smoke at the proper time; but otherwise the desire for it causes uneasiness and makes them dull and stupid till it is gratified.

8. Comparing the use of opium with that of alcohol among Asiatic races, I have observed that the moderate use of alcohol is more beneficial than that of opium, but as to the effect of the abuse of opium or alcohol, it is I believe, equally injurious and hurtful.

9. The opium and alcohol habits are looked upon by the Chinese, Malay, and other Asiatic races as equally degrading and injurious.

10. It may be said that opium consumers cannot break themselves of the opium habit, unless they take medicine to stop the keen desire for it, or are forced as prisoners to do so.

11. It would cause great suffering and death to the slaves of the drug among the aged and infirm, and only adults of robust health would be able to endure the want of opium. Undoubtedly they would supply themselves with opium from places where they could get it, and they would also attempt the cultivation of the opium poppy in their own country. Some of them would perhaps take to alcohol or tobacco or other narcotics, and some might be able to free themselves altogether from the habit.

12. About 600,000 dollars per annum, more or less, is the revenue of Johor derived from opium. If the opium revenue is extinguished, Johor may be able to raise

revenue from other sources. People say that they would be in great danger of having unjust and improper taxes imposed on them by the Government on account of the loss of the opium revenue; that it would put out of employment a large number of people engaged in the trade and preparation of opium, and that it would cause the loss of a portion of the chief revenues of the country.

13. People of European race do not contract the opium habit in any number, because they do not keep company with opium smokers; but Asiatics become more liable to contract the habit, because they associate freely with those who smoke opium, just the same as with those who do not, and so the result is that they who do not smoke are ultimately drawn into the habit and become opium smokers.

14. Some opium consumers are led to use the drug by being told of the efficacy of opium to prevent and cure diseases; and I agree with the opinion of many people that it serves as a preventive of fever or malaria and that it relieves the pain of rheumatism, as I have seen persons restored to health by the use of it. But the disease soon returns, and the worst of it is, the sufferer, by taking opium again and again to relieve the pain, begins soon to feel a desire for it, and thus gradually becomes a confirmed opium smoker.

15. Opium consumers do usually desire to get rid of the opium habit, but the keen desire they have for the drug prevents them.

16. There is no feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India, that I am aware of among any Asiatic race in Johor.

DATO MANTRI JOHOR.
Government Office,
Johor Baharu, 11th January 1894.

Thirty-third Witness.—The Honourable C. W. S. Kynnersley, Straits Civil Service, Acting Resident Councillor of Malacca, 21 years resident in the Straits.

1. A considerable proportion of the adult male Chinese population are opium-smokers. The practice is not common among Malays, though some few do smoke chandu. The other Asiatic races are not addicted to opium-smoking.

2. I should conjecture that from 30 to 40 per cent. of the Chinese and perhaps 2 per cent. of the Malays are consumers. Neither women nor children smoke.

3. Speaking generally, that is, of the great bulk of the able bodied labouring population who smoke in moderation, I have not noticed any bad effects—moral, physical, or social. It is an expensive luxury, and after a hard day's work I have no reason to believe that a moderate indulgence in the habit is more harmful than beer is to an English labourer. On the other hand, what is called a confirmed opium-smoker, that is, a slave to the drug who does nothing but smoke, is if possible a more degraded and miserable object than a habitual drunkard, though there is one point in his favour, namely, that he is only his own enemy and is not dangerous to others. Although opium-smoking does not lead to crimes of violence, the craving for the drug is so strong among habitual smokers of the idle class that they are driven to steal in order to satisfy this feeling.

4. In this colony consumers smoke a preparation of opium called chandu. They do not eat opium. They do not drink any decoction of opium, so far as I am aware.

5. I should say that the great majority of opium-smokers are moderate consumers. Perhaps 20 per cent. of the smokers become "opium sots," but I am hardly prepared to say whether this is so or not.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I am prepared to state, without being able to describe any particular case, that large numbers of Chinese take opium year after year with impunity.

7. The majority of Chinese labourers or certainly a large proportion of them smoke opium, and I have no reason to believe that the habit interferes with their efficiency in their calling.

8. Drunkenness is very uncommon among the Asiatic races, with the exception of the natives of Madras. They, and more especially those professing

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the Christian religion, are addicted to alcohol. The Chinese are fond of spirits. I have no hesitation in saying that, if instead of smoking opium, they indulged to the same degree in alcohol, the amount of crime would seriously increase. The spirits imported and chiefly "made in Germany" are generally of the vilest description, and the result of a general indulgence in drinking, such as is common in the great towns of England, would be appalling.

9. It is very common to hear it said of a man, "He is an opium-smoker," meaning thereby that he is addicted to a vice. In the same way it is common to hear in England "He drinks," meaning that the person alluded to is a victim to the alcohol habit. It is difficult to say what is the general opinion of the Chinese on the subject. If I took the opinion of the first ten Chinese I met in the street, the probability is that the majority would say that there was nothing degrading or injurious in the habit, but if, on the other hand, I consulted Chinese who are more or less Europeanized they would probably one and all profess to regard opium-smoking as a degrading vice. Among the Malays opium-smoking is universally condemned, although a few do indulge in it. There is no danger of opium-smoking becoming general among this race. Their religion and public opinion among them are totally opposed to it, and a Malay opium-smoker is looked upon as degraded.

10. I am not prepared to say whether opium-consumers often break themselves of the habit, but I am of opinion that cases do occur. The drug is so expensive that I should say the number of pipes was limited in a great degree by the amount of cash, and it must often happen that a man has to do without his smoke for a time.

For many years I have acted as Superintendent of Prisons, where the great bulk of the criminals (say 70 per cent.) are Chinese, and cases were often brought to my notice in which opium-smokers were, after a short time, cured of their craving. Even in the case of the most inveterate opium-smokers, opium is never given to a prisoner except medicinally by the medical authorities. It is probably the case that a confirmed opium-smoker never gives up the habit or if so very rarely indeed.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the Chinese would undoubtedly supply themselves from China. Indian opium is greatly preferred, but the consumption would not be lessened were the Indian supply withdrawn. They would certainly not abstain. It would be hopeless to expect to cut off the supply of opium even if importation from China were prohibited. Under the present farm system, which is in the hands of Chinese (to whose interests it is to prevent smuggling as much as possible to enable them to enjoy their monopoly), a very large amount of contraband opium and chandu is smuggled into the colony annually.

12. The total revenue of the colony for 1894 is estimated at 3,818,170 dols.* of this, dols. is derivable from opium. It would be as difficult for the colony to raise the needful revenue otherwise, as it would be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give up Excise Revenue. The ports of the colony are entirely free. To impose customs duties would be most detrimental to the prosperity of the colony. If the consumption of opium were prohibited instead of being taxed as at present, it would be necessary to tax other commodities. I do not think the needful revenue could be raised, and the people would object most strongly to burdensome taxation. The Chinese would go elsewhere.

13. People of European race do not contract the opium habit. There is no accounting for tastes. Europeans seem to prefer drinking.

14. I imagine that immigrants from China who are not accustomed to smoke opium find their fellow workman smoking and acquire the habit. In some cases it may be recommended to allay pain. There is, I believe, a general consensus of medical opinion that opium is a prophylactic against malarial fever. It is so regarded by the Chinese.

15. I believe not.

16. There is no such feeling.

17. There can be no doubt as to the terrible effects of the opium habit among "opium sots," but they are not to be compared with the evils arising from intemperance in England, or with those of venereal disease

which, since the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, has spread in the most alarming way among the Chinese. It is the duty of Government to discourage opium-smoking, and this can best be done by putting a heavy tax on the drug. Whether this is collected by the agency of a farm as at present or by other means does not affect the question.

C. W. SNEYD KYNNESELEY,
First Magistrate, Singapore,
Acting Resident Councillor, Malacca.

Malacca,
17th January 1894.

Thirty-fourth Witness.—The Honourable H. A. O'Brien, Straits Civil Service, Acting Auditor-General; resident 18 years in the Straits Settlements.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in this colony and by Sikhs and Bengalis, infrequently by Malays, except Javanese, Boyanese and Bugis, and hardly at all by Madrasis and Tamils.

2. I should say about 70 per cent. of the adult foreign male Chinese population here consume opium. As to the proportion of Sikhs and Bengalis I cannot speak, but I believe it to be large. Javanese, Boyanese and Bugis smoke opium in considerable numbers. The percentage of Malays proper and of Madrasis who do so may be practically disregarded.

I do not think that women, as a rule, use opium except prostitutes. I have not known any cases of its use by children.

3, 4, 5, 6, & 7. I draw a strong distinction between the use of opium in the form of chandu smoked in a pipe and all other uses of the drug.

There is a radical misconception, in my opinion, in this respect on the part of those who are interested in "the opium question," both in Europe and America. The only forms of use and abuse of the drug there known are those of its alkaloids taken by injection, or of preparations of opium taken by the mouth.

In these forms, once the habit of use is established there is, without doubt, an imperative physical necessity for periodical increases in the amount so used, and although the amounts of increase and the terms of periodicity vary with the individual consumer, the result, it cannot be denied, is, in the vast majority of cases, eventually disastrous.

But such, in my experience (and the subject I may say, is one which has engaged my attention for nearly 20 years), is not the case as regards opium, in the form of prepared chandu, used by the Chinese in a pipe.

That the average Chinese coolie will smoke all the opium he can get is, I fear, an unquestionable fact, and opium smoked as chandu to excess is followed by all the deplorable results which accompany the abuse of opium in other forms.

But even in cases of excess here the time at which digestive and nervous derangement exhibits itself, seems to me to be a late one, as compared with the results of excesses in the drug otherwise abused.

The point, however, which I would insist upon is that an opium-smoker can go on smoking daily the same moderate amount of chandu for a term of years, which seems to be limited only by the span of life, with undisturbed mental and bodily sanity. I need not cite instances, for they are to be seen at every turn in the colony.

I am told that the same rule applies to Sikhs and Bengalis, who consume the drug by the mouth, but I have not the personal experience of these races which would enable me to speak with confidence on the matter. One man of the class, whom I happen to know, has been an opium eater for 40 years, and is a fine specimen of humanity. Certainly as a class the men of this nationality in the colony are physically beyond reproach.

I look upon a Straits Malay who takes to opium in any form as a lost man. His natural indolence and indifference to the ordinary exigencies of a responsible life are by opium intensified with a rapidity and to a degree absolutely startling. I have personally known exceptions to this rule, and notable exceptions are familiar to all old residents here. But such exceptions are, to my mind, rare in the extreme. I should welcome any form of class legislation which would constitute the sale or transfer of opium to any Malay a punishable offence.

Javanese, Boyanese and Bugis seem to tolerate the drug to an appreciably greater degree than the Straits

* NOTE.—Figure not given.

Malay, but they are more unfavourably affected by it, and come more speedily under its wonted influence than do the Chinese.

As regards physical degeneration and so forth resulting from opium-smoking, I would lay stress on the facts and figures which are afforded by the gaol records of the colony.

For the past 10 years I have only known one case in which a prisoner was allowed any opium in any form in gaol, and during that period no instance is recorded of death as the result of enforced abstinence amongst opium-smokers however far advanced in the habit. Their sufferings on confinement are, no doubt, acute, but I have learnt that even the worst cases are able to eat something in the first 48 hours of privation, and all are, as a rule, about on the third day.

If this fact is considered, and contrasted with all medical experience of opium habitués in Europe, it will, I think, tend to bear out what I have said as to the radical difference between opium-smoking and the other forms of the habit.

One Bengali died in the Singapore gaol—no doubt from privation of opium. But he died through a misconception on the part of the medical officer, who understood that he was an opium-smoker, whereas he had firmly established the habit of consuming crude opium largely by the mouth.

The returns from the lunatic asylum are also very instructive upon this point.

8 & 9. Socially amongst natives, I do not think the question of opium consumption in moderation is much considered. A labourer is not a worse worker because he smokes opium, and amongst the coolie class no appreciable working time is lost by the indulgence.

Amongst artisans, who have more money at their command, the skill of the workman is not impaired, but the consumption of opium is greater, with the results of waste of time and a digestive derangement which takes the form of obstinate constipation. I have been informed that skilled artisans whose use of opium is excessive require one day off work in each fortnight for overcoming their troubles in this direction.

The mercantile classes of Chinese consider that the habit improves the intellectual faculties, especially in the direction of business acuteness.

I cannot speak as to the races of India in this respect. Malays as a class look upon the habit as a bad one, with very good reason.

I think it may safely be said that all races look upon excess in opium with pity and disfavour.

10. Opium consumers very rarely break themselves of the opium habit. From the native point of view there is, in the great majority of cases, no reason why they should; they look upon it as a pleasure, a great pleasure, and a harmless pleasure, and the suffering attending self-denial is so considerable as to be deterrent.

11. If Indian opium were to be cut off, the Asiatic population here would, of course, obtain opium from elsewhere. They would, under no conceivable circumstances, abstain as long as opium was procurable, and if the supply were restricted, would take to alcohol and the preparation of Indian hemp.

12. The proportion of our revenue which is derived from opium is per cent. The revenue could not be raised from other sources without the practical extinction of the colony, whose vital existence depends upon the freedom of its ports.

13. Europeans do not contract the opium habit to any appreciable extent.

Asiatics use the drug, I think, partly from heredity and tradition, but often it is first used to alleviate physical pain.

The Chinese, without doubt, look upon the drug as a prophylactic against fever and all the hydra-headed effects of malaria. This belief is not confined to the colony nor to Asia, but I am not a doctor, and cannot speak as to the value of the grounds on which it is based. It is practically universal here.

15. I have not met with many expressions of regret at their "enslavement" on the part of moderate consumers, except on occasions when their supply has been stopped or delayed. At such times I have heard men regret that they had taken to the drug.

On the contrary, consumers to excess always have a maudlin impotent desire to be free of the habit, which they express during the period of "opium satisfaction." But I have only in three cases known such desire to extend beyond the first stage of inhibition and consequent suffering.

"Cures" have at different times appeared in the colony, and have attracted attention, but they have all taken the form of pills, in which morphia was the chief ingredient, or of morphia injection.

Such cures have been extensively sought after by opium consumers, for they have been comparatively inexpensive, and they have been well compared to cures for beer drinking by the administration of pure alcohol.

The inevitable result of their use has, so far as I can learn, been very marked.

16. No.

17. Personally I consider the use of opium an evil, but a necessary evil.

It is an evil because it is a form of indulgence which is open to excess, and its excess is very harmful.

It is an expensive habit, and the habit once formed is as a rule, formed for life.

But excess is emphatically the exception and not the rule in the colony and where it exists, although its results are patently deplorable to a degree as regards the individual, they carry with them none of the social objections which attach to the slavery of alcohol (or of Indian hemp).

18. I leave this question to be answered by the residents of the several native states. I have had no official connexion with any native state for the past 10 years.

H. A. O'BRIEN,
Acting Auditor-General.

Singapore, 19th January 1894.

Thirty-fifth Witness.—Mr. T. C. Mugliston, Colonial Surgeon, Singapore; seven years resident in the Straits.

1. Yes, it is commonly consumed in the form of chandu.

2. A few Malays; 10 per cent. of Javanese; 30 per cent. of Chinese not coolies; 10 per cent. Chinese women; 60 per cent. of Chinese coolies. All these smoke chandu. Sikhs do not smoke chandu, but eat what is called Bombay opium. No children consume opium or chandu.

3. I cannot say that I have noticed any effect that is characteristic either from a moral, physical, or social aspect.

4. Opium is consumed in this colony as chandu, and as such is chiefly smoked.

5. In many cases they leave it off for a time, but as a rule not for long.

They are no more slaves to the opium pipe than I am to my cigar. They like their smoke, and I like mine, and we should neither of us care to give it up, or, perhaps, be able to do so without a certain amount of discomfort; the difference being that, if I thought my cigar did me harm, I should have strength of mind to put up with the discomfort, whereas the coolie would not do so. His discomfort would probably be greater. (See 14).

I presume the expression "opium sot" means one of those thin, feeble, emaciated beings, who smoke chandu, that we sometimes see. If they are chandu smokers, they are so because of their condition, and such condition is due to disease. As a rule they consume very little chandu (15 to 20 cents' worth a day), which is decidedly a comfort to them and medicinally of benefit.

The largest smokers here are towkays or traders, and coolie brokers, who consume ten times as much as the coolie, and they are robust in body and mind. I know one coolie broker who has smoked a dollar's worth a day of chandu for 40 years, and if anyone having business with him took him for a "sot" they would be considerably "left."

It is so much the rule for men to smoke the same amount of chandu (according to their means), for years that it is needless to give examples as if it were a rare condition.

In the full report, promised later, opium statistics of some hundreds of cases will be shown *in extenso*.

6. Please see 5. The harm appears to be indistinguishable.

7. The majority of Chinese artisans and labourers smoke chandu. Many Chinese merchants smoke in the same way that some British merchants drink, viz., to encourage business. One says "Have a drink," the other says "Have a smoke." In both cases the business

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Hong Kong.

is discussed during the drink or smoke. The idea that a smoker goes to sleep after his smoke and because of his smoke is a perfect myth, and the sentiment of horror and pity evolved at the thought of the "drunken sleep" of the opium smoker is one that is responsible for much of the present anti-opium crusade.

8 and 9. I am not prepared to say that any disease is produced by opium, whereas every organ, and almost every tissue, is morbidly affected by alcohol.

The Chinese coolie who smokes chandu does not drink alcohol. Malays of this country rarely smoke chandu or drink alcohol, and they look on both as to be condemned, but alcohol far more so than chandu.

I do not think the Chinese consider chandu smokers as to be avoided, but they certainly do alcohol drunkards.

10. Yes.

11. If they thought it were "cut off" through any action of the Government, there would be a riot. They would get it wherever they could. If they absolutely could not get it (which it would be almost impossible in our island to prevent), they would take to alcohol. If they did so it would be the 10 cents per bottle variety of German spirits, the maddening effect of which can be imagined, and crime, such as exists in England, would be generated here. The German manufacturer of spirits would be the one to benefit, not the British one.

13. Europeans do not smoke chandu. It must be considered as a question of heredity, race, food, associations and surroundings.

14. A very large percentage are smokers when they arrive from China. Many take to it to relieve the flatulent stomach-ache which is necessarily a concomitant of the vegetable diet which Chinese so largely affect. I am informed by those capable of judging that it is a prophylactic against malaria and diseases associated with planting and jungle workers.

15. It is a difficult thing to be sure of, as it is hard to get the person asked to either understand the question or to give a truthful answer. They usually answer as they think will please the questioner. My own opinion is that if they are well enough off to get chandu, food, clothing (very little), with an occasional visit to a brothel and a gamble, that they certainly do not wish to leave off smoking chandu.

16. Certainly not; on the contrary, they like to get it from India, as it is cheaper and better than that they would buy from China.

17. Please see 11.

18. The rulers of the native states all approve of the use of chandu (some are smokers themselves), and raise revenue from it.

T. C. MUGGLISTON.

Singapore, 20th January, 1894.

PART II.

Hong Kong, Colonial Secretary's Office,
No. 1780, dated December 20, 1893.

SIR, I AM directed by the Governor of Hong Kong to transmit for the information of the Royal Commission on Opium the enclosed copies of answers to the questions (copy annexed), prepared by order of the Commission and forwarded to His Excellency by the Secretary of State for the Colonies with instructions to submit them to such persons in Hong Kong as might be able and willing to give information on the subject, "including if possible (a) the most intelligent and trustworthy gentlemen of Oriental races, and (b) officials, medical men, merchants, and others who are specially conversant with Chinese and other Asiatic consumers of opium."

2. In compliance with the above instructions His Excellency caused copies of the questions to be forwarded to the gentlemen mentioned in the enclosed list,* and the answers that are now forwarded are all that have been received up to date. Such further answers, if any, as may be sent in will be transmitted to you from time to time as soon as they are received.

3. His Excellency desires me to state that he entirely concurs in the answer which I have returned to Question 12.

I have, &c.
The Secretary, Wm. O'BRIEN,
Royal Commission on Opium, Colonial Secretary.
&c., &c., &c.

HONG KONG.

Enclosure No. 1 in Colonial Secretary's Letter,
No. 1,780 of 1893.

No. 5.

1. In China, opium has been consumed moderately by all classes (Chinese generally), from juvenile to aged.

2. It cannot be ascertained the actual quantity consumed by each sex; it depends upon the constitution of consumers either more or less, and rare cases have been found among children.

3. We cannot say what particular effect has been brought on consumers by opium physically, morally, or socially. But it can be pronounced that its moderate use strengthens the body of consumers and refreshes the brain. One cannot say that consumers have been ruined by the reasonable use of opium. Its extreme use perhaps brings destruction, but in China we have not heard such a case as this.

4. In China, natives never consume raw opium, but they boil the drug to a certain extent through a process and then smoke in the fashion in vogue since years past. Other Asiatic races mostly eat raw opium in small pills, while a few take in other manner. Consumption of boiled opium has been preferred to that of raw opium, and it conduces to health as well as brings agility in business.

5. Consumers of opium are subjected to this drug, but it does not stupefy them. Chinese generally use opium, but we cannot mention any instance of such a stupefaction among them. Majority of these consumers are moderate generally.

6. There has been no moderation among consumers in using opium, no one can say. They have been consuming opium since years past, but there has been hardly any case in our notice of a noticeable injury done to them.

7. Traders coming in contract with us, have been found very apt and considerate in making business with us, though they have consumed opium before this. Labourers and workmen use opium in proportion to their income, but it has had no ill effect upon their working hours.

8. As regards the use and abuse of opium and alcohol, we can say that the latter causes great injuries to consumers, which opium does not.

9. Leaving other Asiatic races aside (of which we have not much knowledge) we can say that among Chinese, the habit of consuming opium is not considered either injurious or degrading; on the other hand, respectable as well as wealthy classes have been using freely. The general opinion among the above classes too, seems to be in favour of opium than that for spirit or alcohol.

10. Habituated consumers of opium seldom leave this practice.

11. The discontinuance of supplies of opium from India will not affect much upon consumers of these drugs in China, as other countries like Persia and Turkey provide them with these, as well as the cultivation of poppy has been freely going on as well as improving in China. If such a step will be taken, only India will be the chief loser, while the trade with other countries will be augmented, and the Chinese Government will have more revenue by the duties collected on the extensive home growth of opium, and a larger demand for such drug will bring naturally an encouragement upon cultivators to increase the cultivation. Chinese do take spirit manufactured in their own country, but they will never leave the habit of consuming opium to which they have been subjected.

12. There has been no revenue in our city, and therefore we cannot describe anything as regards these.

13. We do not know there is any European subject who have been accustomed to use opium in any form, also we cannot say why not. It may be imagined that there has been no cultivation of this drug in Europe and the vast spread of education, and therefore they may not have been habituated in,

* Enclosure B: see page 205.

14. We do not find out the origin of the commencement among consumers of opium, they use it constantly, more particularly at leisure. Also there is a firm belief among them that opium is a remedy against malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery, as well as similar sickness originated in the marshy places.

15. Perhaps there may be a rare case in which a habituated opium-consumer desire to leave this habit.

16. We have no knowledge of any Asiatic race about us having a malignity against England about the opium exported from India.

17. General opinion about the consumption of opium tends always in favour of it, especially among Chinese who believe it to be a source for the betterment of their health.

Having nothing to add below,

We remain, &c.,
ABDOOLALLY, EBRAHIM & Co.
(Musalman Merchants from India.)

No. 6.

1. Yes.
2. Chinese adults, 10 per cent.; Malay, 10 per cent.; Asiatics, do not know; women, 1 per cent.; children, nil.
3. Morally, no; physically, yes; socially, yes; distinction, cannot tell.
4. Chiefly smoke; eat very little; decoction, very little; effects can be distinguished if taken in different forms.
5. Majority of them do become slaves and become opium sots in cases of those who cannot afford.
6. There can be some moderation. There is harm, because when one does not get the drug at the proper time he feels lazy and drowsy.
7. Cannot give any opinion.
8. The abuse of opium consumers is sociable. The abuse of alcohol consumers is unsociable.
9. Degrading, yes; injurious, yes; opium compared with alcohol, the latter is preferable.
10. Can, with difficulty.
11. Yes, they would supply themselves with opium from elsewhere if the supply of Indian opium is cut off. They would not supply themselves with alcohol if they can get any other opium.
12. I do not know what revenue the Government derives from opium, but I would suggest that the same revenue could be made up if public gambling is allowed.
13. I do not know.
14. By associating with friends. Some do take it in the first instance to allay physical pain, but seldom. Yes, opium is a prophylactic against fever, &c., and is commonly regarded.
15. Great majority do desire to get free of the habit.
16. Do not know.
17. I would like to point out that opium-consumers in this Colony do not get genuine staff from the opium farm.

ABDOOL RAZAK,
Indian Musalman Boarding-house Keeper.

No. 8.

SIR,
Upper Lascar Row,
December 20, 1893.
I do not use opium, nor do I allow it to be used in my premises.

MAHOMED CHINAH,
Indian Musalman Storekeeper.

No. 10.

APP. XXV.
Hong Kong.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in Hong Kong.

2. About 70 per cent. of the Chinese adult males, I conjecture, consume opium, and about 20 per cent. of women; children do not.

3. Although the opium smokers look thin and emaciated, they are not necessarily weakened by the use of the drug.

4. The Chinese smoke opium; they never eat, nor do they drink a decoction of the drug.

5. The majority of opium consumers are moderate.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. Although I do not know, yet I have heard the Chinese say that there are many consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves.

7. The majority of the Chinese labourers consume opium, and it is said that the efficiency in their calling is kept up by the use of the drug.

9. The Chinese generally do not condemn the habit of consuming opium as degrading or injurious.

10. Most of the Chinese opium consumers can, and many of them do, break themselves of the opium habit.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, the Chinese will supply themselves from elsewhere, or they will produce their native opium in larger quantities. They would not substitute alcohol for opium, neither would they abstain altogether.

13. I have heard of some Americans contracting the opium habit in the United States.

14. The opium consumers are led to use the drug by curiosity, and the tempting descriptions of the pleasure of smoking given by the older consumers. They never take it to allay physical pain. Opium is not to my knowledge a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, nor is it so regarded by the Chinese with whom I have talked upon the matter.

15. Some of the opium consumers are desirous to get free of the opium habit.

16. Amongst the Chinese I have not seen any feeling of hostility against England for allowing opium to be exported from India.

F. SETNA,
Of Messrs. Cawasjee Pellanjee & Co. (Parsis).
Hong Kong, 13th December 1893.

No. 15.

1. Yes.
2. Males about 33½ per cent., women about ½ per cent., and children do not.
3. It does not affect them neither morally nor physically; a consumer's position will not in any way be socially affected.
4. They generally smoke, neither eat nor do they take a decoction of opium.
5. A very few of them become opium "sots." To my knowledge the majority of the consumers are moderate consumers.
6. I do not feel competent to answer to this question.
7. Most of the Chinese labourers, merchants, and artisans, consume opium.
8. I do not feel competent to answer to this question.
9. No, they would think the alcohol habit as degrading and injurious.
10. Yes.
11. They would purchase it from elsewhere. China has been and is still growing opium more than for the last few years, and the stoppage of the export from India, it would not affect their requirement.
12. About one-eighth.
13. I do not feel competent to answer to this question.

APP. A.IV.

14. They take their smoke as a tobacco smoker.
 15. The cases are few.
 16. No.
 17. None.

M. ALLY,
 (Persian Merchant).

No. 16.

Yes.

2. Men about 30 per cent., women about 13 per cent., children do not.

3. It does not affect them morally. Physically, a consumer has not the same fresh, healthy appearance as one who does not consume opium. A consumer's position is not in any way socially affected. The same may be said as regards other Asiatic races.

4. They chiefly smoke. They neither eat nor do they drink a decoction. If it is taken in the latter form also I cannot distinguish between the effects of each.

5. Not many, and very few eventually become "opium sots." I find that a considerable proportion of consumers are moderate consumers.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have known of many cases where opium has been consumed without harm to the consumers. There are several opium dealers with whom I am brought into business contact, who have to my knowledge been consumers of the drug for years, and who apparently show no signs of the drug having had any evil effects on them. I know also a case where a person (not a Chinese) who has both smoked and eaten the drug off and on for the last ten years, and who has not apparently suffered physically.

7. Many Chinese labourers, merchants, and artisans, smoke opium, but not a majority of them. The habit does not affect their efficiency in their several callings.

8. An opium smoker is quiet in his habits, whereas one addicted to the use or abuse of alcohol, especially among the Malay races and natives of the Philippines, is often boisterous and commits rash acts.

9. No, they would consider the alcohol habit as degrading and injurious.

10. Yes.

11. They would procure it from elsewhere. They would not take to alcohol nor to any other narcotic, neither would they abstain altogether. China has been and it still growing opium which statistics will show has been on the increase during the past few years, and the stoppage of Indian opium would give the Chinese authorities a fair opportunity of developing the growth of their own opium, much to the detriment of the British Government.

12. About one-seventh. I do not at present see any other means of raising additional revenue. They would consider the necessity of making up the deficit by other taxation as unjust.

13. I do not feel competent to answer to this question.

14. In much the same way as a tobacco smoker. They do not usually or often take it in the first instance to allay physical pain, although it is extensively used by the Chinese and Asiatic races for medicinal purposes.

15. The cases are rare.

16. No.

17. The stoppage of the opium trade would tell seriously on the already depressed condition of trade in this Colony. Many Indian and Chinese firms, who, by their existence, contribute indirectly to the other sources of the revenue of the Colony, and employ much labour, both domestically and otherwise. The closing of these firms would naturally throw many Chinese out of employment. I need hardly add that the Indian revenue would suffer to an immeasurable extent, and from all the information I can gather there appears no other means of making good this large deficit of Her Majesty's empire. I am of opinion that instead of crippling the opium trade every encouragement should be given by Her Majesty's Government to the development of the opium trade by the reduction of duty, and

other facilities in order that the dealers may be able to compete with China, which is steadily but surely making an inroad into the trade, and also by way of recompense for the heavy losses which the dealers have suffered by the recent action of the Indian Government in bringing about the sudden fall in the value of silver.

H. M. S. H. ESMALL,
 Of H.A. Ager and H. Esmail,
 (Persian Merchants).

No. 17.

1. Yes.

2. Most Chinese adult males are consumers. Women and children, I do not know.

3. The effects are varied. In some instances beneficial and in others detrimental.

4. Yes. Consumers generally smoke, some eat it also.

5. A good proportion are moderate consumers.

6. No. I have the knowledge two persons have abstained altogether from taking opium after consuming the drug for about six years, without harm.

7. Yes. The effect of it I do not know.

8. Opium consumers are always quiet and social, alcohol consumers are apt to create disturbances.

9. The abuse is the same I think in both.

10. Yes.

11. If the supply of Indian opium be cut off, it would not affect the Chinese consumers, they can produce it in their native country or obtain it elsewhere and will not abstain smoking.

12. About \$350,000 a year. It would be very difficult for the Colony to raise this revenue accruing from opium from any respectable source.

13. I do not know.

14. Opium consumers use the drug for the same reasons as others drink alcohol. It is also a physic.

15. Not as a rule; some express a wish but seldom endeavour to do it.

16. No.

17. No.

H. M. H. NEMAZEE,
 (Persian Merchant).

No. 20.

1. Very many Chinese consume opium. A few of other Asiatic races.

2. Of the Chinese, many adult males are consumers. Some women are; most of them are prostitutes; married women very rarely; and if they do so, it is in imitation of their husbands, no children.

3. Most opium consumers are physically weak, for the nature of opium is cold. It is a poison and is injurious to the essence of vitality and to the marrow, causing mucus to be secreted. Its effects are deadly.

Those who have smoked a long time, become anæmic, listless and procrastinating. Their faces become sallow. Their moral characters deteriorate and they become opium sots.

4. Wine is not poisonous. Taken in small quantities, no injury is caused. It acts as a stimulant and as a digestive and does not produce intoxication. The effects of opium are much worse than those of wine.

5. All consumers of opium suffer in health and morals and also waste their money. Consequently parents and older relatives, even if they smoke themselves, are unwilling that their sons and juniors should imitate them and advise them against the use of the drug. From this it may be seen that the feeling in favour of the prohibition of opium is universal, and if the prohibition was carried out, the Government would be assisting humanity to regain its original virtuous state.

10. The longer opium is consumed, the more difficult it is to break off the habit, as opium consumers grow stupid and lazy. The habit, if longer contracted, becomes confirmed, and cannot be broken, and opium consumers, even if desirous of breaking themselves of the habit, if deprived of their opium, suffer from many diseases, and hence are unable to do so. Still there are some, but only very few, who have succeeded.

11. If the supply of opium is cut off, opium consumers, although unable now to break themselves of the habit, will be compelled to abstain.

12. If the opium revenue were cut off, no doubt the Government would be able to take the proper measures to raise the needful revenue otherwise, and there is no need for me to make any suggestions.

14. It is only those opium consumers, who wish to put a stop to the reproaches of their family, who say that opium is a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism or malaria.

17. The general habit of smoking opium has arisen from the neglect of the Government to prohibit the practice.

In case the growth of opium in India is prohibited, the Chinese Government must join in using its utmost endeavours to prohibit its growth in China. Its importation must also be prohibited, and an international agreement made that no nation is to compel China to receive it. Any measures less than these need not be considered.

In thus stopping the supply of opium, the whole of Asia will be benefited, and England will be carrying out the will of Heaven in protecting its children, and will receive in return infinite blessings.

(Signed) LAU WAI-CHÜN,
(Chinese Compradore).

No. 21.

1. Opium is commonly smoked by the Chinese and Malays and eaten in the raw state by the Sikhs.

2. About 7 per cent. of the Chinese population, 4 per cent. of the Malays, and 2 per cent. of the other Asiatic race. Also about 2 per cent. of the Chinese female and 1 per cent. of the Malay. The children hardly at all.

3. Opium smoking does not effect the morality and sociality of the smokers, but it effects the constitutions. There is no distinction on its effects as regards races.

4. The Chinese and Malays generally smoke it, but the Sikhs mostly eat it in the raw state. I am not aware of people using a decoction of opium and cannot make any distinction between smoking, drinking, and eating.

5. The great majority of opium consumers do not become slaves to the drug, nor eventually become "opium sots." The majority of them are moderate smokers.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have known of many cases where opium has not worked any injury, it generally depends upon the constitution of the opium smoker.

7. No; non opium smokers are in greater proportion. No efficiency effecting in their calling, except where strength is required to perform hard labour.

8. The use of opium and alcohol in moderation among any race is not injurious, but the results of abuses of alcohol are more distressing and mischievous than those of opium.

9. The smoking of opium in moderation or in excess and the drinking of alcohol in moderation are not considered a degradation, but drinking alcohol excessively is generally condemned.

10. Opium smoking can always be cured from one week to a month's time, it depends upon the quantity consumed by the smoker.

11. If the Indian opium be cut off, it would not effect the Chinese very much, not even the Asiatics, the formerly will get supply from elsewhere. Some may abstain from the habit, but I do not think they will

resort to alcohol or any narcotics. Opium smoking is like gambling, same as drinking with Europeans, it is a national vice, and it can never be altogether done away with.

12. About one sixth of the revenue in Hong Kong is derived from opium monopoly, and the loss can be made up from various kinds of taxes which naturally will be resented by the people. The people will simply ridicule the idea of the abolition of the opium revenue.

13. There are very few Europeans who smoke opium, because the European public condemned it and also the habit of smoking involves loss of time which is repugnant to their activity. The Asiatic smoke it more generally because it is not condemned by their own people, and some rich people rather prefer their children to contract this habit as it does not involve any mischiefs.

14. Some people smoke opium to allay the pains of diseases, while a great many smoke for pleasure and amusement generally. Opium is a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, and malaria, in addition to diarrhoea, dysentery, stomachache, headache, vomiting, flatulence, and asthma; it will also particularly prolong the life of consumptive people.

15. Those who become tired of it and while others from poverty desire to leave it off.

16. There is no hostility against England for bringing opium to China that I know of.

17. Opium smoking is considered by the Chinese as a treat among the merchants and friends in the business place and other place of amusement.

Having resided twenty years in Foochow and ten years in Hong Kong and associated with the Mandarins and all classes of people, I have gained the above experience as expressed in my brief answers.

KAW HONG TAKE,
(Chinese Merchant).

No. 23.

1. Yes.

2. I am of opinion that Chinese male adult consumers are 10 per cent.; Chinese women consumers are one per cent.; Chinese children consumers scarcely.

3. Morally, not very good; physically, it not only weakens a man's constitution but causes laziness and waste of time. The evils are so great that I cannot define minutely; socially, fair. With regard to consumers of each race, I cannot draw any distinctions between them.

4. Chinese smoke; Indians and Malays generally eat. I cannot express my opinion between the effects of either smoking, eating or drinking.

5. Great majority of opium smokers not only become slaves to the drug but eventually they repent for having fallen into the habit of smoking, which they are very difficult to give up.

6. It is quite correct that no moderation can be made in consumption of opium. I know of no case of consumers who have taken opium for years without doing any harm.

7. Yes. A great majority. With reference to their efficiency in any calling, they are very irregular and not punctual, and regarding their activity they are not far from sloth. Example:—A man who smokes opium happens to be called out suddenly to do a certain work, he has first to smoke his opium before he starts it, otherwise he is not fitted to perform any work.

8. The distinction between opium and alcohol as far as I can detect is this:—A man who is addicted to drink can very often knock it off without causing any serious injury to his health, while an opium smoker finds it almost killing, and when once opium is taken away from him he is prostrated for weeks and sometimes for months.

9. A great majority of Chinese consider opium smoking is a degrading and injurious habit for one to fall into. They regard the opium is one of useless habit, waste of money, precious hours, and especially the lack of good constitution than to alcohol.

APP. XXV.

10. It can be done in some cases but with extreme difficulty.

11. If opium were to be cut off, it would, to a certain extent, in the beginning, give little trouble to the smokers. They will not be able to supply themselves from elsewhere, nor would they take any alcohol or narcotic instead; they will generally abstain altogether.

12. With reference to this paragraph, I regret to say that I am unable to express my opinion.

13. Very few European race contract the opium habit. I think because they know that that habit is not worth at all, whilst the Asiatics at the beginning are ignorant of the harm which will eventually cause them.

14. They are first led to that habit by simply having a puff or two for amusement, to while away their time amongst friends, specially at night. They are not taken at all to allay physical pain. In my opinion, opium is not taken by Asiatics as a prophylactic against fever, &c.

15. Most decidedly.

16. Yes. If England does not allow the importation of opium into this Colony, a great majority of the inhabitants will not fall into the habit of smoking it.

17. The only remark I wish to make is that opium be strictly prohibited to be imported into this Colony, as great many Chinese of all classes are repenting for having smoked it, and they are only too glad if the Government would adopt any method to exterminate this evil.

Hong Kong, CHIN U. TIN,
14th December, 1893. (Chinese Merchant).

No. 24.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in our Colony.

2. About 10 per cent. of the adult males of the Chinese community are consumers of opium. Some Chinese women also consume opium, but there are only a few of them. Children do not consume opium.

3. As a rule, the Chinese consumers of opium are inactive and their bowels are constive. However, there are exceptions to this rule. The opium habit does not effect the consumers socially.

4. The Chinese consumers smoke opium. They do not eat opium nor do they drink a decoction of opium.

5. The majority of the Chinese consumers of opium eventually become "opium gots."

6. It is incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I know of cases of consumers who have taken opium for years without harm to themselves. I myself have taken opium for the last 30 years, and I feel as strong, healthy, and active as ever.

7. A large number of Chinese labourers, merchants, and artisans, consume opium. As they have regular hours for smoking their opium, the opium habit cannot have much, if any, effect on their efficiency in their calling.

8. The Chinese as a race are moderate drinkers of alcohol; therefore it is not in my power to say what effect the alcohol habit will have on them.

9. The habit of consuming opium is condemned as injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese. Of the two evils the opium habit and the alcohol habit, they would choose the former.

10. Consumers of opium can and some of them do break themselves of the opium habit.

11. If the supply of India opium were cut off, some of the Chinese consumers of opium would supply themselves with opium from elsewhere, others would abstain altogether.

12. One-sixth of the Colony's revenue accrues from opium. If the opium revenue were extinguished, the Colony could raise the needful revenue by farming out Wai-shing and Manila lotteries. The Chinese are in favour of abolishing the opium farm and establishing a Wai-shing and Manila lottery farm in its stead.

13. The Europeans do not contract the opium habit, because they do not associate with the Chinese. The Chinese are more liable to contract the habit, because they often come into contact with opium smokers.

14. Opium consumers are generally led to use the drug for curiosity sake. Some of them use it in the first instance to allay physical pain. I know of my own knowledge that opium is a prophylactic against headache and diarrhoea. It is so regarded by the Chinese.

15. Opium consumers do not usually desire to get free of the opium habit.

16. There is no feeling of hostility amongst the Chinese in the Colony against England for allowing opium to be exported from India.

LUM SIN SANG,
(Chinese Opium Farmer).

No. 27.

1. Many Chinese consume opium, as also do some members of other Asiatic races.

2. About one-tenth of the adult Chinese males consume opium.

About one in a 100 among Chinese women, and a few children.

Some persons belonging to other Asiatic races consume opium, but not so many as formerly.

3. Great moral, physical, and mental deterioration take place in the case of consumers of opium, but I cannot fully describe the harm caused to the body and mind.

4. The general method of the consumption of opium by Chinese is to heat some and make it into a small ball which is placed in the opium pipe and smoked.

It is a rare thing to hear of eating opium or of drinking a decoction of it, but poor people who have a craving for opium, in order to save money, sometimes make a ball of opium dross (i.e., the refuse of opium which has been smoked) which they swallow in order to stop the craving. This habit is most injurious to the health.

5. Once the craving for opium has been firmly established, very grave and serious inconvenience is caused to the consumer.

6. Very great physical and mental injury is caused to opium consumers. A few rich people who have only commenced to consume opium suffer temporary no serious inconvenience, but yet they feel remorse, and search constantly for a means by which they may be enabled to give up the habit.

7. Although not more than one half of the labourers and merchants of any Asiatic race consume opium, yet all those who do so suffer great deterioration morally and physically. They become listless and lazy. They lose strength and waste their money.

8. Among Asiatics the evils arising from the constant habit of consuming opium are much worse than those arising from the consumption of alcohol.

It is possible to abstain from alcohol, but it is extraordinarily painful to break off the opium habit, owing to the sleeplessness and less of appetite which ensue.

9. Chinese and other Asiatics would, in my opinion, say that the habit of consuming opium is injurious.

The opium habit is worse than the alcohol habit.

10. Opium consumers desire to break off the habit, but the majority of those who are weak or old would suffer in health from doing so.

Very many habitual opium consumers desire to break off the habit.

11. If the sale of opium is absolutely prohibited, opium consumers will not be able to procure it, and the evils arising from the habit will be greatly diminished. Everyone will be grateful for the favour bestowed in prohibiting the sale of opium, and I think that other countries which produce it will follow the good example offered them.

If there is no opium to be bought the craving will cease, and no substitute will be required.

12. No answer.

13. Europeans and Asiatics who contract the habit are equally affected. Those who consume most are more liable to contract the habit.

14. Opium consumers commence out of mere curiosity and to amuse themselves, and the habit is gradually and imperceptibly contracted. I have never heard anyone say that opium is a prophylactic against fever or rheumatism, or malaria.

15. Those who have contracted the opium habit desire without exception to break it off because of its injurious effects. Even those opium consumers who are rich are also much hampered by the habit and loathe it accordingly.

16. All Asiatics are anxious that the sale of opium should be altogether prohibited, and the evil effects arising from it removed. I do not know whether there is any ill feeling against England or India on account of this.

17. The above answers give my humble opinion on the subject, and I submit them to your wise judgment.

LEUNG PU-CHI.
(Chinese Bankers).

No. 29.

Supreme Court, Hong Kong,
December 11, 1893.

1. I believe that opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in Hong Kong.

2. I cannot say what proportion of adult males (Chinese) consume opium, but I believe a majority of them do so. I do not believe that either women or children consume opium to any great extent.

3. Large consumers present an attenuated appearance. I cannot speak to other effects.

4. I believe that consumers chiefly smoke.

5 & 6. I believe that the majority of consumers are moderate consumers. I do not know of any individual case.

7. I believe that a majority of the Hong Kong Chinese of all the classes mentioned consume opium without injury to efficiency in their calling.

8. I do not think there is any general use of alcohol among the Chinese.

9. I think that the Chinese generally regard the use of opium in much the same light as Europeans generally regard the use of alcohol, viz., as a luxury when the use is moderate, and as a vice when it is excessive.

10 to 16. Not answered.

17. I would say that in comparing the use of alcohol by Europeans with the use of opium by Chinese the latter habit, unlike the former, does not stand out as a marked cause of crimes of violence. In a period of nearly five years, during which I have tried Chinese for almost every variety of criminal offence, I do not remember a single case where the commission of an offence has been directly or indirectly traced to the use of opium. On the other hand in the comparatively few charges of crimes of violence against Europeans during the same period the use of alcohol by the accused has, as may be imagined, been generally an element in this case.

(Signed) J. CLARKE,
Chief Justice, Hong Kong.

No. 30.

1. From the figures which I give in answer to Question No. 2 I should say that opium is commonly consumed by Chinese. We have very few, if any, Malays here, and I have not heard that the opium habit has become common among the Indian Police and other Indian residents in the Colony.

2. From information which I gathered three years ago when investigating a certain claim made by the opium farmer and from what I have learnt since, I should say that about 1½ chest of opium is prepared and sold per day for local consumption. Each chest gives 1,000 taels of prepared opium; 1½ chest therefore = 1,575 taels sold per day. Each tael contains 10 mace, and one mace will in the case of a hard

smoker give seven pipes, but an ordinary smoker such as a coolie or other of that class, will make 15 pipes out of a mace. At seven pipes per mace that would be 110,250 pipes per day, or double that if a smaller dose be adopted.

To this must be added the dross opium which, being much cheaper, is largely consumed by the poorer classes. Then there is the opium which is smuggled in from China and Macao, an unknown quantity, but which I have no doubt is considerable.

It is very difficult to fix the quantity smoked on an average, a large number take only a small quantity, others take more, but from these figures and facts there is no doubt that a large proportion of the adult males of the Colony are consumers of opium. A few women, I believe, take a little, and children do not use it.

3. As far as my experience, which is set forth below, goes, I have not (with the exception hereafter mentioned) observed any bad effect of opium either physical or moral on those with whom I have come in contact.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium, some may take it in the form of pills. I do not think any drink it.

5. In answer to this question I beg to state that from all I learn I believe a great majority of the Chinese inhabitants of this Colony smoke opium; and yet with all my experience as Registrar of the Court, Acting Attorney-General, and Puisne Judge, in which latter capacity I see more than 100 Chinese every week, either as parties or witnesses, I have met with only three or four men who could be called opium smokers, that is, men who bore traces of the effect of the habit on their faces or appearance. Since I have been in Hong Kong I have employed generally 10 men servants or coolies. I am told that all smoke opium at some time or other, more or less, yet I have never perceived any bad effect, they have always performed their duties satisfactorily, and have been ready at any time, night or day, to answer any call of service.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the great majority of smokers do not become slaves to the drug, or "opium sots."

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be any moderation in the consumption.

I repeat that all the time I have been in Hong Kong I have known but three or four cases of confirmed opium smokers. Moderation must be the rule in China and Hong Kong.

7. From the quantity consumed, I should say that a large proportion of the adult males of the Chinese population here smoke opium. As far as I have observed and from what I hear, this smoking has not a bad or harmful effect on their efficiency in their calling, but this, I believe, is because by far the great majority of people who smoke are very moderate consumers.

8. The use of opium produces no ill effects in the smoker. The abuse of opium leads a man to spend all or most of his time in smoking; if he is not rich he wastes all his money on this evil habit, even to depriving himself of sufficient food, but it does not lead to crime, to wife beating, or other deeds of violence which are the result of the abuse of alcohol.

9. I cannot say.

10. I have not sufficient personal knowledge on this part of the subject to answer this question.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off I have no doubt that the consumers would supply themselves from other sources, which, considering the amount now grown in China and the great and many facilities that exist all round Hong Kong for communication with the mainland, would be very easy. Then there is the Persian and Turkish opium, the importation of which would no doubt be stimulated by any increase in the price.

12. The first two paragraphs of this question will be answered no doubt by the financial officers of Government. In respect of the third, I should say that all those who believe that the quantity of opium which is consumed in this Colony does not prejudicially affect the consumers thereof, would think it unjust and hard to levy upon them fresh taxes to make up the loss of revenue, especially when the prohibition would be useless, but I would remark that I do not see how the opium revenue is to be extinguished, because to prevent the Chinese from smoking opium is impossible unless

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you fill the gaols with offenders against the "Opium Prohibition Legislation" and I do not presume it is contemplated to free the drug from all taxations or restrictions.

13. Europeans do not contract the habit.

14. A great number of those who smoke are led to use it, I believe, because after a hard day's work they have nothing else to do but to go and smoke for a short time before going to bed. A great many use it in talking over business matters. Some take it because they are ill, suffering from consumption or diarrhoea. It must be borne in mind that many of the miserable creatures who are represented as being slaves to and ruined in health by opium, have taken to it because they were ill. They are not ill because they smoke, but they smoke to obtain some alleviation from their ills.

15. I do not know.

16. There is no feeling of hostility whatever against England in connection with the opium trade.

17. I believe opium to be largely consumed in Hong Kong. What is the effect? Here is my answer.

I have now been nearly 12 years in Hong Kong. All that time I have been connected with the Court. While Registrar I was also Official Administrator, and Official Assignee in Bankruptcy besides, and was appointed receiver to some large Chinese estates. I have been Acting Attorney-General for about 2½ years, and Acting Puisne Judge from time to time. During all these years I have, as I have already said, met with only three or four confirmed smokers, and I do not know of any crime or offence committed either directly or indirectly through or on account of opium smoking, nor do I know of any crime which can be traced to the use or abuse of opium.

Moderation to a very large extent is the rule, and smoking in moderation does no harm; those who become slaves to it, and the number I believe to be very small, ruin themselves, but they do not hurt those around them. I have seen very large crowds in Hong Kong at the Jubilee, the races and other festivals, they all disperse without any trouble whatever. I consider there is very little trouble in Hong Kong among the Chinese, and whereas I am not able to trace any crime to the use of opium I have known of cases of manslaughter committed by Europeans when more or less intoxicated.

I therefore see no reason to interfere with the trade in and consumption of opium further than is necessary to raise a revenue from it as done in the case of spirits and tobacco.

Mr. Grétren, the head of the opium department in Saigon, who appears to have paid great attention to the question, informed me that as far as he had observed he could find no ill effects from moderate smoking where opium was used, but he believed that smoking gross opium or inferior preparations (made from gross opium) was harmful. This is a question to which the attention of medical men might be called.

EDW. J. ACKROYD, J.

Supreme Court, Hong Kong,
December 18, 1893.

No. 31.

12. About one-sixth of the Colony's revenue accrues from opium. If the opium revenue were extinguished the needful revenue could probably be raised otherwise, but in order to do so it would almost certainly be necessary to abolish the freedom of the port, and to impose import duties. It has been considered by some that such a course would be contrary to the obligations of the spirit of the treaty under which Hong Kong was ceded by China; and however that may be, the abolition of the freedom of the port would be a most unpopular measure and one calculated, in the opinion of the majority of the residents, of commercial experience, to disastrously affect the prosperity of the Colony. It should be borne in mind that the amount of the opium revenue is a net amount, and that in order to raise a similar net amount through import duties it would be necessary to levy a sum larger by whatever

might be required to cover the cost of collection, including the cost of establishing and maintaining a Customs establishment.

J. S. O'BRIEN,
(Colonial Secretary).

No. 32.

1. Yes, by Chinese.

2. 40 per cent. of the Chinese smoke more or less regularly, and 40 per cent. as an occasional luxury. Women smoke very rarely; children never.

3. The effect of excessive smoking is to induce nervous debility, and to unfit the consumer for the performance of any duty requiring prolonged activity of mind.

4. They smoke it.

5. On the contrary, most smokers remain moderate. Perhaps 12 per cent. damage themselves to some extent by smoking, and of these 12 three or four will be "sots."

6. Moderation in the smoking of opium is the rule.

7. The majority of the Chinese smoke opium. The effect of moderate smoking is practically nil, beyond the waste of time occupied by smoking. The effect of immoderate smoking is described in answer 3.

8. Cases of drunkenness among the Chinese are too rare to allow of a comparison.

9. The Chinese consider the abuse of opium as degrading and injurious.

In their proverb it ranks with, *but after*, lasciviousness, gambling, and drunkenness.

Drink maddens, while opium soothes. The Government should be thankful that they have imbeciles rather than maniacs to deal with among the intemperate portion of the Chinese community.

10. Yes. A regular smoker suffers considerable inconvenience from ceasing to smoke, and a "sot" is, as a rule, unable to relinquish the opium pipe unless placed under restraint.

11. In China the majority of opium smokers use native opium; only the richer members of the community use Indian opium. In Hong Kong the opium farmer boils only Indian opium, and the high price at which he sells it acts as a deterrent to its use. He allows very little Chinese opium to be smoked in the colony, as he makes his profit from what he himself prepares.

If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, smokers would resort to Chinese or other opium, and if it were possible to prevent any opium from being introduced into the colony (which it is not) they would probably inject morphine.

12. Fifteen per cent. If the opium revenue were extinguished, the deficit could probably be made up by additional taxation, but such increase in taxation would be much more unpopular than the opium tax is.

13. The smoking of opium by Europeans is practically unknown in the colony.

The practice recommends itself to a people naturally lethargic rather than to one of naturally active habits.

14. The Chinese commence the use of the drug in the same way and for the same reasons that induce Europeans to commence taking stimulants.

The Chinese regard opium smoking as useful for the alleviation of pain, such as headache, toothache, &c.

15. Those who find that the use of opium is having a deteriorating effect desire to relinquish the practice. These are the minority of smokers.

16. No. There are many who urge total abstinence from the drug, in the same way as many Europeans urge total abstinence from intoxicants, on the ground that the habit is extravagant and dangerous. These regret to see England countenancing the importation of the drug.

Many Chinese simulate a hatred of opium in conversation with Europeans, because they are aware that many Europeans regard opium smoking with abhorrence.

17. Arguments against the importation of Indian opium into China would apply with equal force to the importation of cognac into England. It is only a finer and more expensive variety of a drug manufactured in enormous quantities by the people for their own use.

N. G. MITCHELL-INNES,
Treasurer of Hong Kong.

19th December 1893.

6. Not quite correct; the quantity must be increased in time.

I know no such case.

7. Yes. Probably a majority of each class, but a larger proportion of the coolie class.

The general effect is to impair their efficiency in their respective callings. It is difficult to obtain details with accuracy.

8. The result, from a moral or social point of view, of the abuse of alcohol compared with that of opium is probably the same; but opium does not incite to the commission of brutal crimes. The abuse of alcohol among the Chinese is, however, most uncommon.

9. The general opinion is that it is degrading, and that opium is worse than alcohol.

10. Very occasionally; I should say never among the lower classes.

11. They would try to procure it from some other place. Tong King and China would grow it in larger quantities. Very few would take to alcohol or narcotics.

They would not abstain except from absolute want of the drug.

12. About one-sixth. Yes; the people, with the exception of the Europeans, would not say anything about it. The Chinese do not bother about Government measures if they are fair and reasonable.

13. In very rare instances. Probably because of the absence of custom and example (social intercourse with the Chinese being almost nil), and because of the race contempt for the habits of Asiatics. The Chinese acquire it chiefly from example, and, occasionally, recommendation by friends in case of pain.

Brothels and restaurant entertainments have something to do with it.

As a race they are inclined to lounge and be idle in moments of leisure.

14. The majority probably for reason given in last answer.

In a few instances the recommendation of a doctor or a friend who uses the drug would induce them, but I should say not generally. Not to my knowledge, and I do not think the Chinese have the idea suggested. Ordinary bodily weariness or pain is the only physical cause.

15. Yes, they say so, but make no continuous effort.

16. No. The Chinese generally are quite ignorant of the origin of the opium consumed in the colony. The educated Chinaman may perhaps talk on the subject, but he has no real feeling.

17. The opium-smoking divans are a disgrace to the Colony. They should not be permitted at all, unless with great care as to the conditions, sanitary and otherwise.

J. M. THOMSON,
Acting Registrar-General.

No. 33.

1. Opium is consumed to a considerable extent by the Chinese in Hong Kong. Whether its consumption can be termed "common" I am not able to say.

2. (a.) I have no idea. (b.) Ditto. (c.) Ditto.

3. The physical effects of opium, whatever they may be, are not apparent to the ordinary observer. I mean, for instance, that I have never seen a Chinaman under the influence of the drug as we commonly see, at home, men under the influence of liquor. As to the moral or social effects I do not know. (b.) I can draw no distinction.

4 & 5. I do not know.

6. (a.) I should say not; otherwise, if it has any effects, I conclude these would be generally apparent. (b.) No.

7 & 8. I do not know.

9. (a.) I should say not. (b.) I have never discussed the subject.

10. I do not know if they can break themselves, but I learn from the reports of the Colonial Surgeon that prisoners in gaol, known to be consumers of opium, have been deprived of it without evil effect.

11. They would probably supply themselves from elsewhere.

12. (a.) About 350,000 dollars. (b.) Only by additional or increased taxation. (c.) The people would "growl."

13. Not to my knowledge. (b.) Because they do not like it and do not use it, having other stimulants to which they are accustomed. (c.) Because their taste runs that way in preference to "samshu."

14. (a.) I do not know, probably in the same way as a European takes to spirits as a stimulant. (b.) Possibly. (c.) I have heard it so stated.

15. Not so far as my information goes.

16. I have never heard it suggested.

17. No.

B. MURRAY RUMSEY, R.N.,
Harbour Department, Harbour Master, &c.
Hong Kong,
13th December 1893.

No. 34.

1. Yes.

2. At least one half of the adult males. Yes, about 5 per cent. of the adult women. None under 17 or 18 years of age.

3. The Chinese become weak and anæmic, lazy and shiftless, inclined to become weak or easy-minded. Will steal in order to obtain opium if not able to continue to buy it.

Cannot say as regards other races.

4. They smoke chiefly; but old hands drink a decoction with tea in the morning to fit them for the day's business.

Injection of morphine is also practised to some extent by the poorer class, though forbidden by ordinance.

The effects are similar, though injection is said to be quicker in action.

5. The majority are inclined to be "sots." Moderation is not practicable with the lapse of time.

No. 35.

1. Yes, by Chinese and Malays.

2. Nearly the whole of the adult males, both Chinese and Malays, are consumers of opium to the extent that they have at one time or another taken it. Probably about 40 or 50 per cent. or more of both races are habitual consumers. Women do not to any appreciable extent take opium, nor do children.

3. With regard to Chinese the effects of any kind whether moral, physical or social from taking opium are in the direction of deterioration proportionate to the extent to which it is taken. In the first place it is a habit to which in the minds of the Chinese a certain amount of discredit attaches, and, indulgence in it, has the same demoralised effect upon the character as subjection instead of resistance to any other form of temptation. It is in the minds of the Chinese in the nature of a secret vice, and though, as in other directions, the conscience may become deadened by familiarity with the practice, I am nevertheless of opinion that in every instance the adoption of the habit is a wound to the moral instincts of the individual, and lowers his self-esteem to the general weakening of the character.

I am unable to say whether, were the habit regarded from a different point of view, it has any inherent

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debasing effects upon the character; but I am of opinion that the physical deterioration which accompanies the excessive use of the drug, has its corresponding counterpart in the character, and that though a moderate indulgence in the habit might have no appreciable effect upon either the physique or morale, it is more likely that the matter is one of degree rather than of difference in kind, and that it is not possible to draw a hard and fast line between excessive and moderate indulgence on the one side, of which injury commences, or, on the other, ceases to do harm.

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

I have had no experience of the effects of opium upon the Malays, who are a small minority of the Asiatic population in this Colony, nor am I able to say whether there are distinctions upon consumers of different races.

4. The Chinese, to a man, smoke opium, and do not eat it. In rare cases of excessive addiction to the habit it is customary, as a prelude to the pipe, to drink a decoction of opium water, but in no other cases. It is generally understood that the eating of opium is more injurious than the smoking of it; but the difference is relative and not actual.

5. The great majority of opium consumers in Hong Kong are moderate consumers, and a small minority only opium "sots."

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. Numerous cases might be adduced in which consumers have taken their opium for years without apparent injury to themselves. It is generally believed that the wealthy and well-to-do, who smoke the best opium, do so with less danger to themselves than the poorer classes who smoke inferior opium. The former smoke a drug carefully prepared from the raw article. The latter smoke opium prepared from the ashes left from the smoking of the superior drug. These ashes are known as opium dross, and the drug prepared from it as dross opium. I adduce two instances of moderate consumption which can be authenticated if necessary. I am of opinion that they might be multiplied indefinitely. A contractor, living in Wellington Street, has been smoking for more than seven years. When he first smoked this drug he did so for the sake of pastime. After having smoked for about a year he found that he could not do without it. One day, when he was busily engaged at his work, he had no time to smoke, and when the usual hour for smoking came he felt very unwell. After taking a few pipes he felt, immediately, relief. Since then he became a habitual smoker. He takes three mace a day in two times of one mace and a half each time (morning and evening). He never increases the quantity. Except that the smoking engages him about two hours every day, he finds that his opium has never interfered with his business. He is looking as well as before he got into the habit.

Another named Sik Chow. He was employed in a draper's shop in Jervois Street. He was consumptive. A European doctor pronounced that he would die in the course of three months. A Chinese doctor advised him to smoke opium. He did so. He became very

much better. He stopped spitting blood. Instead of dying after three months, he lived ten years more. He died last month of consumption. He was a moderate smoker.

7. I should say that a majority of labourers, merchants, and artisans amongst the Chinese of this Colony consume opium. Its effect upon them generally, where the consumption is moderate, would probably not be appreciable, though it is calculated to interfere with the physical endurance of those who engage in hard labour. A chair coolie, for instance, or a Jinricksha coolie would feel the effects of opium smoking, and would be less efficient in their calling in proportion to the amount of opium they consumed. The same remark would apply to any artisan whose work requires the application of hard manual labour. I am not of opinion that it has any injurious effect upon the business capacity of merchants, and it might quite conceivably quicken their faculties. Nearly all business transactions are negotiated and discussed over the opium pipe. I adduce three instances of cases under this question, and with regard to the artisans and labourers must again remark that, viewed as a body, there are not any apparent signs of decrepitude or want of efficiency in their calling.

Lam Shin Shang, manager of Opium Farm, has smoked over 30 years; smokes all day long. He is very thin, but is looking well and bright. Opium does not interfere with his business. He smokes over one tael a day.

Fung Wa Chun, compradore of National Bank of China, compradore of Shewan & Co., and secretary to the Yan Wo Opium shop, smoke a great deal, between six and eight mace a day, thin, but looking well; does all his work with credit.

A Leung was a central school coolie, was very hard and strong. He contracted with the habit of opium-smoking. He was very much weakened, and could not do his work so well. He was dismissed. He became a chair coolie. Habit gradually got worse. Could not earn enough to smoke. Became very weak, and could not work. Became a beggar ultimately.

8. The Chinese do not take alcohol, except in very rare cases. I am not able to speak of the Malays.

9. The habit of opium smoking is condemned as both degrading and injurious by the great majority of Chinese. The use of alcohol is so little known to them that they are scarcely qualified to institute comparisons between the opium habit and the alcohol habit. They see the latter only amongst Europeans, and regard it more with tolerant contempt than with any other feeling. Such comparison, however, as they would draw would undoubtedly be to the effect that the opium habit is the more injurious of the two.

10. They certainly can do so, and frequently do.

11. There would be no difficulty in obtaining opium from China, and this, in my opinion, is what they would do. They would not take to alcohol, though they would, if permitted, take to morphine. They would not abstain altogether so long as it was possible for them to obtain opium elsewhere, and in the absence of opium they would have recourse to some other narcotic.

12. The revenue derived from opium in this Colony is about one fifth of the total revenue of the Colony. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to make up the deficit unless by introducing new principles of taxation, such as a tax on the tonnage of shipping. If this were done I am of opinion that the deficit might be made good, with possibly a balance on the right side. The mode of raising revenue would be regarded with the utmost disfavour, and would be condemned as an infringement of the freedom of the port. It might also react injuriously on the commercial prosperity of the Colony. The welfare of the Colony being entirely dependent on its commerce, great consideration would be necessary before inaugurating such a system. If it could be done consistently with the large questions of policy and expediency involved in its adoption, it would be infinitely preferable to the present method of obtaining a revenue by means of an opium farm, which is attended with many hardships and irregularities falling entirely upon the Chinese population.

13. Certainly not in any numbers. A few American prostitutes who have contracted the habit in California take opium, but nobody else, so far as I know. The European temperament appears rather to crave a stimulant, that of the Chinese preferring a sedative. I cannot give, however, any better answer to this question

than a recognition of the fact that there is this distinction of temperament.

14. Curiosity and fashion in the first instance, much on the same lines as the schoolboy and tobacco. I have never known an instance of its being taken to allay physical pain in the first instance. I have no personal knowledge of opium being a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria, nor am I aware that it is so regarded by the Chinese. Its medical properties are undoubtedly recognised, but subject to the condition that it is *bona fide* taken as medicine, and its use limited to the particular occasion requiring it. What the Chinese would regard as its principal medicinal use would be in choleraic or diarrhoeic attacks. It has great constipating effects, so that an habitual smoker will be able to go almost month after month without having recourse to the watercloset.

15. When the habit is once contracted it is usually accompanied with a desire to be quit of it proportionate in its intensity to the strength of the habit acquired.

16. None whatever.

(Signed) J. H. WOODHOUSE,
Police Magistrate.

No. 36.

1. Opium is not consumed by Chinese, except through the pipe. I have heard of only two or three cases, but have not seen a Chinese opium eater. The habit must be very rare amongst them.

Opium eaters are known amongst the seafaring Indian population here, Khalasses and other resident Indians, the Indian police, and the Indian soldiers. Malays I know nothing about.

2. Women of China do not use the opium pipe. If they ever do it must be a very rare case. I have never seen or heard of one in this Colony.

I know of several European women of a certain class who have become addicted to the use of the opium pipe in this Colony. No others.

3. The only physical effect of opium eating is contraction of the pupil of the eye and sluggish and incomplete dilatation. This does not occur at all in opium smoking. The starved appearance, if any, is not caused by the opium, but by pinching the belly to procure the drug, this occurs in both opium eater and opium smoker. In the well or fairly well-to-do no such effect is ever seen in either case. Socially, it makes no difference at all in manner or temperament.

An opium eater to excess wakes up feeling dull and heavy, but half an hour after his first dose, is quite recovered. That this does not occur with moderate opium eaters I am sure, as I have watched Khalasses on board ship in long voyages, who were opium eaters, and they were always among the smartest of the crews and seemed to bear fatigue and long hours on duty better than the others. I was at the time doing long voyages in Indian coolie ships, and had ample opportunities of observing the opium eaters.

To my surprise they all seemed to have their limit which they had used daily for years, which varied from three or four grains to half a dram of crude opium daily, and was apparently regulated by their means.

All Eastern races who use it in this way are moderate when compared with the European who can stand much heavier doses, and no European eater that I have seen is content with so little.

4. In Hong Kong and China, Chinese that use opium, use it for smoking only, as a rule, with comparatively few exceptions. There is no effect whatever observable in opium smoking as I have proved by observation and personally (see Annual Report in triplicate enclosed with these answers). At the time mentioned there I consumed in one sitting nearly three mace (58 gr. to a mace) or more than an average opium-smoker consumes in one day. In the opium eater the only effect observable is the action of the iris of the eye before mentioned. This is the only difference to be detected between the two forms of consuming opium, eating opium, and drinking solution or tinctures, the effect is practically the same.

5. Yes, the majority in both forms of consuming opium among Asiatics, become slaves to its use if it can be called slavery in such moderate doses as the great majority consume. I should rather put it that they become habituated to its use. In my experience in Assam and Bengal of opium eaters, excess is the exception and comparatively rare among Asiatics.

With opium smokers there is no such thing as becoming a sot. I was present at Canton at a large Chinese dinner party composed of wealthy government official bankers and merchants, during the intervals and after dinner there were some half-dozen or more who smoked opium, the entertainment began at nine in the evening, and I left at four in the morning, one opium smoker I devoted especial attention to, he had a very handsome and costly pair of pipes with him, and from watching him he must have smoked at least six mace of the very best opium, without any effect observed on him whatever, he was chatty and lively the whole time. I smoked myself the same evening between two or three mace without feeling any effect whatever. I have smoked hundreds of times in the last 20 years. I have been in China and never felt any effect at all. (See my Annual Report with the Government Analyst's Report on experiment made at my request which is added as an appendix.) I do not believe that morphine ever reaches the smoker, the length of the pipe is about 18 inches, and before the morphine in the smoke reaches the smoker's lips, it is thrown down out of the smoke into the stem.

6. Certainly not. The great majority of opium eaters and smokers are very moderate in their consumption. (See my Annual Report where I have given two cases, one of an excessive and one of a moderate opium smoker).

7. No. It is a minority in all cases and a very small minority at that, and it has no effect whatever on their calling, and they are just as keen as a non-consumer in looking after their own interests.

8. There is no comparison as any merchant in the East could tell. A drunken Asiatic is as untrustworthy and as great a nuisance as a drunken European. An opium smoker is no more untrustworthy than a non-smoker, and is never a nuisance in any way.

9. The consumption of opium is certainly not looked upon by any Asiatic race, as far as I am aware of, as degrading or injurious. The consumption of alcohol in excess is regarded by them all with contempt.

10. Not often without assistance.

The opium eater, as a rule, believes in it as a prophylactic against fever and bowel complaints. Opium eaters are chiefly to be found in malarial districts or among seamen liable to prolonged exposure and wetting, against the effects of which it is undoubtedly a prophylactic and a powerful stimulant as well.

The opium smoker has the same idea, also that it is beneficial in lung troubles. Then he is afraid to leave it off for it is a general belief among them that if they do so they will die.

11. Certainly they would supply themselves with opium from elsewhere. They are not likely to take alcohol either in European forms or in the form of their own spirit, shamshu. But opium they will have. Cut down the Indian opium so that it becomes unprocurable in China and too expensive in India, and China will grow opium sufficient for all eastern nations and Europe too if it can make a profit on it, and they are rapidly, even now, improving their own growth and manufacture of opium.

Make opium too expensive for consumption in India and it will be smuggled wholesale over the Chinese and Persian borders. For China, if it sees a chance of profit, will rapidly comply with all demands, improvement in manufacture, &c. Even now the soluble preparations of morphine are being largely imported into China and they have learnt from the missionary doctors the uses and benefits of the hypodermic syringe. An ordinance against the use of hypodermic injections of morphine except by qualified medical men had to be introduced into this Colony this year, as dozens of petty shopkeepers were using it at one cent the half-grain injection, and they soon had hundreds of clients who found it was cheaper than opium smoking and the effect was much greater.

No other drug is likely to supersede opium or its extractives.

12. Only the latter portion of this question can be answered by me. Certainly the loss of revenue from this source would excite general indignation as the decrease in this source of revenue has already. It is a tax on a luxury used by a minority. The estimate put on the number of opium smokers to population in China is put by the Chinese Custom Returns at 2 per thousand, and my annual reports show that among the criminal population in this Colony the opium smokers are under 2 per thousand. Can any European country show that among its criminal population that *habitual drunkards*

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are under 2 per thousand. I am not talking of ordinary consumers of alcoholic liquors.

13. The only Europeans contracting the habit of opium smoking that have come under my notice have been two or three women in the European brothels in this Colony, as I mentioned in answer to Question 2. The reason is not very far to seek. Europeans have no belief and no general knowledge of its medicinal efficiency. The excessive amount of trouble in preparing a pipe and the time it takes for the pleasure of three or four inhalations at most is against its becoming a European vice. With the cigar, pipe, or cigarette the smoker can ride, walk, read, and write, and talk and pursue his ordinary avocations whilst enjoying the pleasure. It is for this reason that the eastern modes of consuming tobacco in the narghili, hooka or chibouk have not been taken to by Europeans.

In smoking opium your whole attention must be given to the pipe and that only, you can talk while you are preparing the load but you can do nothing else; it is the same with the eastern methods of smoking tobacco, you can talk but you must support the pipe; you cannot move about with it, and there is a loss of freedom.

14. Generally it begins by a recommendation for the relief of some physical ill, either by a friend or doctor. Opium smoking is rarely taken to from the force of example.

Certainly opium is of benefit as a prophylactic in malarious districts, and to bowel complaints from exposure and chills, in my experience, and it is so regarded by Indians and Chinese.

15. I have treated a good many cases. Very few desire to get rid of the habit. I have talked with hundreds and rarely heard that desire expressed.

17. There are one or two things I would draw attention to. I have often been asked by Europeans if their servants or employees were, in my opinion, addicted to opium smoking, the man being brought before me looking dull and stupid, forgetting what he is told, bringing the wrong thing, &c., denies that he ever smoked opium. Often a servant is set down by a master for these causes as being an opium smoker. These are the effects among the Chinese of a night in a brothel and over-copulation, but neither the servant nor his friends the other servants will tell the cause. Certainly these effects are well known among the Chinese, and on the returns of deaths by Chinese doctors on the deceased friends received by the Registrar General every year some dozen or so of cases are returned as deaths from excessive copulation. The patient when brought in for examination looks very often as if he were on the verge of having a fit. Another thing accounts for many wonderful stories, that an Asiatic when interrogated by Europeans will seek to know the reason and what is wanted, and is always anxious to make his opinions coincide with the views of his questioner, and if possible gain his approbation, so long as it in no way interferes with his own interest and he has nothing to gain or lose by differing.

In conclusion, I have sent in with these answers my Annual Report for 1891 in triplicate, which gives a full account of my experience of opium smokers in the Victoria Gaol with experiments by the Government Analyst, Mr. McCallum, showing the value of native opinions as to the quality and the effects of opium.

(Signed) FR. B. C. AYRES, C.M.G.,
Colonial Surgeon.

Government Civil Hospital,
19th December 1893.

No. 36.

EXTRACTS relating to OPIUM from the ANNUAL REPORT of the MEDICAL DEPARTMENT in HONG KONG for 1891.

Table XIb and XIc give, respectively, the number that required medical treatment, with the cause, the numbers, age, weight on admission and at the end of a month, with the quantity smoked, of opium smokers in the gaol.

There were 56 prisoners who reported themselves as opium smokers to the extent of one mace *per diem* or over, of these 10 were placed under medical treatment. Of these five increased in weight, four had slightly decreased in weight — the end of the month, one remained the same. Of the healthy ones the majority increased in weight. The decrease of weight in all the cases recorded was very slight. The average weight of a Chinaman is about 110 lbs.

I have tested this in the gaol for the use of the New York Insurance Society, when I took the weight of

several hundreds of those at work in the different classes of labour. It is a rare thing to find a Chinaman that will top 10 stone. My chair coolies are well known for their speed and endurance and size, the heaviest of them is only a little over 130 lbs.

A Chinaman must be very muscular and fat to top 140 lbs., their bones are so small in comparison with other races, as also their average height in the southern parts of China. In the 56 opium smokers there are only 9 men who reach 120 lbs. or over, one reached 135 lbs.

The cost of one mace of opium is 10 cents, so that all these men spent three dollars or more a month in smoking the drug.

As so much has been said in Parliament lately I will give a brief *resumé* of my 18 years' experience of opium smokers in the gaol, and the different tests I have made myself, and caused to be made with the view of finding out what harm it does physically and mentally.

When I first took charge of the gaol in 1873, I found that every prisoner that reported himself as an opium smoker was put on an extra diet, a mixture that contained laudanum three times a day, a quinine pill three times a day, and 2 oz. of gin. As I had no experience of opium smoking I kept all these cases under observation with the result that in three months' time I saw no necessity for this treatment of opium smokers and abolished it altogether treating them as all the other prisoners without regard for the habit, and this has been done ever since and the opium habit ignored. I could find no set of symptoms that was common to the opium smokers only or justified any exceptional treatment. The result was much fewer men reported themselves as opium smokers as there was nothing to be gained by it. For the first few years I did little more than this as my attention was wholly occupied in my spare time with the sanitation of the Colony which at that time devolved entirely upon me with two inspectors for assistants. Afterwards, I began to keep these records of every opium smoker. In the 18 years there have been over 1,000 of those addicted to the habit in the gaol and among them only one death has occurred, which had no relation whatever to the habit. I have not been able to find that the habit affected them in any way physically or mentally. I recorded in my Annual Report for 1877 the case of an opium smoker whose consumption had averaged three ounces a day for 19 years. This man was in gaol for embezzlement of 40,000 dollars and had been a wealthy merchant in Singapore; in his case the habit was entirely ignored, for the first few days he suffered from want of sleep but it was from anxiety more than anything else, for he had been told that if he gave up the habit suddenly he would die and he was proportionately disgusted when nothing happened, as he said if he had known it would cost him so little he would have given up the habit long ago. He was a stout, strongly built man of about 50 years of age and the largest consumer of the drug we have had in gaol. During his three months' detention here, before being sent back to Singapore, he was in good health and never required a single dose of medicine. I tried opium smoking myself and could make nothing of it, though I smoked more than two mace at a single sitting; it had no effect upon me whatever. Dr. Manson was of opinion that I did not use the drug properly or such would not have been the case, so I had him, Sir W. Marsh, Mr. Price and some others interested in the matter to dinner one night, and after dinner smoked in his presence, having an old opium smoker to load the pipe for me and a fresh box of the opium farmer's opium, Dr. Manson watching me all the time. He was satisfied that the opium was properly and fairly used but could find no effect, as, indeed, I felt none myself. But he declared I should before morning, they all left at midnight, and half an hour afterwards I was called out to attend a child in convulsions which occupied me nearly three hours before the child was sufficiently recovered to be left. At nine o'clock next morning I met Dr. Manson on my rounds and told him how I had passed the night, and so far I had felt no effects from the smoking whatever.

In 1881 I requested Mr. Hugh McCallum, who was at that time the Government Analyst, to make some experiments, and he sent me in a report dated March 6th, 1881. He afterwards embodied this report in an article he sent to the *China Review* ("On Opium and Opium Smoking") 1883, Volume 11, No. 5, page 278. This report, I think, should be printed for information and recorded, and I enclose it as an appendix to my

report, as the Home Government are anxious to obtain all the information they can on the habit of opium smoking.

As a habit I cannot find it is 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. 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 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 six to seven 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 seven 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. The opium expert, attached to the opium farmer's firm, condemns his employer's opium and with 15 and 25 per cent. of morphia added, says it has no taste or smell at all. The old opium smoker is a pensioner now, he was the Senior Chinese Wardmaster at the hospital, his habit never rendered him unfit for duty, he was one of the most intelligent, trustworthy and active men we have had in my department and I very much regretted his loss when old age compelled him to resign after 30 years' service. No European was a better dresser or better *post mortem* assistant and many of the trained Europeans we have had were not his equal; for a man of his age he is in good health now, possesses all his faculties and his intelligence, but is as inveterate a smoker as ever. I am in no way in favour of opium smoking, to me it is a ridiculous, lazy habit. To smoke opium you must devote your entire attention to it and to it only, and I cannot find any pleasure in it or the reason for its fascination among the Chinese. In all the description of opium dens in European countries alcoholic drinks come in as well. But amongst the Chinese no liquor is taken at or about the time of smoking. The dens in European countries or colonies devoted to opium are mostly devoted to general debauchery as well. In China the houses where opium is smoked are devoted to that alone, and no such scenes as are described in European dens are to be found among them; for I have visited them in different parts of China as well as in this Colony. Opium smoking is also indulged in in Chinese brothels, but even in them such rowdy scenes never take place as in the similar places where Europeans congregate. General debility accounted for all the five cases admitted from the 82 opium smokers in the gaol to the hospital in 1890, but as three of them were 58 years of age had they not been opium smokers they would probably have been put on the sick list as suffering from age. Then as many of the opium smokers in gaol are of the lowest class of Chinese and pinch their bellies for the luxury. They are probably on a par with habitual drunkards at home, who earn this character for six pennyworth of gin or less a day, on an empty stomach, when the same amount of alcohol has no effect on the well-fed consumer. There is one more test which I hope the Government Analyst will be able to make this year for the convenience of the new laboratory, and that is how much morphia enters the mouth and the lungs of the opium smoker with the smoke or the other less pernicious constituents of opium. The introduction of alcoholic drinks by Europeans to otherwise temperate nations has done more harm a thousandfold than ever opium has done among the Chinese, but then that would affect the people at home, but there is only one India to be abused and no European nationality is affected. The palaver about opium eating in India has only been taken up because of opium being introduced into China. What society has thought it worth its while to take up the questions of Indian hemp smoking and eating in India; a very much more deleterious habit both to mind and body? Better men than myself have taken up

the gauntlet for the opium eater but my five years' service in Assam and Bengal gave me considerable experience of that, and I have had personal experience as well as having eaten over an ounce of opium a day for months, that I can understand the fascination for and the pleasure in it, but I found no difficulty in leaving it off, beyond a few sleepless nights and a considerable amount of irritability caused by its cessation. Khalassees, or Indian seamen, largely employed in all the Indian trade are to be seen in every seaport in Europe, and yet I am considerably under the mark in saying at least 15 per cent. of these men are opium eaters, and I have done many long voyages with them; better seamen with finer physique for their size cannot be found. You will never see a vessel put to sea with a third of them incapable of doing duty for days from the effect of this habit, but you can any time see a vessel set sail with an English crew of whom more than a third are incapable from drink when going down the stormy English Channel. To abolish the opium trade in India will do a good thing for China. India and Ceylon are running her hard in the tea trade competition, but do away with the Indian opium trade and she will grow opium for all the world. Every consular report shows the rapid and extensive increase of the growth of opium in China, and if it is made worth his while John Chinaman will soon improve his manufacture of the drug, and it will be smuggled into India wholesale.

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Hong Kong.

APPENDIX.

Mr. H. McCALLUM'S REPORT ON OPIUM and
OPIUM SMOKING.

Government Civil Hospital,
Hong Kong, 6th March 1881.

SIR,

WITH reference to your request that I should estimate the morphia value of the different preparations of opium used for smoking purposes, and furnish you with what information I could relative thereto, I have the honour to lay before you the following remarks.

The morphia value of the different preparations of opium depend chiefly on the amount of extract yielded by and the percentage of morphia present in the crude opium from which they were prepared. Now, as opium varies considerably in this respect the preparations thereof will vary accordingly. There is also more or less loss of morphia during the preparation of smoking extract, the loss being greater the longer it is submitted to moist heat and the higher the temperature. Making due allowance for variations from these causes, the results obtained from the different kinds examined, and stated below, may be taken to fairly represent their average percentages of morphia:—

Indian opium, average morphia value of -	5 to 8 per cent.
Indian opium, quantity of smoking extracts yielded by -	70 to 80 "
First quality of prepared opium from Hong Kong opium farm yielded	5.86 per cent. morphia.
Second quality of prepared opium from Hong Kong opium farm yielded	7.30 per cent. morphia.
Cake prepared opium from a coolie smoking-house, said to have been prepared from opium dross, yielded	6.23 per cent. morphia.
Opium dross (scrapings from opium pipe) yielded	4.76 per cent. morphia.
Opium dross, average quantity of extract yielded by	65 to 70 per cent.

It is generally assumed that the effect of smoking opium is similar to that of eating it, and that this is principally due to the morphia it contains; this assumption appears very problematical when the following facts are taken into consideration:—

- 1st. That Indian opium is the kind most prized by smokers, and it is characterised by its usually low percentage of morphia.
- 2nd. That the Chinese estimate the value of opium according to flavour and the quantity of extract it yields.
- 3rd. The mode of preparing smoking extract tends to the destruction of morphia.
- 4th. The large quantity which can be smoked without any apparent toxic effect, not only by habitual smokers, but also by beginners.
- 5th. There is no authentic case of acute poisoning from opium smoking.

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An experiment has been made bearing on this point, and although not conclusive, it is confirmatory of the idea that morphine is not the active agent which gives pleasure to the opium smoker.

The following tabulated statement explains and gives the result of experiment:—

Description of Samples of Prepared Opium submitted for Trial.	Opinion of a Chinese Expert in one of the Opium Firms, Hong Kong.	Opinion of a Nine Years' Opium Smoker.
No. 1. Prepared opium from opium farm.	Is fairly good; is a mixture of Bengal opium and something else.	Good.
No. 2. Prepared opium <i>minus</i> morphine.	Is black and coarse; smell fairly good; is not opium.	Not very good.
No. 3. No. 1 with 10 per cent. morphine added.	Coarse, but can be smoked; contains opium with some other mixture; is not so good as No. 1.	Same as No. 1.
No. 4. No. 1 with 20 per cent. morphine added.	Very coarse and black; burns like charcoal; contains no opium.	Fairly good, but not so good as No. 1 and No. 3.

The prepared opium *minus* morphine was made from Patna opium, having as little as possible of the other opium constituents removed with the morphine.

The samples were submitted without any remark, beyond desiring an opinion as to quality.

A second trial was made with similar results.

Description of Samples of Prepared Opium submitted for Trial.	Opinion of a Chinese Expert in one of the Opium Firms, Hong Kong.	Opinion of a Nine Years' Opium Smoker.
No. 1. Opium farm prepared opium contains 7 per cent. morphine.	Appearance coarse, and when burnt becomes black and hard; it is Bengal drug, but not pure; it is mixed with some other stuff, and has no taste.	Very good.
No. 2. No. 1 with 15 per cent. morphine added.	Burns very quick, and has no taste or smell of opium at all. Colour red and coarse when burnt; gives out plenty of smoke, and leaves simply ash and no opium to smoke.	Same as No. 1.
No. 3. No. 1 with 25 per cent. morphine added.	Just like No. 2, only a shade better.	Not good.
No. 4. Prepared opium <i>minus</i> morphine.	When applied to the light burns like opium, but in a moment it burns quite black, and the dross leaves a bad smell; when burning, gives out strong smoke.	Same as No. 1.

It will be observed that the Chinese expert bases his opinion on the physical appearance of the extract, its behaviour in the flame of the lamp and its smell, not on its effect when smoked. The nine years' opium-smoker apparently judged of its quality in a somewhat similar manner; but as he actually smoked a considerable quantity of each, viz., nearly a quarter of an ounce of each of those to which morphine had been added, and over two ounces of No. 4 in the second table, his opinion is considered of most value. At my request he got some of his friends to try No. 4 in the second table, and they agreed with him that it was good. On one occasion, in about 12 hours he smoked a quantity of opium to which morphine had been added, equal to at least 20 grains of morphine.

If the effects of opium smoking are similar to those of opium eating, and morphine the active agent, it can only be said, regarding the former mode of using the drug, that a more elaborate, troublesome, wasteful, and expensive method could scarcely be devised to obtain a minimum of effect from a maximum of power.

In connexion with the above I may mention that I have visited a number of opium smoking houses of different classes, but have not as yet been fortunate enough to see that profound sleep with beautiful dreams, &c. which has been so graphically described. In the coolie-houses I have seen men asleep after their evening pipe, and also most probably a hard day's work, they having taken up their quarters there for the night. However, a slight shake with the sight of a 10 cent piece and they were very soon wide awake.

TABLE XII.—P.—Shewing OPIUM SMOKERS admitted into HOSPITALS and treated by the MEDICAL OFFICER, during the Year 1891.

DISEASE.	ADMISSION.			
	Europeans.	Coloured Persons.	Chinese.	Total.
Remaining under treatment 1st January, 1891.	—	—	—	—
Albuminuria, No. 1	—	—	1	1
Observation, No. 10	—	—	1	1
Contused wound of left toe, No. 28.	—	—	1	1
General debility, Nos. 30, 46, 47.	—	—	3	3
Boil of right lumbar region No. 34.	—	—	1	1
Diarrhoea, No. 48	—	—	1	1
Anæmia, Nos. 44, 56	—	—	2	2
Total	—	—	10	10

TABLE XIc.—Q.—Shewing the WEIGHTS of PRISONERS (OPIUM SMOKERS), for the First Four Weeks' Confinement in VICTORIA GOAL, during the Year 1891.

No.	Age.	Length of Time Opium Smoker.	Consumption per diem. 1 Mace = 52 grs.	Weights when Admitted.	Weights First Four Weeks.				Remarks.
					Years.	Mace.	lbs.		
1	40	10	2	119	120	118	119	120	
2	56	26	1½	115	114	119	118	—	
3	42	20	1½	110	119	120	119	—	
4	50	10	1	116	112	112	114	113	
5	40	10	1	101	99	99	99	—	
6	46	10	1½	135	134	134	135	135	
7	66	40	2	95	93	101	103	103	
8	35	20	2	120	119	118	117	117	
9	22	12	1½	95	94	94	95	96	
10	38	20	2	95	93	93	94	95	
11	56	10	1½	108	106	105	105	105	
12	50	7	1½	131	129	127	126	125	
13	48	10	1½	120	120	118	118	—	
14	32	8	1	106	106	105	108	—	
15	37	20	1½	90	90	89	88	—	
16	41	15	2	116	116	116	114	119	
17	46	10	1½	92	92	93	92	94	
18	31	10	1½	100	104	104	105	105	
19	36	5	1½	116	116	114	113	112	
20	44	10	1½	105	102	107	107	106	
21	62	30	1½	88	88	92	94	95	
22	28	10	1	105	105	104	103	—	
23	27	8	1½	95	95	94	97	96	

No.	Age.	Leugh of Time Opium Smoker.	Consumption per diem.	Weights when Admitted.	Weights First Four Weeks.				Remarks.
			1 Mace = 52 grs.	Lbs.					
		Years.	Mace.	Lbs.					
24	34	10	1½	131	130	130	130	130	
25	46	7	1½	125	123	125	124	123	
26	32	7	1½	124	122	122	120	121	
27	45	10	1½	104	102	113	110	108	
28	33	10	2	115	114	114	114	116	
29	49	30	1½	105	104	103	103	103	
30	39	18	2	82	82	85	86	86	
31	36	7	1½	118	122	126	125	127	
32	23	5	1	113	113	119	118	116	
33	24	1	1	112	112	113	112	111	
34	32	2	1	117	115	117	116	114	
35	55	3	1½	100	96	99	100	98	
36	58	20	2	104	107	106	104	105	
37	52	30	2	105	105	104	104	107	
38	53	20	1½	114	112	110	112	111	
39	31	20	2½	112	109	109	110	110	
40	43	10	1½	146	146	144	145	145	
41	40	11	1½	116	114	113	115	115	
42	44	10	1½	130	128	128	130	129	
43	54	10	1½	106	107	110	110	108	
44	60	30	2	96	94	96	102	102	
45	50	5	1	104	103	103	103	103	
46	38	10	2	119	118	125	125	114	
47	57	40	2	115	112	114	114	115	
48	45	10	1	130	128	123	128	128	
49	52	10	2	116	115	118	118	116	
50	53	10	1½	115	114	112	111	112	
51	24	5	1	109	110	110	109	111	
52	30	10	2	120	118	118	120	120	
53	35	12	2	100	103	99	100	102	
54	42	2	1	110	109	108	108	108	
55	30	7	1	101	104	108	106	106	
56	36	10	1	101	101	104	104	104	

No. 40.

Central Police Station,
12th December 1893.

Sergeant Deputy Superintendent,

I have the honour to submit for your information the following replies regarding opium consumption in this Colony:—

1. Opium is commonly consumed by Chinese and Malays, and to some extent by Indians.

2. About 70 per cent. of the Chinese take an occasional smoke of opium, but these are not all regarded as smokers. About 25 per cent. of the Chinese and Malay adult males, 2 per cent. of the Indian adult males, and 5 per cent. of the Chinese and Malay women habitually consume opium. No children consume it.

3. Opium has no ill effects morally, except on the poorest and most besotted smokers, some of these when the craving for opium is on them, if they have no other way of getting it, will steal that they may have the wherewithal to purchase the drug. None of those who consume opium appear to be benefited by it, while the wives and children of poor opium smokers necessarily suffer deprivation in consequence of money that ought to be applied to family purposes being wasted in opium. Those who take opium to excess become debilitated and incapable of arduous labour, but it shows no ill effects on the moderate consumer. It has less injurious effects on Indians than on Chinese or Malays.

4. Consumers of opium chiefly smoke it, but more than half the Indian consumers eat it, a few Chinese also eat it, in the shape of pills, when they are in situations in which they are unable to smoke it. The effects are not so marked in the eaters as in the smokers, probably because they take it less often.

5. The majority of consumers do not eventually become "opium sots;" a considerable majority are moderate smokers.

6. It is not correct to say there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. Yes. Description of two such cases as examples:—1st. Luk Kinshan, a merchant, began to smoke opium at the age of 25, in 1845, and continued to smoke from 15 to 20 cents worth a day till he died, at the age of 72, in 1892. 2nd. Jam Du, formerly a cook for foreigners, subsequently a junk owner and baker, began to smoke opium at the age of 21, and has continued up to the

present. He is now 62, in good health, and attends to his business. He smokes from 1½ to 2 mace a day.

7. There do not a majority of either of the classes, as a whole, named in this clause habitually consume opium, but about one half of the coolies smoke dress opium, and of these all, except a few of the most besotted, appear as well able to perform their work as are the other coolies.

8. Asiatic races consuming opium so seldom use alcohol to such an excess as to become an abuse that it is extremely difficult to draw any comparison.

9. The habit of consuming opium is condemned as degrading and injurious by the general opinion of Chinese and other Asiatic races. They regard the opium habit as worse than the alcohol habit amongst themselves; but those amongst them who have opportunities of seeing the results of the abuses of alcohol amongst Europeans, regard the alcohol habits of the latter just as unfavourably as their own opium habits.

10. Opium consumers do break themselves of the habit.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, it would have no effect whatever, unless the importation of all other kinds was prohibited, because smokers would supply themselves from China or elsewhere. There is no reason to suppose they would take to alcohol or to some other narcotic than opium. Opium smokers are as much addicted to drinking alcohol now as are non-smokers. They are not likely to abstain altogether.

12. 357,600 dollars. If this were extinguished the Colony would have to find some other means of raising the needful revenue. The people would regret the loss of the opium revenue if they had to make up the deficit by extra taxation.

13. Only very few people of European race contract the opium habit. Probably because they look on it as a degrading and dangerous habit. Chinese are more liable to contract the habit because the temptation to take a social pipe is constantly held out to them, and they are so familiar with the habit that they regard it with less abhorrence than Europeans do. Indians who eat opium do so because they are under an impression that it enables them to endure fatigue better.

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14. Opium consumers are led to habitually use the drug through now and then taking a social pipe with friends or with opium smokers with whom they desire to do business. The women smokers are chiefly those who are or have been prostitutes, or the concubines of well-to-do Chinamen smokers, and they acquire the habit through constantly having to roast the opium for men to smoke. They do not usually take it in the first instance to allay physical pain. No knowledge of its medicinal properties. The Chinese do not appear to attach much value to it in the cases mentioned; they sometimes use very small opium plasters on their temples for headache.

15. They do.

16. There is a small amount of hostile feeling in the matter. It is displayed in pamphlets, in which the influence of anti-opium foreigners is seen, which are distributed gratis amongst the people, and in conversation the people complain that England derives a great deal of money from the Chinese for supplying what is baneful to them.

17. It may fairly be remarked that while opium consuming amongst the Chinese, on the whole, causes proportionately little more physical harm to the consumers than alcohol does to European drinkers, alcohol drinking amongst Europeans causes proportionately infinitely more crime and misery and suffering amongst Europeans than the opium smoking does amongst Chinese.

W. STANTON,
Police Inspector.

No. 41.

5. No; I do not think so. Amongst those who use opium moderately. I do not think there is any tendency to increase the quantity or to become "opium sots."

6. There certainly can be moderation in the consumption of opium. (b.) I have known many such. (c.) I regret that at this interval of time I am unable to furnish cases in detail.

8. In my opinion the moderate use of both alcohol and opium is beneficial. (b.) Alcohol in excess is the more injurious to health of the two. (c.) The excessive use of alcohol would be considered more degrading than that of opium.

10. They can and do.

11. I believe they would have recourse to other stimulants, such as alcohol or Indian hemp, the abuse of which is more injurious than that of opium.

14. They take it as an exhilarating stimulant as we do alcohol. (b.) No doubt its use is frequently resorted to in the first instance to relieve physical pain. (c.) In India it is looked on as a prophylactic against fever and malaria.

15. No; moderate consumers do not any more than moderate consumers of alcohol. Its use in moderation renders them more capable of undergoing fatigue. Some of the finest races in India are opium eaters and smokers, men of splendid physique and capable of undergoing the greatest amount of fatigue.

G. O. PRESTON, M.B.,
Surgeon-Colonel Brigadier,
(Non-official).

Hong Kong, 11th December 1893.

No. 42.

R.N. Hospital, Hong Kong,
9th December 1893.

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular Letter of the 5th instant, forwarding a set of questions which have been received by the Governor through the Secretary of State from the Royal Commission on Opium.

In reply I desire to state that though I have been now resident in Hong Kong two years and nine months I have had no opportunity of forming an opinion on the question of the use or abuse of opium by the Chinese resident in Hong Kong from my own observations.

My views on the subject are formed from the observations and experience of others, and I cannot think the Commissioners desire such information.

With regard to Question 8, however, I think I am qualified to say, from personal observation during residence in Hong Kong, where I am informed opium

smoking is largely indulged in by the Chinese labouring class, that I have seen nothing to compare with the abuse of alcohol among the labouring class in Great Britain, in regard to the effect on consumers.

I have, &c,
ALEX. TURNBULL, M.D.,
Deputy Inspector General.

No. 43.

1. Opium is consumed by the Chinese. They may be classified into—(a.) Occasional consumers. (b.) Moderate habitual consumers. (c.) Opium sots.

2. One-twentieth of the Chinese male population consume opium, of which—(a.) Occasional consumer are 75 per cent. (b.) Moderate habitual consumer are 24.8 per cent. (c.) Opium sots 2 per cent. Women very seldom smoke opium; children never.

3. Moderate opium smoking has no evil effect morally, physically, or socially. Excessive indulgence causes physical and social evils.

4. Opium is smoked, not eaten; some few use morphia hypodermically; one case I know of for 25 years; many cases lately, have occurred in this colony caused by the actions of Chinese doctors professing thereby to cure the opium habit.

5. Disregarding occasional smokers who merely indulge on festive occasions, moderate smoking is the rule. Slaves to the drug are rare.

6. Moderation in opium smoking is the rule. I have known opium smokers who have taken opium in moderation for 25 and 30 years who are careful and intelligent men of business.

7. The smoking of opium is confined to no one class.

8. Alcohol is consumed by all classes, but usually on festive occasions only.

9. The Chinese regard the consumption of alcohol and opium with indifference. Neither have sufficient hold on the people to cause alarm.

10. Moderate opium consumers are not more difficult to wean from the opium habit than are consumers of tobacco from smoking tobacco.

11. The Chinese would obtain opium elsewhere were the supply from India cut off.

12. I am not in a position to answer this question.

13. Europeans do not take to opium smoking. Tobacco seems to supply to Europeans what opium does to Chinese.

14. Opium is taken to by 40 per cent. of the consumers to allay the following diseases. For malaria it is used as a cure, and as a prophylactic in phthisis, asthma, and chronic bronchitis to allay cough, and in any and all painful affections. Opium is a decided prophylactic in malarial exposure.

15. At the Chinese hospital with which I am connected, out of 28,000 patients attended annually, patients applied for a drug to cure the habit in 28 instances only in 1892.

16. There is no feeling of hostility towards Britain for allowing opium to be exported from India; on the contrary, were the exportation stopped by law it would lead to further estrangement between Britain and China. The Chinese are intolerant of any interference with their customs and laws by an alien power, however friendly.

17. Were the Chinese, as a people, under the belief that opium was sapping the manhood of the people of the Empire of China, its consumption would be stopped at once by rigid laws, and enforced in a manner which the Chinese better know, than any other people, how to carry out.

JAMES CANTLIE,
M.A., M.B., F.R.C.P. (Eng).
Dip. Public Health, Lond.
(Non-official).

Hong Kong,
15th December 1893.

No. 44.

1. People of Malay or other Asiatic race other than Chinese being very few in number in this Colony of Hong Kong, the remarks contained in this answer, and in all subsequent ones where no special reference is made, are applicable only to the Chinese. Yes, very commonly.

2. With few exceptions, there is scarcely an adult Chinaman to be found who has never in his life tasted or consumed opium by way of opium smoking. The following tables will give the proportion according to my estimation:—

TABLE I.

Adult Males (including all over 16 years of age—English reckoning).

(a.) Those who have never smoked opium	5 per cent.
(b.) Those who smoke very occasionally	45 "
(c.) Those who smoke frequently, but not confirmed smokers	30 "
(d.) Confirmed smokers	20 "
Total	100

TABLE II.

Adult Females.

(a.) Those who have never smoked opium	70 per cent.
(b.) Those who smoke very occasionally	15 "
(c.) Those who smoke frequently	10 "
(d.) Confirmed smokers	5 "
Total	100

TABLE III.

Children (Males only) (including all under 16 Years of Age).

(a.) Those who have never smoked opium	85 per cent.
(b.) Those who smoke very occasionally	10 "
(c.) Those who smoke frequently	5 "
(d.) Confirmed smokers	rare.
Total	100

3. The moral effects of opium on its consumers are distinct and unmistakable. The smokers may hide the degrading effects from casual observers, and they often succeed in deceiving their European employers and friends, but in their homes, among their kith and kin, personal friends, and acquaintances, their degradation is only too painfully apparent. The habit of opium smoking has undoubtedly the sad but decided effect of lowering the moral standard of its votaries. It leads frequently to great meanness, untruthfulness, treachery, fraud and deception, theft, and robbery. Its victims are mostly helpless and unreliable, shameless, and devoid of honour and conscience. It must be noted, however, that the degradation though certain is very gradual. The physical effects are as well marked as the moral. At first there are only occasional giddiness, headache, nausea, and constipation, followed by loss of appetite, and then emaciation. The smoker becomes wakeful at night and sleeps the greater part of the morning, generally rising at noon or later. He loses his energy and keenness, becoming nervous, lazy, and untidy. His intellect soon gets cloudy and dull, retaining, however, sufficient low cunning to carry out all sorts of mean tricks and dishonest practices. His skin is dry and sallow, his lips bluish, his cheeks and eyes sunken, his temples hollowed, and his manly strength is gone. After long continued use of the drug, he finally becomes nothing more than a "living skeleton, if in the meantime some organic disease has not seized his already depressed and dilapidated body and carried him off. From the two preceeding paragraphs, the social effects may well be inferred without more words. To live and associate with persons of such stamp and with such an evil habit upon him, is the greatest living misery. Only those who have the mis-

fortune of having dear friends and near relations given over to such a habit, can fully realise the deep sorrows and hopeless miseries occasioned by the accursed drug. A man who subordinates every consideration, his duty and honour to his cravings, can never be a useful or pleasant member of a family or community.

4. Chinese consumers chiefly smoke their opium, but in some instances, when smoking is inconvenient or impossible, they would either cook some of the usual opium decoction and swallow it, or take the extract raw, and sometimes they would even swallow opium-dross to relieve their cravings. Some, again, would in time of need resort to some preparations of morphine to satisfy their longings. No. The effects are the same, only in the case of smoking the effects are more gradually produced.

5. The great majority of opium consumers certainly become slaves to the drug, and they all eventually become "opium sots" if means and circumstances would allow them. There are a great many moderate consumers, but that is a fact which is not due to the inclination, desire, or choice of the consumers themselves.

6. No, there are some cases of moderate consumption known to me personally. The tendency in the majority of cases is, however, immoderation. No. I do not know of one single case among the thousands that have passed under my personal observation. Every opium consumer suffers more or less in health from his evil habit, and this is a fact as well known to the opium consumers themselves as to the general Chinese public.

7. This question I have already answered in effect in Answers 2 and 3. The general effect on their efficiency either as merchants, clerks, labourers, artisans, &c., is gradual deterioration. First, the opium consumer, hitherto however bright and diligent, is observed to get duller, more stupid, and decidedly more lazy. His methodical and cleanly habit little by little disappears. Then, instead of an early riser as he was, he keeps his bed till late in the day, and he is often observed to be either asleep at or absent from his post, and little articles of value vanish from time to time as if by magic. Then he becomes untruthful, dishonest, and unreliable, and finally shameless and devoid of all conscience and manly feelings. These remarks are the results of personal observation in hundreds of cases, two of them happened to be my own employees, and over a score of my own friends and associates.

8. There is no comparison between the moderate use of alcohol and that of opium. The former is in many cases distinctly beneficial, but the latter baneful in all instances. Alcohol is an article of food and a stimulant, but opium a drug and a powerful poison. This is my impartial judgment, and I am a total abstainer both from alcohol and opium. On the other hand the evil effects, both morally and physically, on the Chinese arising from the abuse of alcohol, fully commensurate with those from the abuse of opium. The evil effects of over-indulgence in alcoholic drinks on the weak and sedate constitution of the Chinese are most pronounced. Among Europeans I have observed many bad examples, but some of the worst, I believe, are to be found among the Chinese. Happily the abuse of alcohol among the Chinese is comparatively rare, and the worst cases are those who have either been abroad or to the coast ports, and contracted the habit elsewhere other than at home.

9. The Chinese public universally condemn opium smoking as degrading and injurious, and this opinion is shared by many of the smokers themselves, and I have noticed with wonder and amusement that some few of them were enthusiastic supporters of an anti-opium society. The opinions of Chinese ladies on this subject are especially strong and well worth a hearing, as they are in all instances the actual though innocent sufferers. The habitual over-indulgence in intoxicating liquors is not common among the Chinese, so that in the mind of a Chinaman there can be no comparison between that habit and the habit of opium-smoking. The former he regards with indifference or amusement, the latter with pain and aversion.

10. Yes, but only very few. Those who voluntarily and without compulsion attempt and succeed, I should regard as something more than human.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, opium consumers here would simply supply themselves with it from elsewhere, from the mainland of China

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for example. Some few may take to alcohol, but not likely. A good number would try to relieve their cravings by taking morphia, or the various preparations of morphine, either by subcutaneous injection or by the mouth, and some would attempt the difficult task of curing themselves of the habit altogether. I am firmly of opinion that the mere stoppage of supply of opium from India by itself, does not stop the opium habit among the Chinese, but the Chinese Government must co-operate, and that earnestly and faithfully, allowing no officials, either high or low, under any pretence whatever, to permit or connive at the cultivation of poppy in China or the secret importation of opium and its various preparations in any shape or form. Without this co-operation, it is not possible, humanly speaking, to eradicate this evil among the Chinese.

12. It has been as large as nearly one fourth, now it is about one seventh. Yes, easily. Some would growl, but the great majority would rejoice and gladly make up the deficit in some other way.

13. Not many, because of the difference in constitution, habit, taste, surroundings, and associations. As the Asiatic is by nature and surrounding less active, not over fond of active exercise, he generally keeps indoors and takes his amusement and relaxation under cover. He usually meets his companions and associates in the evening in some house, and has a friendly chat or game. It is under these circumstances that opium-smoking offers the greatest attraction. They could lie down and smoke and talk for hours. They could transact their business, arrange their affairs and do a thousand other things in this comfortable and luxurious way.

14. Chiefly from bad associates and examples and in the way described in the previous answer. No, not usual. No, although it is regarded by many of the Chinese, chiefly occasional opium smokers who have acquired already an inclination to smoke, to be prophylactic against malaria, and by some few to be against rheumatism also.

15. Yes, but with very few exceptions, they are unable to do so, unless they are forced by imprisonment and other drastic measures, even then they generally return to it as soon as they get their liberty and means.

16. Among the few this feeling exists, but the great majority has no such hostile feeling. The Chinese admire and appreciate the equitable and just rule of England too well to be stirred up into hostility against her people concerning even a great wrong than the opium traffic.

Hong Kong,
14th December 1893.

HO KAI,
(Non-official Doctor).

No. 49.

Hong Kong,
11th December 1893.

1. Yes.

2. Chinese about 60 per cent. About 20 per cent. of the women in China are consumers, but in Hong Kong they are not, as a rule, habitual consumers of the drug. Children do not smoke.

3. As far as I have been enabled to observe, opium does not demoralise the consumer physically, a moderate opium smoker is in about the same condition as those who do not consume the drug. Socially, he is not though less of by his friends and acquaintances, from the fact that it is used in all stations in Chinese life. As an Englishman or other European would offer liquor to his guests, so would a Chinaman invite his to join him in a pipe of opium.

4. Neither in this Colony nor in China is opium eaten by the Chinese; it is smoked. An inveterate smoker may sometimes, when pressed for time, mix a little prepared opium in tea, and drink it to alleviate the craving for an immediate smoke.

5. The majority of opium consumers do not become slaves to the drug, and eventually "opium sots." I find that a majority or considerable proportion are moderate consumers. So far as this Colony is con-

cerned, there are very few consumers who could properly be termed "opium sots."

6. It is not, from the fact that a large proportion of consumers are moderate. I have known several consumers during my many years' residence in China who have been opium smokers for from 30 to 40 years without any apparent harm to themselves.

7. About 30 per cent. of the labourers, but only to a very moderate degree. They generally look in at an opium divan after their midday meal, and after their day's work to have a smoke. Of the merchants there are about 10 per cent. who smoke opium. Among the artisans also there are smokers, and the average is not quite as much as that of the labourers. The opium habit in these people does not, as far as I have been able to observe, affect their efficiency in their calling, so long as they smoke to moderation, and I have noticed that a workman is able to do without food for some time after he has had his accustomed smoke. I have noticed this specially in the cases of labourers employed by my firm in the conveyance of goods from boats to our warehouses, some of which are situated at some distance away, and up hill. These men commence work early in the morning, about 6 o'clock, and with the exception of a short interval for meals at noon, after which most of them have their wonted midday smoke, work on to a late hour in the evening, without apparently needing any refreshment.

8. An opium smoker is not exposed to the disgrace which results from the use or abuse of alcohol at times.

For instance, an opium smoker does not commit such rash and violent acts when under the influence of the drug, as one hears are constantly committed by those addicted to the use of alcohol.

9. Not unless one becomes what is generally termed an "opium sot," and this only if a man's means do not permit him to indulge to excess, or if he should be neglectful of his family. The Chinese view indulgence in alcohol as degrading, and they do not entertain the same opinion of opium.

10. Yes; although they may feel the hardship for a time.

11. They would supply themselves with opium from elsewhere. Persian opium has been and is being consumed in China for some time, and it not at all unlikely that China may encourage the growth of her own opium, which is already being carried out to a great extent. They are not likely to take to alcohol as the Chinese are, as a race, very abstemious, unless indeed the importation and consumption of opium is entirely and effectually stopped by imperial edict.

12. About one seventh of the total revenue. The Colony is already heavily taxed, and there are no other sources from which I can see the needful revenue could be raised. People would say that the loss of the opium would necessarily open the way to additional taxation, which they are not prepared to bear.

13. People of European race do not contract the habit because, probably, they have been accustomed to other stimulants. Asiatics are more liable to contract the habit, probably, because of the great faith they have in the medicinal effects of opium.

14. In China by social intercourse, and not to allay physical pain. In my opinion it is a prophylactic against fever &c. It is commonly regarded by the Chinese as a cure for consumption, and it is used in plasters for headaches, and for making liniments.

15. Not unless they find that it affects them financially to any appreciable extent, or that they cannot keep within the bounds of moderation, which might affect them physically.

16. Not to my knowledge.

17. Having fully stated my views on the subject in the preceding answers, I have no further remarks to offer.

R. M. MOSES,
(Merchant).

No. 50.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in this Colony.

2. I believe about 7 to 10 per cent. of the adult male population are habitual consumers. There is also a

large proportion of those who occasionally indulge in the drug; but by women the drug is very rarely used.

3. As far as I have observed, opium has apparently no injurious effect, morally and socially, on its consumers.

4. In this Colony, opium is consumed by the Chinese chiefly by smoking, and although I have known people who were in the habit of eating the drug, I am not able to distinguish between the effects of each form.

5. The great majority are moderate consumers. During my 20 years' residence in this Colony, I have not come across any "opium sots."

6. Certainly it is incorrect to say there is no moderation in the consumption of opium. In my office one of the Chinese "boys" had been in the habit of smoking opium for 16-18 years, and does not seem any the worse for it. He is a short thin man of about 51 years of age, but apparently in good health. He has been in the office for the last 20 years, and performed his duties satisfactorily, and never once absented himself through illness. About eighteen months ago he left off smoking the drug, but took it in the shape of lozenges for a few months only. He now regularly takes instead about half a wineglass full of brandy as a stimulant, but no opium in any shape or form.

7. I am acquainted with Chinese merchants who smoke opium, but have not noticed in them any want of efficiency in their calling.

8. I have noticed several cases among the Asiatic people who were rendered incapable from the use of alcohol, and also one or two cases of Indians in India, who were in the habit of eating opium, in a similar condition; and I should say the effect produced from opium compares favourably with that from alcohol.

9. The habit of opium smoking is considered degrading by a certain class of Chinese, but not the moderate use of alcohol.

10. Opium consumers can break themselves of the opium habit; as an instance *vide* Answer No. 6.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the Chinese would not abstain altogether from opium smoking. They would have in their opium production, which is yearly on the increase, as much as they would require; besides the import from Persia will undoubtedly keep pace with the demand. A great many would also likely take to alcohol as a stimulant.

13. People of European race do not contract the opium habit in any number, because they find in alcohol a handier substitute. Some Asiatic people take to opium because they are more acquainted with it, and it is more within their reach; but I think there is no reason to suppose that Asiatics are more liable than Europeans to contract the opium habit.

14. Opium is taken firstly as stimulant like alcohol and it is commonly regarded as a prophylactic against fever or malaria.

16. None whatever.

J. Moszs,
(Merchant).

No. 51.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in our Colony, but the consumption of the drug by other Asiatic races is, as far as I am aware, not so common.

2. I should think that about 20 per cent. of the Chinese adult male population are consumers. Women consume to a small extent. I am not aware whether children do or not.

3. The moral, physical, and social effects of opium on its consumers, if taken in excess, are, in my opinion, extremely bad; if taken in moderation, the effects are, I should say, not detrimental to the health. I think its ultimate effect is much the same on consumers of all races.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium, but some eat it; I am not aware that any drink a decoction of it. If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, I think, the effects are the same.

5. I am of opinion that the majority of consumers are moderate consumers.

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6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I know some cases of consumers who, through smoking to excess, have become so debilitated that premature death was the consequence. On the other hand I have come across some moderate smokers who have taken their doses of the same quantity of opium for years without any apparent harm to themselves. To describe a case in point of the former class of smokers, I may mention the case of a comprador in a foreign opium-dealing hong at Ningpo, who was a miserable specimen of the class of smokers in question. He was about 40 years of age, emaciated, and weak, and could not take his meals. His brain was always confused, and it was most painful for him to make an effort to move from one place to another; he was quite indifferent to what was passing around him, his eyes being always drowsy, and he was fond of remaining in a recumbent position. He succumbed to the first attack of illness. In the other case, on the other hand, the smoker, also a comprador in a foreign opium-dealing hong in Cheefoo, seemed to thrive on opium. He had a fine colour and a very clear complexion, was active, though at times his eyes were rather drowsy, which I would put down to the effects of the drug.

7. I only know of the Chinese, among Asiatic nations in Hong Kong, who consume opium to any large extent, and I think only in the case of common labourers is it that the majority are consumers. The percentage among merchants and artisans who consume opium is small as compared to the percentage among labourers. With regard to the effects of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling, as stated in answer to Question 3, they are bad in the case of consumers to excess, but I am told that moderate consumers work better.

8. I am of opinion that the effects of opium on those who indulge in it to excess are far worse than the effects of alcohol also used to excess.

9. The habit of consuming opium is, as far as I know, condemned by the educated classes and business people of the Chinese race. They regard the alcohol habit in a better light than the opium habit.

10. Not in a position to answer this question.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, consumers of same would supply themselves with opium produced elsewhere. They would not take to alcohol, or to any other narcotic, as long as opium could be obtained in sufficient quantities from China itself, and Persia.

12. About one seventh of our Colony's revenue accrues from opium. If the opium revenue is lost to the Colony, I scarcely think that our Colony could raise the needful revenue otherwise. The people, I should imagine, would be very discontented and indignant at the loss and the obligation to make up the deficit.

13. I am not aware that any people of the European race contract the opium habit in any numbers. The reason is, I think, because, firstly, it is a degrading and filthy habit; secondly, it requires too much time to smoke it, owing to the laborious preparation; and the smoker must lie down all the time. These inconveniences a European, who can satisfy his wants with a glass of wine, will not put up with. The natural indolence and luxurious habits of the Asiatics make them more liable to contract the opium habit.

14. Opium smokers are, in my opinion, led to the use of the drug for the sake of taking something to give them temporary pleasure. The other parts of this question I am not prepared to answer.

15. I am not in a position to answer this question.

16. I do not think there is any feeling of hostility among any Asiatic race in our Colony, against England for allowing opium to be exported from India.

17. I have no other remarks to make with regard to opium consumption among the people around me.

S. J. DAVID,
(Merchant).
Hong Kong,
12th December 1893.

No. 52.

Hong Kong,
11th December 1893.

1. Chinese smoke it, Malays and other Asiatics eat it.

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2. Hardly 4 per cent. Of women about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of 1 per cent.; children, none.

3. Morally, absolutely none; physically, unless taken to excess, it produces no bad effects; socially, it adds to the daily expense just as any luxury would.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium. It is least harmless when consumed in this manner. When eaten without sufficient food being taken afterwards, it causes emaciation, but with sufficient food consumers increase in weight.

5. Moderate consumers.

6. No. I know of many cases of consumers who have taken opium for years without harm to themselves—one case in particular, that of my late comrade, who, while in my service for 24 years, smoked opium without manifesting any injurious result on his constitution, and died at the age of 65 years.

7. By far the majority in all cases are non-smokers. On those who smoke in moderation the effect is imperceptible.

8. Alcohol is considerably worse in every respect.

9. No. The habit is not regarded as degrading. It is condemned as injurious only when taken to excess. They much prefer the opium habit.

10. Yes. By the use of medicine.

11. They will smoke opium produced in China or elsewhere.

12. The proportion has varied during the past few years. The proportion during the last year was 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

13. No. Because they are generally addicted to the alcohol habit. The Asiatics are not so addicted. They prefer the opium habit from physical, climatic, and religious considerations. Besides it does not betray its consumer like alcohol.

14. In China, by social custom; the host inviting the guest to smoke it, as in the West the host invites the guest to take wine. Opium is regarded as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, and malaria.

15. Yes. By those who cannot afford the luxury.

16. No.

E. N. W. BELLIOS,
(Merchant).

No. 53.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by Chinese in Hong Kong.

2. Perhaps a fifth part of the male adults are consumers of opium. I understand that women in brothels smoke opium, and I have heard of children getting the "appetite" or "craving" from inhaling the fumes, but as a rule, children are not provided with opium or allowed to smoke it, and the same might be said of women.

3. The effects of opium which I have observed are (a.) moral: loss of power of will and courage, honesty and honour; (b.) physical: emaciation, want of appetite, and sluggishness; (c.) social: poverty, self-concentration, and general neglect of social duties to parents, wife, children, and friends, as well as to society at large.

4. The Chinese *smoke* opium and do not, as a rule, eat it or drink it. It may be remarked that smoking is more seductive owing to the lasting relish, as well as more wasteful of time and money than swallowing the drug.

5. Habitual opium consumers almost always become slaves to the drug. There are habitual consumers who might be said to be moderate as to the relative quantity they consume, being limited by the necessities of life and means, perhaps by their own moral courage, but they are slaves to their daily allowance. In their case the evil effects are also relatively moderate.

6. It is correct to say there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the *habitual* consumption of opium, except in the sense explained under last question. The slavery is analogous to that of tobacco, only, it is needless to say, more seductive, more dangerous, and more apt to be injurious even in so-called moderation.

7. I do not think a majority of any class in Hong Kong consume opium habitually, except, perhaps, coalheavers and *ricksha* coolies, who do their work by spurts, and are well paid. In general, the opium habit incapacitates for steady work, and hinders it. I have travelled in China, and learnt by experience to avoid chair-bearers that take opium. The hunger for opium is much more urgent and difficult to satisfy than hunger for food, and the employer has to wait the convenience of the coolie.

8. The use of alcohol in excess is so rare among the Chinese here that no comparison can be made between that and opium smoking. The obvious difference, however, between the two is that an occasional use of alcohol adds to the animal spirits and courage of a man for the time being, whereas an occasional pipe or two of opium, to a non-smoker, would have the contrary effect (depression followed by partial elevation like a switch-back railway), and also that habitual opium smoking tends to enfeeble and deplete the system, so that the total energy of a smoker is reduced obviously below the average, while that of a British sailor who takes his grog would appear to an ordinary observer to be rather above the average. Saturate the Chinese with opium, and give your Scotchmen their Highland gill, and your victory is won.

9. The habit of consuming opium is condemned as degrading or injurious by all Chinese whom I have heard speak on the subject, whether opium smokers or not. Their view of the effects of opium and alcohol is much the same as what I have given under last question, including the last illustration which gives rise to painful reflections on the part of patriotic Chinese.

10. Perhaps one in a hundred of opium smokers can and does break off the habit unaided by doctors or external force.

11. As the immediate result of the sudden stopping of Indian opium we might expect that the Chinese would be seriously alarmed and provoked to riot by those interested, that some would be cured of the habit owing to the scarcity of the drug, that measures would be taken to get a supply of opium from China or elsewhere without delay, and that morphine in some form or any similar narcotic would be used as a substitute, but not alcohol. In further reply to this question, I quote the following remarkable opinion of a wise Chinese friend who has done much to help the anti-opium movement: (a.) The opium smoking of China is justly called a disease. It is a chronic and inveterate disease. It cannot be cured in a day by any means short of a miracle. To stop suddenly the supply of Indian opium would cause unutterable misery in Hong King. (b.) To the ignorant and suspicious Chinese mind such an act would present itself as some deep plot of the British Government. Even Chinese statesmen would misunderstand or misinterpret it. (c.) A gradual but marked and consistent diminution of the quantity of opium imported from year to year, so that it might absolutely cease in about 10 years, would so impress the Government and people of China with the benevolent intentions and good faith of England, that the better feelings of those who seek their country's good could be stimulated, and co-operation on the part of China would be secured. By thus calling forth the patriotic instincts of Chinese it is not too much to expect that they will join with England in the endeavour to abolish opium. (d.) On the other hand, if China is not induced to incorporate, and the Indian opium is suddenly stopped, Chinese planters will be all too ready to take advantage of the opportunity to plant more and more, while the "craving" for opium revenue will combine to encourage opium cultivation in China. The true friends of China should strive by all means to secure the co-operation of Chinese in the suppression of opium.

12. About a fifth part of the revenue of this Colony is derived from opium. The Colony could raise the needful revenue otherwise. The people of Hong Kong, not Chinese, would grumble much at the increased taxation. The Chinese probably would not complain, when they came to understand that the reason was the reduced consumption of opium. In order to secure this result, however, strict measures would have to be taken by the Government to exclude narcotic drugs from the Colony.

13. Europeans in Hong Kong do not as a rule contract the opium habit. The reason may perhaps be found in their other habits, and their different constitution. The Asiatic has comparatively fewer comforts and

fewer luxuries, while the opium pipe accords with his other vices, and his phlegmatic constitution.

14. They are led to use the drug by a variety of temptations already alluded to, by evil communications, and sometimes by advice that it is good for allaying pain, and for cough, consumption, diarrhoea, &c. I have never heard the Chinese say that it is a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism or malaria; and, without pretending to medical knowledge, I am inclined to believe more in tobacco smoking than in opium smoking as a protection from polluted air. It is at least less mischievous.

15. Yes. Opium smokers of my acquaintance have always desired to get free from the habit.

16. Yes. There is a feeling of hostility in the average Chinese mind against England on account of Indian opium. The Chinese never forget the seizure and destruction of opium by Commissioner Lin, and all that followed upon it. They cannot draw fine distinctions as the defenders of the Indian Revenue can. Is there any feeling of hostility in France against England on account of Waterloo, and what preceded and followed? How does that feeling display itself? Sometimes by very plain speech and action.

17. I have only one other remark to make in regard to opium consumption, here and everywhere, and that is—I am amazed that any honest man can use the mouth or the hand that God has given him to utter a word in its defence.

London Mission, Hong Kong, JOHN CHALMERS,
14th December 1893. (London Mission).

No. 53a.

A few days ago eighteen Chinese young women from different classes of the Hong Kong community were brought into a room and put down at separate desks with pencils and paper only. Then without any forewarning or special preparation for giving an opinion on opium, they were told to write each a letter to an imaginary elder brother exhorting him against becoming addicted to the opium pipe. The words of fifteen of these Chinese girls are here translated with faithful literality. The remaining three contented themselves with the briefest word of exhortation as required.

Hong Kong, JOHN CHALMERS,
7th January 1894.

I. "In the opinion of your little sister these opium smoking people are the lowest of the low, and more than that their visage gets so shrivelled and dried up by this habit that they look just like a (skeleton) thunder-god. Wrapped up on their couches day and night they are in a fair way to become in time sleeping Buddhas. They take no care of their business, they have no pity for their wives and children, and they themselves, you may be assured, will suffer in the end no ordinary retribution."

II. "Just now in Hong Kong opium abounds; and the relish of the opium pipe is very fascinating. But if one comes under this fascination, not only does it hurt his liver and lungs, but what it helps specially is the root of laziness in him, so that he lives under the bed-curtains, and if he is suddenly roused up from his dreams, he hangs down his head and stretches his limbs as if he had been ill for two or three months. To look upon him makes one simply sigh."

III. "My opinion is that this stuff is not only of no use to a man, but does him bodily harm; remembering that it has an exceedingly low character, is loathed and hated by people generally, and is degrading in its tendency. This stuff is indeed brought to China by Europeans as useful in curing disease, but the people of this (Chinese) world, being deluded and ignorant of its real use to the body, do themselves personal harm with it. Alas! Alas!"

IV. "Devotion to opium is harmful and useless. It destroys the body, and wrongs the wife and children. Family property is squandered by it. The man's heart is deluded by it. This opium comes from India, and multitudes of Chinese find a momentary pleasure in getting saturated with it, forgetting that a far greater number are caused permanent sorrow thereby."

V. "The general effect of devotion to opium is loss of will-power and good name, and ruin of character. And moreover the smoker's wealth and occupation are

melted away, and his family are in fear of total wreck."

VI. "Opium is injurious and useless stuff. The bodies of those who smoke it dwindle away and their bones stick out. Through it families are landed in poverty. Through it money is scattered. Through it all sorts of calamity come more than can be told."

VII. "By means of this stuff man's animal spirits are impaired and his bodily frame destroyed. All who are infected by it suffer loss and get no profit. They are actually abhorred by their wives and children."

VIII. "I think those who are addicted to this opium forget everything else. If they are not dead men their hearts are dead. They neither obey the commandments of God nor the instructions of their parents; and moreover they cause their parents sorrow."

IX. "This opium is a thing useful to man for the curing of disease and pain only, but Chinese without understanding, entertain their visitors with it, until their bodies dry up and their bones stick out; and there is none to pity them. Meantime their wives wail, their children complain, and woe inevitable arises on account of it."

X. "But the injury inflicted by this opium curse is not light. It is not merely a waste of time and a missing of business; it is also a squandering of means and a harming of one's own body."

XI. "By opium smoking one becomes in course of time also a gambler and such like. Moreover he makes even his wife and children disobey, and other people loathe and hate him."

XII. "It is the most easy thing, through this opium to make one's body weak to contract disease and cause one's parents sorrow."

XIII. "By this means (opium smoking) you will make people wish never to see your face; and moreover cause your parents sorrow upon sorrow."

XIV. "Do not crave for opium and sin against God."

XV. "This thing (opium smoking) is contrary to the command of God and hateful to your wife and children."

No. 54.

1. Of all races in Hong Kong, the Chinese consume most, others very little.
2. Most opium consumers are males, some females, and a very few children.
3. The effect of opium varies in each case, according to the character and health of the consumer. A consumer of opium cannot retain his health.
4. The methods of consuming opium differ, but everyone commences by smoking it, and by constant practice, the habit becomes confirmed. Though the methods differ, the effects are the same.
5. All opium consumers become slaves to the drug, and are without energy. One or two out of a hundred break themselves of the habit.
6. Moderation in the consumption of opium is observed by some, who may smoke all their lives, and not suffer from the habit, as they do not become slaves to it. But the majority observe no moderation and their health suffers as the habit grows confirmed.
7. Not more than half. The business of confirmed opium smokers suffers very much.
8. The nature of opium is cold, that of alcohol is hot. If either is taken immoderately the health suffers. The poisons differ, the resulting injury is the same.
9. In every race the consumption of opium is not confined to the lower classes, but the habit is equally injurious to all. Opium is cold and astringent and has a soporific effect. Wine is hot and volatile and leads to intoxication and madness. The evil effects of opium and wine are about equal.
10. That depends upon the strength of will of the opium consumer. If he has really determined to break himself of the habit, there is nothing to prevent him.

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11. If no opium is sent to China, those who have contracted the opium habit will naturally take steps to cure it. The majority of those who break themselves of it now do so because their time is wasted and their business injured by it.

12. The revenue derived from opium in Hong Kong is larger than that derived from any other source. If it was suddenly extinguished, no doubt a great loss would be caused to the revenue. But the wealth of England is so great that it ought not to wish to derive advantage from an article so injurious. All kinds of goods enter Hong Kong and there is a ready market for everything. A large revenue could be derived from them. If the land now used for the cultivation of opium is devoted to some other crop, the revenue derived from it will in future be even more considerable than it is at present. The Government will decide what is to be grown, and it is needless for me to make any suggestion.

13. People of European race are better acquainted with the evils of opium, and therefore very few consume it. Asiatics learn the practice from one another, and thus the habit has been developed, and the number of opium consumers is more than double the number among any other race.

14. Opium consumers are led to use the drug through illness, as a cure for fever or malaria. After the craving has been established, the evils arising from opium gradually increase and they observe with regret that the disadvantages outweigh the benefit, and confess with remorse that they were mistaken and have entered a maze.

15. All those who have contracted the habit wish without exception to break themselves of it, but if it has become confirmed they cannot do so.

16. The revenue derived from the importation of opium into Hong Kong is more than double that from any other source. Although the Asiatics bear no feeling of hatred, yet it is not apparent when an end will be put to this poisonous traffic.

17. When the craving for opium is confirmed, physical harm ensues whilst the business of those who are not yet slaves to it suffers.

When I see a friend who consumes opium, I always advise him to take steps to break himself of the habit.

(Signed) TONG SING-E,
Director of the Tung Wá Hospital.

No. 55.

1. Yes, by Chinese, Malay and other Asiatic races.

2. Of the adult males about one fourth of Chinese, one fifth of Malay, and one in one hundredth of other Asiatic races are consumers. Yes, they consume more or less to a small extent. None.

3. I observe the consumers to be miserable, weak, lazy, dirty, and despicable. Yes, the same. No distinction between different races, but distinctions between consumers who are rich or poor; for instance, the consumers who are rich are observed to be not so miserable and objectionable as those who are poor.

4. They smoke, few eat a little, and few drink a decoction of opium, the effect of each I cannot distinguish.

5. Yes, a great majority and a small proportion are moderate consumers.

6. Not quite correct. None as far as I know. A considerable proportion.

7. Yes. The effect of their opium habit makes them unpunctual and inattentive. Examples: An employee lost his situation on account of his unpunctuality and his inattentiveness in his calling to his employer. A merchant intended to go back to his native country by the day river steamer could not get up in time to catch it.

8. In regard to the immediate effect on consumers the abuse of alcohol is worse than that of opium, but the uses of each are equally bad.

9. Yes, by the general opinion of Chinese, Malay, and other Asiatic races. The Chinese regard opium habit worse than that of alcohol.

10. Yes, they can and do in many instances.

11. If at once they would feel uneasy and suffer, and if gradually they take steps to soothe their uneasiness and remedy their suffering. Yes, from the Province, and the neighbourhood of Yuen Nan. None to alcohol some to narcotics, and the remaining abstain altogether.

12. Of our Colony's revenue about one sixth accrues from opium. If such revenue were extinguished our Colony could raise the revenue on tonnage dues. The people would say nothing to the loss, many are in favour of the obligation.

13. They do not, because they hate it like an enemy. The mutual glossing over faults or evil and mutual example in their intercourse make the Asiatics more liable.

14. The reason why Chinese are led to the use of opium is partly on account of the consumers' misunderstanding the medical effect of the drug, and partly on account of their fondness for laziness and licentiousness. No, that is the way they frame excuses for it. Not to my knowledge. Only by a few, but not commonly.

15. Yes, they do.

16. Yes, very strong and displeased. By talk.

17. Opium consumption is considered as a great vice by our Chinese. The habit of opium consumption in many cases reduces the habitués to extreme poverty and eventually to a stealthy and dishonest life.

CHAN-U-FAI,
Director of the Po Leung Kuk,
Hong Kong.

No. 56.

1. Yes, by Chinese. No experience as regards other Asiatics.

2. (a.) One fourth of Chinese adult males must, in my opinion be consumers, but a distinction must here be drawn between occasional consumers and habitual consumers who have acquired an opium habit. In this answer I include occasional consumers who take to opium either for pleasure or for business purposes without, however, any desire for opium themselves. (b.) About 1 per 1,000 women smoke opium. (c.) Children under 15 none.

3. No effect morally or socially, but I have observed a physical effect, and in the case of habitual consumers it has undoubtedly a deteriorating effect on the constitution. The effect is probably the same on every race without distinction.

4. Chinese consumers chiefly smoke, they rarely, if ever, eat or drink opium or any preparation thereof. Opium smoking, unless indulged in to a great extent, has a very slight effect.

5. A large majority of Chinese opium consumers do not become slaves to the drug, the greater proportion being moderate consumers.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation. Most, if not all, smoke opium for years without any harm whatever, so long as they have not contracted the "habit."

7. No, but the effect of habitual smoking deprives a man of his energy to some extent, and generally makes him lazy and inattentive to his calling, and in the case of labourers the cost of opium often makes it impossible to supply themselves with proper food and thus the effect of smoking is rendered greatly more harmful.

8. I am not conversant with the abuse of alcohol, but I should say its effects are more harmful than opium.

9. The general opinion of Chinese is that habitual smoking is injurious to all, and degrading in the case of poor people who cannot afford either the time or money necessary for smoking.

10. Yes, there does not appear to be any difficulty.

11. If the Indian supply is cut off it would greatly enhance the value of opium, thus checking consumption. The consumers would obtain the supply from Yunnan in China, or elsewhere. They

would not take alcohol, or some other narcotic instead. In the event of obtaining no opium anywhere they would abstain altogether.

12. If the opium revenue was extinguished, the people in this Colony would have nothing to say against the loss, but the deficit could not easily be made good from any other source.

13. I have no knowledge of any Europeans in this Colony smoking opium. The Asiatics generally contract the habit from inducements put before them in their social or business intercourse, or from constant smoking.

14. Generally led to smoking for social or business purposes, or for pleasure, and sometimes on account of illness. It is no remedy against fever or rheumatism, but it may be good against malaria.

15. No, unless compelled by necessity.

16. There was in the beginning such a feeling among the Chinese, but I believe such feeling does not now exist.

PUN PONG,
(Chinese Resident).

HONG KONG.

Enclosure No. 3 in Colonial Secretary's Letter
No. 1780 of 1893.

LIST OF PERSONS TO WHOM CIRCULARS HAVE
BEEN SENT.

ORIENTALS.

Indians.

1. Ebrahimbhuy Pabaney, Merchant.*
2. Sulleiman Mowjee (Messrs. Hajee, Adam, Esmail & Co.) Merchant.*
3. H. M. Esaac Elias, Merchant.*
4. J. L. Chuttoo, Merchant.*
5. Abdul Aly Ebrahim & Co, Merchants.
6. Abdul Knzak, Boarding-house keeper.
7. A Wang (Malay), Boarding-house keeper.
8. Mahomed Chinah, Storekeeper.

Parsees.

9. N. Mehta (Messrs. Framjee Hormusjee & Co.), Merchant.*
10. Framjee Setna (Messrs. Cawasjee Palanjee & Co.), Merchant.
11. D. C. Tata, Merchant.*
12. E. N. Mehta, Merchant.*
13. P. F. Tolatee, Merchant.*

Persians.

14. H. M. M. Ally, Merchant.
15. Mahomed Aly, Merchant.
16. H. M. H. D. Esmail, Merchant.
17. H. M. H. Nemazee, Merchant.
18. Mahomed Hashim, Mercantile Assistant.*

Chinese.

19. Fung Wa Chün, Compradore, National Bank.*
20. Lau Wai Chün, Compradore, Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank.
21. Kaw Hong Take, Merchant.
22. Chan Kit San, of Yan Wo Coy, Merchants.*
23. Chin U Tin, of the Cheung Wo and Kwong Man Tai Firms, Merchant.
24. Lum Sin Sang, otherwise Lam Ham Linn, of the Ham Fook Company, (Opium Farmers).
25. Chau Ping, of the Un Fat Hong, Merchant.*
26. Ip Oi Shan, of the Man Man Firm, Merchant.*
27. Leung Pui Chi, of the Shin Fung Bank.
28. The Resident Medical Officer, Tung Wah Hospital.

OFFICIALS.

29. The Chief Justice.
30. The Puisne Judge.
31. The Colonial Secretary.
32. The Colonial Treasurer.
33. Superintendent of Imports and Exports.
34. The Registrar General.
35. The Police Magistrate (J. H. Wodchouse, C.M.G.)
36. Dr. Ayres, Colonial Surgeon.
37. Dr. Atkinson, Superintendent, Government Civil Hospital.
38. Dr. Jordan, Health Officer of the Port.

39. Dr. Eitel, Inspector of Schools.
40. The Captain-Superintendent of Police.

MEDICAL MEN (NON-OFFICIALS).

41. Surgeon-Colonel Preston.
42. Inspector General of Naval Hospitals.
43. Dr. Cantlie (in private practice).
44. Dr. Ho Kai, Member of the Legislative Council.
45. Dr. Thomson, Secretary and Superintendent, Alice Memorial Hospital.*
46. Dr. Gerlack (In private practice).*

MERCHANTS AND OTHERS.

47. Hon. I. I. Keswick (Agent, Opium Steamers).*
48. Hon. T. H. Whitehead, Manager, Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China.*
49. R. M. Moses (D. Sassoon, Sons & Co.), Merchant.
50. T. J. Moses (D. Sassoon, Sons & Co.), Merchant.
51. S. J. David (S. J. David & Co.), Merchant.
52. Hon. E. R. Belilios, C.M.G., Merchant.
53. Dr. Chalmers, London Mission.
54. Mr. Tong Sing Ue, a Director of the Tung Wah Hospital.
55. Mr. Chang-U-Fai, as Director of the Po Leung Kuk.
56. Mr. Pun Pong, a member of the District Watch Committee.
57. Head men of various Trade Guilds.*
58. Chan Fuk, Justice of the Peace.*
59. Chan Kwan I, Justice of the Peace.*
60. Tsoi Tsz Mi, Justice of the Peace.*
61. Wai Yuk, Justice of the Peace.*

No. 1784, dated 21st December 1893. From G. S. O'Brien, Esq., Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, to the Secretary, Royal Commission on Opium, care of the Finance Department, Calcutta.

I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed replies to the questions by the Royal Commission on Opium, which were received after the despatch of my letter No. 1,780 of yesterday.

No. 37.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by people of the Chinese, Malay, Indian, and Eurasian races in this Colony. Amongst the Chinese all classes are included. With reference to Malays, those we see here are mostly seafaring men; the Indians who consume opium are principally Sikh destitutes, who come here with the hope of obtaining employment and a few of the Sikh and Mahomedan Indian police, the Indians chiefly eating the drug—they do not smoke. I am also informed that some of the men of the Hong Kong Regiment consume this drug. The Eurasians I refer to are of these classes, first the offspring of Europeans and Chinese, secondly, the offspring of Portuguese and Chinese, and, thirdly, the offspring of Indians and Chinese.

2. Of the Chinese, at least 60 per cent. of the whole community are consumers. Women very rarely consume opium to any extent. I have heard of a few cases in which they have been in the habit of smoking small quantities of the drug. Children never do so.

3. When smoked in moderation I have observed no ill effects from its use; on the other hand, I consider that to many it is decidedly beneficial. When taken in excess it is undoubtedly an evil, all moral sense disappears, the person addicted to the habit will commit any crime to obtain the drug; physically these victims to the habit are to be known at once by their attenuated bodies, their wizened, yellow skin and their lethargic habit; socially all family ties and those of friendship are severed. Chinamen have been known to sell even their own children to obtain the drug. The effects are much the same on consumers of every race.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium, a very few eat, and they are principally Sikhs (Indians). Some Chinamen also take the opium in the form of pills, these are chiefly those who are so fully employed that they have not time to indulge in smoking the drug: they are, indeed, too busy to go through all the tedious processes involved in smoking, and, to obtain the stimulant and

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sustaining effect of the drug, they swallow or eat opium in the form of small pills. I have never heard of a decoction being drunk. Lately a practice has sprung up in this colony of injecting morphine (one of the alkaloids of opium) subcutaneously. For full information with reference to this, see C. S. O., No. 1,454 of 1893.

5. Not in my experience, the greater majority are moderate consumers.

6. (a.) Most certainly not. (b.) I know many consumers who have taken opium for years, without it having done them any appreciable harm. Description of cases *vide* Appendix A.

7. Amongst the Chinese, all classes are addicted to this habit—labourers, merchants, and artisans. With regard to the Malays, as I have before, in this Colony our experience is with the sailors only of this race. The Indians who take the drug are a few Sikh and Mahomedan members of the Indian section of the Hong Kong police force, and the Sikh and Mahomedan destitutes. These all eat the opium in the form of small pills made at Chinese drug stores. The only Indians who smoke the drug are the half-caste Malay Indians. With regard to the Eurasians, they are of every class, and principally smoke.

8. There is no comparison, in my opinion. Alcohol is much the greater evil in its results on those who take it to excess. It is quite a mistaken idea that Asiatics do not drink. I have had many cases of alcoholism, pure and simple, under treatment in the Government Civil Hospital during the past six years, and they have proved much more unmanageable and difficult to cure than the few cases of inveterate opium eaters whom I have to treat. Effect of the habit, when consumed in moderation, is certainly not injurious, and in many cases, in my opinion, is decidedly beneficial. (*See* Appendix A.) I cannot help thinking that there is in the Chinese an hereditary toleration, if not a craving, for opium. It is not necessary for Europeans to take opium to withstand the ill effects of the climate, as for one reason we are not so much exposed to the climate as the Chinese, from our manner of living, occupations, &c., and alcohol in moderation fulfils the same purpose.

9.—(a.) The habit of consuming opium to excess by healthy men is certainly looked upon by the Chinese as degrading and injurious. In moderation, for those who work hard, there is no harm in smoking a few pipes. The general idea, and I think the true one, is that it does good by removing the feeling of fatigue, and affording rest, and also acting as a prophylactic in some diseases, e.g., malaria, and a decidedly remedial agent in other diseases. (b.) It is difficult to answer this question, as Asiatics are not a race addicted to excess in alcohol. It is only in Chinamen who have been brought into contact with Europeans, and have acquired some of their bad habits, that the evils of alcoholism are seen.

10. Very rarely, I know personally of three cases, the general opinion amongst Chinese appears to be that if they leave off the habit they will die. Even leaving it off for a day brings on severe diarrhoea, and I can easily understand this proving fatal if not properly treated, not to mention the mental disquietude, &c., and the other symptoms brought on by suddenly discontinuing the drug.

11. They would, in all likelihood obtain Chinese opium from Yunnan. This, although inferior and cheaper than Indian opium, is, I am given to understand, already consumed here, or take to the hypodermic injection of the drug, or swallow it in the form of pills obtained from European dispensing firms or Chinese drug stores. The Chinese know of no substitute for opium, the craving seems to be so great, the habit having been once established, that they would do anything to obtain it in one form or the other.

12.—(a.) Rs. 389,900 was the amount in 1891 obtained from the opium farmer for monopoly of selling opium in this Colony.

13. Some few do. I have had three cases under treatment in this hospital during the past six years. There is, in my opinion, an hereditary tendency amongst Asiatics to contract this habit. They are more liable to contract it also from the sake of example, and by the teachings of their so-called doctors.

14.—(a.) First, by seeing that it is the usual custom amongst their fellow countrymen at a certain age to

take to this habit, and secondly, at the advice of their doctors. (b.) Yes, frequently. (c.) It is, in my opinion, a prophylactic amongst Chinese living in malarial districts against malarial fevers, and not only a prophylactic, but an antiperiodic, and by this means a distinct remedial agent in malarial fevers of every type. It is so regarded by the Chinese *see* (Appendix A).

15. No, not as long as they have enough money to purchase the drug. If they have not, they will take it in any other form than smoking, e.g., by means of hypodermic injections, if they can obtain it cheaper in that way; they must have the appetite satisfied.

17. The information herein contained has been obtained from many sources, amongst which I may mention the frequent visits I have made to the opium divans in this Colony to study this question. Inspector Quincy of the Hong Kong police force, and Messrs. Lo Chung, Ip, and N. I. Kai of this department, have kindly acted as my interpreters. I have also had considerable practical experience as superintendent of this hospital during the past six years of the effects of opium and alcohol on the Chinese and other native races, and the conclusion I have come to is that neither of these drugs, taken in moderation, even regularly, are injurious; but on the other hand, are frequently decidedly beneficial. When taken to excess, alcohol is much the more serious and deplorable in its effects, and is by far the greater evil.

APPENDIX A.

CASE 1.—Chan-a-Lok, October 1867, at present living in Hong Kong, and in receipt of a pension from the Colonial Government.

Family History.—Indefinite. Remembers, however, that his father was troubled with a severe cough.

Previous History.—Patient was born at Macao, and came to Hong Kong shortly after the British settled here; he was employed first as a cook's mate at a Chinese house; after having been in this situation some years, he entered the service of the Government Civil Hospital as a coolie; this would be, as far as he can recollect, about 1853; he remained a coolie for some four or five years, and was in Dr. Cochrane's time, appointed Chief Chinese Wardmaster, which appointment he held until 1889, when he was pensioned off on account of old age. He first contracted the habit of smoking opium when 17 years of age, the reason being that he did so at the advice of a Chinese Doctor whom he had consulted, as he was then suffering from hæmorrhage from the lungs, accompanied by a cough. This doctor told him that opium smoking would cure him and heal his lungs. He first commenced with two candereens a day, and the doctor told him he must gradually increase the dose until he was smoking three mace a day = 30 candereens. Since then he has never been troubled with blood-splitting. He has been an opium smoker for fifty years now, and on an average has smoked two to three mace a day, the opium used always being the opium farmers' first quality; now he is only smoking 1½ mace a day, as he cannot afford more; this costs him 25 cents. formerly it only cost about 19 cents. A Lok states.—That he is sure that if he can get good opium, by this he means very old opium, it will cure him of malarial fever; he says it has frequently done so. The most he has ever smoked in a day is five mace. Amongst the Chinese, opium is believed to have the property of curing diarrhoea and dysentery, malarial fevers, hæmorrhages from the lungs, heart-pain (by this is probably meant dyspepsia and indigestion), and to relieve pain. He thinks that healthy men who work hard benefit by smoking a little opium after their days' work, say, not more than 1½ mace a day. If consumed in a larger quantity than this it is injurious. Of the two evils, drink he thinks the worse. Dr. Wharry, my predecessor, advised him to try and give up the habit, telling him at the same time that he would give him some medicine to cure him of it. A Lok tried for one day, and had such severe diarrhoea that he had to give up the experiment, and he has never attempted it since.

Present condition.—I examined him on the 18th instant and found him a fairly well preserved man for 67 years of age, all his organs seem sound and healthy, lungs no sign of any consolidation, and in my opinion he is likely to live another 10 years if careful. As our senior European Wardmaster is leaving us at the end of this year, I think so highly of A Lok that I intend recommending that the Governor allow us to employ him again, until the successor to the senior Ward-

master can be obtained from England. Personally I have known A-Lok for over six years, and have always found him ready for any emergency, whether at day time or in the middle of the night. He very frequently has been called up in the middle of the night to receive accidents, &c., and for a man of his station in life he is wonderful intelligent and capable. His knowledge of the Chinese and their habits was very useful; he had, in addition, a certain practical knowledge of surgery, which he had acquired here and which rendered him very dexterous in the application of splints, surgical dressings, &c. In conclusion I may add that I have made the acquaintance of many Chinese doctors, but in my opinion Chan-a-Lok far excelled them all; it was with great regret that we received his resignation. If time would admit I could give the notes of three other cases, but as this is the most complete and seems to bear most upon the subject in all its details, I have given it at some length.

(Signed) J. M. ATKINSON,
Superintendent.

Government Civil Hospital,
Hong Kong,
20th December 1893.

No. 39.

1. I know only the Chinese, but I could not say that opium is "commonly" consumed by the people.

2. I believe all conjectures on this point are not only futile, but mischievous, because misleading. Generally speaking, consumption of opium to get any great extent is the act of adult individuals exceptionally weak in willpower. Women consume opium in very rare cases. Children never.

3. The term "consumer" is too vague and misleading. Chinese as a rule smoke opium or take it in the form of the more pernicious (so-called) anti-opium pills or injections.

5. The answer depends entirely on what is meant by "consumer." If "daily" consumption is aimed at by the term, every such consumer is in imminent danger of becoming a sot. I do not know what a "moderate consumer" is unless he be one who has not the craving, i.e., is not a sot.

6. If by "consumption" is meant the use of opium at long intervals, it is harmless. There cannot be, in my experience, frequent indulgence without a corresponding degree of physical, moral, and social injury.

7. I have not become acquainted with any class of Chinese, of which I could say either that all individuals of it abstain from all consumption of opium, or that a majority of it do consume opium. In every calling, habitual or frequent indulgence in opium diminishes efficiency. But this question (like most of the others) is misleading.

8. Alcohol is a stimulant. Opium is a sedative. Alcohol has a special adaptedness to the neurosis and environment of Europeans. Opium is equally adapted to the peculiar neurosis (nervous and mental temperament) and environment of the Chinese. Alcohol produces active ill deeds of commission and omission. Opium produces passive inertness of the system (exclusive of the brain). Both opium and alcohol tend to vitiate the physique and the moral sense. Alcohol damages the intellect also. Opium does not ruin the brain so soon or so much. Alcohol stimulates sexual immorality as well as other crimes of violence, and fills gaols and lunatic asylums. Opium tends to annihilate the sexual instinct, and lays the sot aside as an increasingly useless and helpless wreck. But the great difference between opium and alcohol is this, that the craving for opium is not transmitted to unborn generations by inheritance, whilst the craving for alcohol is a taint conveyed by every individual affected by it to numbers of generations. I have spent 24 years in Europe and 31 years in South China or Hong Kong. I have made about as many acquaintances among Europeans as among the Chinese. Among my acquaintances alcohol has wrought infinitely more havoc than opium has done, and the mischief in the case of opium has been chiefly individual, but in the case of alcohol, untold misery has engulfed families, and a legacy of vicious instincts has been transmitted to future generations.

9. The use of opium to the extent of bringing on "the craving" (a clear point known to every victim of opium, but disregarded in these questions) is condemned unsparingly by public opinion among all classes of the Chinese, but particularly by the victims of themselves. Chinese do not see any comparison between opium and alcohol. They say, "opium produces the craving alcohol does not." Chinese intoxicants contain such a quantity of fusel oil as suffices to make excessive indulgence distasteful. In Chinese experience the use of alcoholic liquors produces a craving only in exceptional and rare cases.

10. Only individuals exceptionally weak in will power (who anyhow would be wrecked in the struggle for existence) become opium sots. They cannot break themselves (without help or constraint of some sort) of the opium habit if once formed.

11. They would procure opium from elsewhere. They would not be likely to take to alcohol so readily, unless cheap alcoholic drinks, like the existing Chinese liqueurs, were pressed upon them in a form suitable to the national palate. They would certainly not abstain altogether.

13. Europeans do not contract the habit of opium smoking. They have alcohol and opiates in different forms. Asiatics are more liable to contract the habit of opium smoking, because it is less injurious than eating or drinking opiates; because, as a sedative, it is more adapted to the passive temperament of the Asiatic. The European wants stimulants for practical life only. The Chinaman wants sedatives for practical life, and a stimulant of his imagination also.

14. Opium allays worry and is pleasurable. This and nothing else is in all ordinary cases the originating incentive to its use. Opium-smoking is not regarded by the Chinese as a prophylactic, but as a form of self-indulgence, vicious indeed, but pleasant.

15. Opium sots as a rule hate the habit, and desire to get rid of it, but cannot resist the craving.

16. There is among all Chinese whom I know, an innate dislike of foreigners and of everything foreign, unless it is very obviously useful. In most cases where ignorance of foreigners is combined with this national bias, that dislike amounts to a feeling of hostility, which takes advantage of the fact that most of the opium comes from India, to revile England's policy, but not Englishmen in particular. In travelling inland in South China, I have also found that the public feeling is infinitely more hostile against France and everything French, amounting everywhere to unreasoning violence; while the appearance of an Englishman, and particularly of a German (as an opponent of France), does not, in South China, produce ill feeling on other grounds but that he is "a foreign devil," and that his objects in coming must of course be anti-Chinese. I do not believe that the opium question adds very much to the feeling of hostility against Europeans innate in every Chinaman. Take away the opium and offer them the Bible only, or foreign science and civilisation only, and—

17. None.

20th December 1893. E. J. ETEL,
(Inspector of Schools).

No. 1,808, dated 27th December 1893.

From J. A. S. O'BRIEN, Esq., Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, to the Secretary, Royal Commission on Opium, care of the Finance Department Calcutta.

In continuation of my letter No. 1,784 of the 21st instant, I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed further replies to the questions by the Royal Commission on Opium.

No. 7.

1. Yes.
2. Malays, 75 per cent., 10 percent females; no children.
3. Selfish and self-sufficient, cunning, weak constitution, and a social outcast if not well-to-do. (2) Yes. No distinction.
4. Smoke it. Never seen the drinking of decoction. Never seen any other kind of use.

APP. XXV.

5. Moderation practised in most cases. Smokers following a limit according to purse or time at disposal.

6. Incorrect to say so. Yes.

7. Yes, the effect on their calling depends more on their self-respect than anything else: a man cleanly in his habits and regular in his actions would restrict himself to a certain hour to smoke the quantity he allows himself, so no perceptible ill effect will result. A man who is irregular will feel the opium craving at most times when not smoking; as soon after smoking so he will be found lazy and unmindful in his business. Opium smoking can be limited to certain hour at the day or night. There are smokers (mostly business people) who will smoke at nightfall, and finish their quantity, from one to two mace, by bedtime, ten o'clock; they will not smoke at any time during the day, so though their face might show the opium habit after a habit extending over several years, but business cannot be said to have been neglected. Smokers can be compared to sucking babies, it is their will and their nurses that guide them.

8. No alcoholic habit to any extent among Asiatics.

9. Yes, most certainly. They regard opium the greater of the two evils. The opium sot is termed the opium fiend.

10. They can, but they very seldom do. A fixed determination of purpose will do it, but on account of the frequency one meets with opium smokers along with their paraphernalias, their polite and oily invitation to have a smoke, a would-be reformed smoker has a poor chance. There is a well-worn saying with smokers that "it is easy to put off the habit, but hard to remain so" (a reformed smoker).

11. Cannot say, perhaps China. Cannot say.

12. I do not know, possible. It remains to be seen.

13. No. Europeans have no social intercourse with the smoking Asiatic to speak of, and if they should have, the way to prepare the whiff as dose necessitating the occasional blowing of the pipe of the accumulated water, both from the burning of the last smoke and the mouth of the last smoker, which means dirty fingers, etc., would prevent him. Opium smoking is but a dirty habit to people who have no servant to tend to their smoking wants.

14. Mostly association with the smoker, and sometimes from an indolent disposition; opium is the only thing that can be and is smoked lying down. No. Yes. To people who have not the habit. Not commonly considered as such.

15. Yes, mostly by people of small or no means, and those whose occupation is hindered by the habit.

16. No. Nor in my opinion in any other place, save that it takes good many to India and foreign countries.

A. WANG,
(Malay Boarding-house Keeper).

No. 14.

ANSWERS to the QUESTIONS regarding OPIUM CONSUMPTION and OPIUM REVENUE in the COLONIES and DEPENDENCIES of SINGAPORE, PENANG, and HONG KONG.

1. Yes.

2. Men about 30 per cent., women about 10 per cent., children do not.

3. It does not affect them morally or physically, an opium smoker has not the same fresh healthy appearance as one who does not smoke opium. A smoker's position is not in any way socially affected. The same may be said as regards other Asiatic races.

4. They chiefly smoke. They neither eat nor do they drink a decoction. If it is taken in the latter form also, I cannot distinguish between the effect of each.

5. Not many. Very few eventually become "opium sots." I find that a considerable proportion of consumers are moderate consumers.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have known of many cases where opium has been consumed without harm to the consumers. There are several opium dealers with whom I am brought into business contact, who have, to my knowledge, been consumers of the drug for years, and who apparently

show no signs of the drug having had any evil effects on them. I know also of a case where a person (not a Chinese) who has both smoked and eaten the drug off and on for the last ten years, and who has not apparently suffered physically.

7. Many Chinese labourers, merchants, and artisans smoke opium, but not a majority of them. The habit does not affect their efficiency in their several callings.

8. An opium smoker is quiet in his habit, whereas one addicted to the use or abuse of alcohol, especially among the Malay races and natives of Philippines is often boisterous and commit rash acts.

9. No, they would consider the alcohol habit as degrading and injurious.

10. Yes.

11. They would procure it from elsewhere. They would not take to alcohol nor to any other narcotic, neither would they abstain altogether. China has been and is still growing opium, which statistics will show has been in increase during the past few years, and the stoppage of the export of Indian opium would give the Chinese authorities a fair opportunity of developing the growth of their own opium, much to the detriment of the British Government.

12. About one seventh. I do not at present see any other means of raising additional revenue. They would consider the necessity of making up the deficit by other taxation as unjust.

13. I do not feel competent to answer to this question.

14. Are much about the same way as a tobacco smoker. They do not usually or often take it in the first instance to allay physical pain although it is extensively used by the Chinese and Asiatic races for medicinal purposes.

15. The cases are rare.

16. No.

17. No.

H. M. ALLY,
(Persian Merchant).

No. 9.

ANSWERS by the GOVERNMENT ANALYST of HONG KONG to the QUESTIONS regarding OPIUM issued by ORDER of the ROYAL COMMISSION on OPIUM in OCTOBER 1893.

1. Yes, by the Chinese.

2. The census returns give no information as to opium smoking. 18,000 has been stated as the number of opium smokers in this Colony. Children do not smoke opium, women do, but only to a limited extent.

3. As to the moral, physical, and social effects of opium smoking I have had no experience of any race other than the Chinese. With the exception to be alluded to under question No. 7, an opium smoker appears to be as good a man morally, physically, and socially as a non-smoker.

4. The Chinese chiefly smoke opium. There are cases in which opium and morphine are taken internally by those who find the smoking habit too costly. The Chinese do not eat opium, neither do they drink a decoction of opium. When taken internally it is usually in the form of pills. An aqueous solution of the smoking extract is a common agent in suicidal poisoning. The attention of the Royal Commission might here be drawn to the morphine injection practice which has recently sprung up. (Vide attached printed copies of the papers laid before the Legislative Council of Hong Kong on the 12th September 1893.) The confirmed opium smoker has a craving for his pipe, a small dose of opium or morphine or a hypodermic injection of a solution of morphine appears to satisfy that craving, but in course of time the internal dose by the mouth or the hypodermic injection has to be increased in strength. The man who takes his pipe of opium regularly does not appear to suffer in health. The man who has regular morphine injections unquestionably does. I cannot believe that the regular taking by the mouth of doses of opium or morphine is harmless.

5. The Chinese who habitually smoke opium are slaves to the drug, they do not, however, eventually become "opium sots." The majority enjoy their opium pipe and endeavour to keep the daily number within the limits defined by their incomes.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the smoking of opium. I have frequently met Chinese who have been opium smokers for years without any apparent harm to themselves. I met the other day a very intelligent Chinese gentleman whom I have known for more than 10 years. Height 5 ft. 10 ins., weight 143 lbs., age 42. He has been a regular opium smoker for more than three years. Previous to that he used to smoke only occasionally when discussing business with his friends. He assured me that he felt stronger now than he did three years ago. He is certainly a rather fine looking man. He is, moreover, an exceedingly smart man of business. At the same time he candidly told me that he would be very glad if he could abandon the habit, not on account of the expense, but through fear that in course of time his health might suffer. He further explained that the necessity of having a pipe to satisfy the craving was beginning to interfere with his business habits. This man appeared to be thoroughly sincere in his answers to the questions put to him.

7. Merchants, labourers, and artisans smoke opium, but in the absence of statistics it is impossible to say what proportion is addicted to the habit. As far as my experience will enable me to deal with this question, I cannot say that their efficiency is in any way affected except in the case of the lower class of Chinese. A Chinaman who is in a position financially to smoke opium does not stint himself of the necessaries of life. A poor coolie does, consequently his health suffers and, therefore, in many cases his efficiency is not as good as it would be had he not acquired the smoking habit. Then, again, too many of the ignorant poor fly to small doses of opium or morphine internally, or to an injection of a solution of morphine. These are cheaper habits than smoking and unquestionably very serious evils arising from the smoking of opium. The baneful nature of these two habits, i.e., the taking of opium or morphine internally, and the injecting of morphine, is not open to question. If the Chinese could obtain the opium smoking extract at as reasonable a price as the British workman procures his weekly supply of tobacco there would be no such thing as regular morphine injections or internal doses by the mouth of opium or morphine. I am informed that the quantity of morphine imported into China is something enormous. It is unfortunate that statistics are not available. These evils arising from the use of opium may be attributed to the fact that the drug is overburdened for the purpose of revenue not only in Hong Kong but also in China.

8. There is no abuse of alcohol among the Chinese. The majority take shamshu (rice spirit) regularly at their principal daily meal.

9. The Chinese do not regard the smoking of opium as degrading or injurious, provided the smoker can afford to pay for it. I have frequently heard my servant object to a candidate for the post of house-coolie on the ground that he was an opium-smoker. He did not mean that he regarded the habit as bad, but that it was undesirable to have a man about the house whose pay was obviously insufficient for such a luxury. Moreover an opium smoker might want his pipe when required by his master for household duty. He might also find it necessary to steal articles from time to time in order to meet the drain on his purse. The latter consideration would weigh heavily in the mind of any good native head servant or "boy." The Chinese would regard the smoking of opium in a very favourable light when compared with the alcohol habit as displayed by the Europeans with whom they are brought in contact.

10. I have heard of cases of opium smokers breaking themselves of the habit in its early stages. If a reference is made to the Victoria Gaol statistics, it will be seen that prisoners, confirmed opium smokers, improve in health when the supply of opium is cut off. I am of opinion that only very strong minded men could break themselves of the smoking habit without the aid of internal doses of morphine.

11. The cutting off of the supply of Indian opium would mean in some parts of China increased cultivation of the poppy, &c., and increased use of the native opium derived therefrom. It is also highly probable that supplies would reach China from some new outside source. There is every reason to suppose that Smyrna or Constantinople opium, the finest opium in the world, could be produced in quantity sufficient to meet the demands of China. Persian opium finds its way to China now, and could obviously be produced and imported thereto in increased quantity. In this connexion it

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would be as well to bear in mind the position of the neighbouring Portuguese Colony of Macao in respect of the foreign trade with China. It would, I feel sure, force the price of the drug to a fabulous figure, and intensify the evils referred to in my answer to Question No. 7. The Chinese are driven to the internal use of morphine, now they will be all the more inclined to acquire this dreadful habit if, owing to scarcity of the drug, they are not able to buy opium extract for their pipes. I am of opinion that the Chinese would not be likely to take to drink or to abstain from opium-smoking altogether.

13. Europeans do not contract the opium habit for the simple reason that the practice of opium smoking is an Asiatic and not a European custom, and Europeans naturally do not go abroad and adopt the customs and manners of the Asiatics with whom they are brought in contact.

14. Speaking generally, the Chinese do not take to the opium pipe in the first instance to allay physical pain. They regard it as a luxury suitable for introduction on special occasions. A merchant has some business to transact and visits the hong or business house of a friend. Details are discussed, and while this is going on the opium pipe is introduced and used by any of the party who may accept the invitation to smoke. In point of fact the practice may be compared to that which prevails among our own countrymen when visiting each other. The non-teetotaler who remarks when receiving a friend, "have a drink," or the teetotaler who in similar circumstances enquires "won't you take a cup of tea?" are extending a civility which may justly be compared to the Chinese custom of offering the opium pipe. An occasional pipe may be smoked in this way for a considerable time until the opium neophyte finds he cannot do without it, and that it is necessary to have a pipe regularly to satisfy the craving. It is within my experience that opium is regarded as a prophylactic in North Lincolnshire, where very large quantities are annually consumed, chiefly by women, in the marsh districts. It is taken internally in the form of pills and in liquid form as laudanum. Many of these creatures are noted for their haggish appearance and great age. There is, however, no evidence to show that the drug is similarly regarded by the Chinese in Hong Kong.

15. Yes, undoubtedly. The best proof of this is to be found in the large sale of morphine for internal use as an alleged anti-opium medicine.

16. There is no feeling of hostility against England. I have heard intelligent Chinese say that it would be a good thing if Great Britain would stop the introduction of opium; but they also say that of course this is out of the question, unless the two countries, Great Britain and China, co-operate for that object.

17. Some stress has been laid in the foregoing answers to the pernicious practice of morphine-taking in lieu of, or as an antidote to, the opium pipe. No reference is made to this habit in the series of questions I have had the honour to consider; it may, therefore, be assumed that the Commissioners were not in possession of any information on the subject. There is every reason to suppose that the practice of morphine injecting has been practically stamped out in this Colony, an ordinance having been introduced to effect that object. The Chinese are, however, still free to use morphine for ordinary internal use. I respectfully submit that the morphine vice cannot reasonably be dissociated from the opium question.

W. EDWARD CROW,
Government Analyst.

Hong Kong,
22nd December 1893.

HONG KONG.

REPORTS OF MORPHINE INJECTION.

Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor, on the 12th September 1893.

No. 31-93, dated Hong Kong, 24th May 1893.

From Hou Fook Company, Opium Farmers, to the Hon. G. G. Mitchell-Innes, Colonial Treasurer, etc.

The Prepared Opium Ordinance of 1891, section 10, provides for the preparation and sale of prepared opium, and the word "preparation" by the interpretation clause in the Ordinance is stated thus: "the subjecting of opium of any kind to any degree of artificial heat, for any purpose whatever, shall be taken to be the preparing of such opium."

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APP. XXV.

In the latter part of section 10 it is provided "that no medical practitioner, chemist or druggist, not being a Chinese, or being such and having a European or American diploma, shall be prevented from preparing or selling opium *bona fide* for medical purposes."

Within the last few months a number of establishments have been opened in Hong Kong, to which those who have acquired the habit of opium smoking have been induced to resort for the purpose of having a preparation of opium administered by means of subcutaneous injections. As the charge made for each injection is very small, large numbers of Chinese have been induced to frequent these houses, and, we believe that a considerable diminution in the receipts of the farm arising from the sale of prepared opium for local consumption has been owing to this cause. Under these circumstances we would ask you to be good enough to suggest to the Government either some modification of the law with reference to the sale of preparations of opium, or else that a law might be passed making the subcutaneous injection of drugs except under certain restrictions and by a duly qualified medical man, a punishable offence.

We are informed that a large number of persons have been seriously injured in their health by having recourse to the places above mentioned, and as the practice is at the same time likely to affect permanently the revenue of the Colony as well as the present opium farmers we feel justified in urging you to bring the matter to the serious attention of the Colonial Government.

Minute by Assistant Registrar General.

Honourable Registrar General.—Apparently the practice of injecting morphia has arisen only within the last few months.

Injections can be obtained at the following places:—
312, Queen's Road West.—A branch opened about a month. 50 or 60 people go there a day.

1, New Street.—Opened a fortnight. Plenty of patronage.

1st floor, 2, East Street.—Opened 2 weeks. 60 or 70 a day. Fee at above places, 1 cent an injection.

2nd floor, 18, Taipingshan Street.—Opened 3 weeks. Fee, 2 cents.

2nd floor, 10 Kwaiwa Lane.—Opened in November. Number increased from 10 to 40 a day. Fee reduced from 2 to 1 cent.

367, Queen's Road, Central.—Opened in March. Number of patients increased from 20 to 60.

98, Bonham Strand. Opened 1½ months. 40 or 50 a day.

41, Stanley Street.—Branch of Kwaiwa Lane establishment. About 60.

179, Queen's Road, East.—Opened 2 months.

104, Bonham Strand.

85, Bonham Strand.

65, Third Street.

91 Queen's Road West.

50, Praya West.

*Attached is a notice by a hospital, in Canton, recommending the adoption of the injection of morphia.

The numbers given above cannot be relied on.

The ostensible reason for taking morphia is to take rid of the craving for opium; but even if a man doesn't want to do so he naturally prefers spending 3 or 4 cents on morphia to 15 or 20 on opium.

The coolie class patronise these places. I should say that we won't be able to judge of the extent of this practice for another month or so. The writers put the number of people at between 1,000 and 2,000, who were no doubt habitual opium smokers.

5th June, 1893.

A. W. BREWIN.

Report by the Police.

Captain Superintendent.—In accordance with instructions received from you and Mr. Buckle we have made inquiries regarding the use of morphia injections.

The injections of morphia are made with the object of curing persons of their opium smoking habits and the method is said to have been instituted by one of Dr. Kerr's students in Canton. It was commenced in Hong Kong on a small scale last year, but it is only within the last two or three months that it has attained to its present extensive use. There are in the Colony, including Aberdeen, Shauiwan and Yaumati, about eighteen places in which about one thousand persons receive injections twice a day. There are a few, who no longer use it, who claim to have been completely cured of their opium

smoking habits by it; but others have tried it and afterwards gone back to opium smoking.

A coolie who would smoke five or six cents' worth of opium a day only pays one cent for each injection, so that he saves three or four cents a day and obtains an equal effect while at the same time he is getting cured of the opium smoking.

The morphia used is purchased at the dispensaries as a powder at 40 dols. a lb. by one or two men, who dissolve it in water and sell the solution to the injectors. These inject the liquid under the skin, at the muscles of the arms, with small hypodermic syringes, which are also purchased at the dispensaries. The operator begins on a patient with a big dose, which he decreases daily, or once in two days for about a month, when the cure should be effected.

Few of those making the injections are even Chinese medical practitioners and none of them have had training under foreigners. The unrestricted use of such a drug by reckless and unqualified practitioners must be a great danger to the community and, like the unrestricted sale, seems to call for the imposition of some restriction as a safeguard. Whether morphia in the shape of a powder comes under the Ordinance as a preparation of opium may be a question for the law officers to decide, or if the opium farmer wishes, he could take up a case as a test case.

W. STANTON,

W. QUINCEY,

Inspectors.

Central Police Station,
19th June 1893.

Minute by the Captain Superintendent of Police.

Honourable Colonial Treasurer.—Report in accordance with your request.

F. H. M.

HONG KONG.

REPORTS ON MORPHINE INJECTION.

Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor, on the 12th September 1893.

No. 31—93, dated Hong Kong, 14th July 1893.

From PH. B. C. AYRES, Colonial Surgeon to the Honourable COLONIAL SECRETARY.

In accordance with instructions contained in your minute of the 26th ultimo, I requested Dr. Atkinson to give me a report of a case of morphia injection by Chinese that came under his notice in the Government Civil Hospital, and also requested Mr. Crow, Government Analyst, to ascertain, if possible, the preparation of morphia used, and the strength of the solutions from the samples forwarded, and also to procure samples direct for himself, if possible, and get all the information he could generally as to the practice of morphia injection among the Chinese. These reports I now forward.† Mr. Crow's report is a very complete one, and leaves no doubt upon the subject.

The dose, used as it appears quite commonly, of gr. ½ of morphia in solution is a very full one and very rarely used by a medical practitioner. To allay even very acute pain a ¼ to ½ of a grain are the doses most commonly used. It will be seen by this that the dose used among the Chinese is a very full one. This supposed cure for opium smoking is the introduction of an undoubtedly pernicious habit for one that, as I have proved, is a very doubtful one and easily cured with no evil effects to the patient by complete deprivation at once. To deprive these men of the habit at once of using morphia injections will cause much suffering, not only nervous exhaustion for want of the stimulant, but in the majority of cases it will result in an attack of profuse diarrhoea very difficult to control, and will result in a sort of cholera scare.

Morphia injection is used ostensibly for the cure of opium smoking, but from the evidence given there is no attempt whatever to decrease the strength of the injections; but on the contrary the number of doses taken appears to increase and the evidence points to the introduction of a habit well known to be an undoubtedly pernicious habit for one, that is to say, the most of it a very doubtfully pernicious one.

The profit side of the question is the only one likely to be looked upon by those who conduct the cure. It is shown to be from 200 to 400 per cent., and as long a

* Not printed.

† Enclosure No. 1. Enclosure No. 2.

they make such a profit there is little chance of their patients being cured.

I am of opinion that it is of little use striking at the sale of the drug or the instruments used as there are European agencies for these in all the principal Chinese towns. The only way will be to strike at the shops in which it is practised, the same as gambling houses, and the punishments should be severe and refer only to the keepers.

At the same time provisions will have to be made to meet the evils which will arise from this stoppage amongst those that have contracted the habit, which might be done by a notification by the Registrar General that medicines can be obtained from the European hospitals and dispensaries, and also from police stations, the same as has been done in regard to cholera cases.

Enclosure No 1.

No. 12, dated Hong Kong, 1st July, 1893.

From J. M. ATKINSON, Superintendent, to Dr. Ph. B. C. AYRES, C.M.G., Colonel Surgeon, &c.

SIR,

My attention was first called to the practice of morphine injecting among the Chinese about a month ago by Dr. Atkinson, when handing me a bottle of liquid alleged to have been prepared for subcutaneous injection, which, on analysis, proved to be a solution of hydrochlorate of morphine.

2. At my request our comradore, Mr. Hoo A Choo, brought me, about a month ago, a victim of this pernicious habit who volunteered the following statement:—"My name is Chu A Yee. I am a barber, and am 28 years of age. The marks on my arms and thighs are caused by a needle used for inserting medicine. I took the medicine for the first time in this way in October last. At first I had two injections daily, one in the morning and one in the evening. Afterwards when I had diarrhoea and pains in the stomach, I had one or two injections more. After using the injections for three months, my arm used to be very stiff at night. I am now having four or five interjections daily. Have had two this morning (12 noon). At first I paid two cents for each injection. I now only pay one cent. I had the injections in the first place because I was told by many people that they would cure me of the opium habit. Have not smoked any opium since October 1892. Up to that date I had been an opium-smoker for more than a year. I felt better when I smoked opium than I do now. I used to get medicine injected at the Chun Tak-tong drug shop, Wyndham Street. They were made this morning by Chan Mui Yuk, Queen's Road, Central."

3. I may mention that the man on that date weighed 112 lbs. He appeared somewhat dazed.

4. Thinking it would be useful to have some information as to the strength of the morphine solution I requested Mr. Hoo A Choo to obtain a supply. He forwarded it to me on Sunday last. I then requested him to send the actual purchaser to my office. The man came on the 29th ultimo. He was the barber referred to in paragraph 2. His appearance had certainly not improved. Weight 107 lbs.—a loss of 5 lbs. within a month. He said that he had had three injections that day.

5. He made the following statement:—"On the 25th June, Mr. Hoo A Choo gave me 1'30 dols. to buy some medicine. I went to Tsing Lok Hin, 87 Queen's Road, West, and saw the man who had given me injections on a former occasion. I asked him to let me have some of the medicine he uses. He filled the bottle (one fluid ounce) I had with me and charged 20 cents for it. I handed the bottle to Mak Kao."

6. Mak Kao informed me that he handed this bottle to Mr. Hoo A Choo personally.

7. Submitted to analysis this solution yielded 2 per cent. of morphine=25 per cent. of the hydrochlorate or muriate, the commonest commercial salt of this alkaloid.

8. The solid preparation handed to me by Dr. Atkinson a few days ago proved to be hydrochlorate of morphine.

9. It appeared to me desirable to have ocular proof of this practice. Accordingly, accompanied by Mr. Chau Kam-tsun, one of my assistants, I went to No. 87, Queen's Road, West, yesterday morning. I directed him to go upstairs, and ask the man in charge if he would allow me to visit his establishment. No objection being offered, I entered and observed three men asleep on mats, and about 12 or 15 standing in the verandah. Some of the men, I was informed, had just had injections; the others were waiting their turn. There were numerous puncture scars on their arms. I saw two operations performed. In one case about 15 minims, and in the other case about 20 minims were injected. The operator informed me that there was a limit as to the number of minims he injected, and that the quantity used depended on the amount of opium his patients had been in the habit of smoking. The syringe used was a good instrument of American manufacture. The operation was performed in the usual way, and after each injection the needle was wiped with a dirty rag. The operator said he prepared the solution himself from a powder purchased at a European pharmacy, and showed me an empty bottle labelled "Muriate of Morphine. Poison."

10. I may here mention that this injecting business is a profitable undertaking. I understand the Chinese can buy hydrochlorate of morphine locally at 2'50 dols. per ounce (437'5 grains). From this quantity 875 injections each containing half a grain of morphine hydrochlorate could be prepared. This would leave a profit of 6'25 dols. on each ounce of morphine at a charge of 1 cent for each injection. If one-third of a grain were each used at each injection, the profit would be about 10'00 dols.

11. There can be no two opinions as to the baneful nature of this practice, and no effort should be spared to stop it forthwith.

12. The ordinance should be made as sweeping as possible. A saving clause in favour of practitioners registered under Ordinance No. 6 of 1884 would, I presume, be necessary. Native practitioners holding diplomas granted by the College of Medicine for Chinese should not be exempted from the operation of the Bill. Having regard to the profitable character of the business, as set forth in paragraph 10, the temptation to take up the practice of injecting morphine would be great indeed.

13. At the same time something should, I think, be done to relieve the sufferings of those now having injections if the practice is made illegal. These men will be in a terrible state when the injections are discontinued.

14. Would it not be possible to supply from this department some powerful stimulant and tonic such as chinchona and aromatic spirit of ammonia to all victims of the injection habit on application?

15. These wretched creatures will not be able to satisfy the inevitable craving by a return to opium-smoking. I said to the man Chu A Yee on the 29th ultimo, "Why don't you stop it? You will die if you go on at this rate." He replied, "How can I? I am a poor man, and can't afford to buy opium for smoking. If I smoke opium again, it will cost me twice as much as it did before."

16. Poverty on the one hand, and the exorbitant charge made by the opium farmer for the smoking extract on the other, are, in my opinion, the chief causes of the introduction of this practice.

I have, &c.,

W. EDWARD CROW,
Government Analyst.

The Colonial Surgeon,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure No. 2.

SUPERINTENDENT, Government Civil Hospital, to
COLONIAL SURGEON.

Government Civil Hospital,
Hong Kong, 3rd July 1893.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 31st May last, I interviewed a street coolie who was sent to me Mr. McCallum. His statement was as follows:—"My name is Fu A Kwan. I am 43 years old and live at No. 7, Tia Loi Lane, First Street. I am a street

D d 2

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Hong-Kong.

coolie. For the past 20 years I have been in the habit of smoking opium, the daily amount being three mace. A little over two months ago I was told that I could be cured of this habit by having some medicine inserted into my arm. Twice daily I have had this done at the Hung Chung shop (crocery ware shop), Morrison Street, for which I have paid one cent each injection. It is much cheaper than smoking opium and I get the same satisfaction out of it. I know of 10 Chinese doctors who each treats 50 to 100 men daily with this medicine."

The man had a number of marks on both arms evidently produced by punctured wounds.

His weight was 120 lbs.

I received from the Honourable Colonial Treasurer about this date a liquid in a small bottle which he informed me was the medicine used by these Chinese doctors for this purpose. I handed it over to the Government analyst to analyse.

About the 20th ultimo I received a solid preparation from the same gentleman which I also handed over to Mr. Crow for purposes of analysis.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. M. ATKINSON,
Colonial Surgeon.
Dr. Ph. B. C. Ayres, C.M.G.,
Superintendent.

APP. XXVI.
China.

APPENDIX XXVI.

QUESTIONS REGARDING OPIUM CONSUMPTION AND OPIUM REVENUE IN CHINA, ISSUED BY THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, THROUGH HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER IN CHINA,* TO BE ANSWERED BY—

(a.) Her Britannic Majesty's Consuls in China and any officials of the Chinese Government whom the Minister thinks it desirable and unobjectionable to consult;

(b.) Medical men, merchants, and others resident in or natives of China, who are specially conversant with any part of China in which opium is grown or consumed.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent? Do children?

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races? Is there any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium?

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke or do they eat opium? or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?

5. What are the proportions of those who use opium (i) without injury; (ii) with slight injury; (iii) with great injury (opium sots).

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? Please give description of one or two such cases in detail.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, of the part of China with which you are conversant, consume opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling?

If possible, give details and examples in reply to this question.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among the races of that part of China with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races in regard to the effect on consumers?

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese? How would they regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?

10. Can and do opium consumers break themselves of the opium habit?

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium consumers and on the population of your neighbourhood? Would they resort to Chinese-grown opium? or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium? or would they abstain altogether?

12. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not, why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?

13. How are opium consumers led to use the drug? Do they usually or often take it in the first instance to

allay physical pain? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria? Or is it so regarded commonly by the inhabitants of the part of China with which you are conversant?

14. Do opium consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?

15. Is there among the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted, a feeling of hostility against England? If so, how does that feeling display itself? And is it any way connected with the action of England in allowing opium to be exported from India?

16. By what classes of persons and in what provinces or districts of China is Indian opium usually consumed, and how far does Chinese-grown opium compete with Indian opium in the provinces or districts in which the two kinds are readily obtainable?

17. What will be the probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium:—

(a.) On the consumption of opium by the Chinese;

(b.) On the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China;

(c.) On the arrangements made by the Chinese Government for raising a revenue from opium.

18. Can you give any estimate of the area now under poppy in the several provinces of China and the average annual out-turn of opium?

19. What revenue does the Chinese Government derive from opium, and how does the taxation levied on Indian opium compare with that levied on opium produced in China?

20. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium consumption among the people around you?

N.B.—It is desired that gentlemen who kindly undertake to deal with these questions should answer as many as they can.

SWATOW.

H.B.M. Consulate Swatow,

8th March 1894.

SIR,

UNDER instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister in Peking, I have the honour to forward the replies I have received from four of the seven persons resident at this port, to whom I made application for replies to the paper of questions issued by the Royal Commission on Opium.

Of those who have sent me replies, Mr. J. D. Monro is a merchant who has resided some 23 years at Swatow or Canton.

Mr. Henry Layng is a qualified medical practitioner. The Rev. W. Ashmore, D.D., and the Rev. H. L. Mackenzie are missionaries of long experience in this part of China of the American Baptist Mission, and the Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England respectively.

I also applied to Mr. A. Lyall, the medical man attached to the hospital of the Presbyterian Mission here, who has had much experience among the Chinese; but, although he promised to send me replies, he was apparently unable to do so prior to his departure for Europe. His evidence would have been of considerable value.

It was my intention to have answered the questions myself, but, on consideration, I find that my informa-

* See footnote on page 145. For the Minister's reply, see page 228.

tion and opinions are for the most part second hand. I have never turned my attention directly to the subject of the effects of opium on Chinese. I can only say that during my 28 years' service in China, its disastrous effects on the country have not thrust themselves prominently on my notice.

I have, &c.

(Signed) B. C. GEORGE SCOTT,

The Secretary to
the Royal Commission on Opium, H.B.M. Consul.
Calcutta.

Rev. H. L. MACKENZIE, M.A., Missionary of the Presbyterian Church of England in Swatow, Province of Canton, China, since 1861.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS REGARDING OPIUM CONSUMPTION AND OPIUM REVENUE IN CHINA.

1. Yes; I meet with or hear of opium-smokers in all parts of the Swatow country. In all the cities and towns, and in almost all, if not in all, the villages opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese. In the town of Swatow there are more opium shops than rice shops, a fact which of itself indicates the wide prevalence of the opium habit.

2. It is difficult to answer accurately, but I should say that about 10 per cent. of adult males smoke opium. Very few women are addicted to the habit, and no children, so far as I am aware.

3. I have observed that in the great majority of cases opium smokers deteriorate in moral character, in physical health, and in reputation. It is to be remembered that questions of morality and of social reputation are not viewed from the same high place of public opinion in a heathen country as in Britain, where Christianity has, to a considerable extent, moulded the thoughts, and influenced the opinions of large numbers. A Chinaman, when unmistakably condemning the habit of opium-smoking as bad and hurtful, will yet often do so very lightly and with, it may be, little sincere moral aversion to the habit. Still, it is certainly the case that the public opinion of China is practically unanimous in condemning the habit, and an opium-smoker is regarded as a man who has given way to a bad habit, and, to that extent, loses reputation, even though in other respects he may be regarded as a respectable, well-doing man. I have met with very many men, and heard of more, whose moral sense was greatly weakened and whose will power was almost gone, and who manifestly had sunk low, both in their own esteem and in that of their neighbours, just because of the opium habit. Such men were too evidently reduced to both physical and moral weakness through this habit to make it possible to think of it as harmless, not to say beneficial.

4. In this part of China opium is commonly smoked, not eaten, or drunk as a decoction. A large number of suicides of both men and women occur through their swallowing opium.

5.—(1.) So far as I know, no one smokes opium habitually without more or less injury. I have spoken to many Chinamen on the subject, smokers and non-smokers, and all, without exception, admit that the habit is not good but bad." (2.) A considerable proportion of opium-smokers can for years, even for many years, indulge in the habit without much apparent injury. But these are men who are pretty well off, have plenty of nourishing food, and use stimulants to some extent. As a rule they have not to undergo hard continuous labour, and have their time to a considerable extent at their own disposal. But even such men invariably admit that the habit is a hurtful one, a habit to be blamed not praised. (3.) The larger proportion of those who acquire the habit greatly injure both their health, their substance, and their character.

6. I do not think it is correct to say that there cannot be, or that there is not such a thing as moderation in the use of opium; but the moderate use of the drug is comparatively rare and exceptional. The rule, the very common experience of opium-smokers, is that the amount must be gradually increased. I have spoken to a large number of opium-smokers, both among the well-to-do and among the poor labouring classes, and never have I heard any of them speak of the habit as being "without harm" to themselves; they all condemn it as wasteful and hurtful.

7. I do not believe that anything like "a majority of the labourers, merchants, or artisans" in this part of China smoke opium. The effect on the greater number

of those who do, especially on labourers, and artisans, poor farmers and shopkeepers, is to impoverish themselves and their families, to gradually unfit themselves for their work, and to carry it on at a great disadvantage as compared with those who do not smoke opium. The time required for indulging in the habit, the feeble, "feckless" state of the man who for any cause is prevented from smoking at his usual times, the general deterioration of strength and vigour which the habit induces, the lack of confidence on the part of the people generally in opium-smokers—all these injuriously affect the work and calling of those who give way to the habit.

8. In this part of China the only use of opium is as a medicine; the opium habit is considered as an abuse of the drug. Multitudes in China, as in England, use alcoholic drinks in moderation with little or no harm, generally speaking. Their character and their health are not, at least need not be, injuriously affected by a stated moderate use of such drinks. In regard to opium, the case is quite different. Even a moderate use of it for smoking is harmful; and the habit of opium-smoking is commonly classed with drunkenness (not with moderate drinking), with gambling, licentiousness, and such vices.

9. I have had ample opportunity for over 30 years of judging in regard to this question, and so abundant and indisputable has the evidence been, that I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that "the general opinion of the Chinese condemns the habit of opium-smoking as both degrading and injurious." I have spoken with hundreds of the people, Christians and heathen, well-to-do and poor people, smokers and non-smokers, and I know that it is glaringly incorrect to assert that the Chinese people do not condemn the habit as an evil and immoral one. The alcohol habit, if not carried to excess, is not thus condemned. In regard to opium, the question is not one of excess or moderation; the habit is condemned as bad and as hurtful.

10. Very few opium-smokers, so far as I am aware, "break themselves of the habit." Many may for a time give it up, for one reason or another, but I am told and I believe that few of those who form the habit "break themselves of it" permanently.

11. I can scarcely say with any definiteness, but I think it altogether probable that were "the supply of Indian opium cut off" from this part of China, many would abstain altogether, and there would be less poverty and misery in many a home where now the consumption of opium gives rise to these and other evils.

12. Not so far as I am aware.

13. Some begin to use it in cases of sickness, and, it is probable, find it welcome as giving relief from pain. Their use of it as a medicine gradually ripens into their abuse of it as a habitual indulgence. Others again are invited by friends or acquaintances to "have a smoke," and going on from this become, ere they are well aware of it, addicted to the habit and mastered by it. Opium is not, so far as I have learned—and I have made inquiry—"a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria." It is not so regarded by the inhabitants of this part of China.

14. Opium smokers do usually desire to get free of the habit. Many hundreds of them have asked me if I could cure them, and it was evident that in asking they felt the misery, the ill-health, the degradation of the habit. I do not mean that their will was strong enough to bear them through the great discomfort, and even distress, that usually accompany the breaking of the habit, or that their moral sense was very keen on the subject. One of the painful things that often strikes me in regard to such men is the evident break-down of all moral force and principle, the abject degradation of the man as a moral responsible creature. He says that he wants to be freed from the habit that has wrought him such evil, and yet, in a large number of cases, the moral nature has been so enfeebled and perverted, and the will-power of the man so broken down, that one can scarcely cherish even a faint hope of his giving up that which is ruining him.

15. I have repeatedly heard the Chinese smokers of opium and non-smokers complain bitterly of the wrong that England has done to China in importing the drug. It is a very common charge against us that we bring to them that which impoverishes and injures such multitudes of them, simply for gain's sake. It seems to me simply out of the question to deny that the Chinese, as a nation, feel aggrieved by our action in this matter. I have so often been reproached for it, by men of all

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classes, by rich and poor, scholar and peasant, that I cannot understand how any man who knows the Chinese people well can assert that they do not feel aggrieved. It seems to me, and I suppose to everyone who has lived and travelled much among the Chinese, and who, knowing their language, is both able and willing to speak with them and to become intimately acquainted with their ways and opinions—it seems, I say, absurd as well as untrue to assert that they do not complain of the conduct of England in importing opium. I have no doubt that the great majority of the people would be pleased were this import to cease.

16-19. I am not in a position to give definite answers to these questions. But, speaking generally, I should say that the people of China would regard "the prohibition of the export of Indian opium" as a great relief from a growing evil, as a proof of the goodwill of England to China. I do not feel sure that the Chinese Government would honestly face the question of the prohibition of the growth of the poppy and manufacture of opium in China, and take effective measures to enforce this prohibition, even if England prohibited the export of Indian opium. It may be that questions of revenue would influence it injuriously in this matter, as such questions have injuriously influenced the Governments of more enlightened nations in the West. But that the vast bulk of the Chinese people, its many millions of poor especially, would feel with thankfulness that a great temptation to evil and harm from abroad was removed, were the export of Indian opium prohibited, I have no doubt.

20. It may seem like repetition to remark, in answer to this question, that my long residence in this part of China, and my frequent journeys among the people, and much intercourse with them in their own towns and villages in the interior, have but strengthened the conclusion to which I came years ago, viz., that "the consumption of opium among them" is, in the vast majority of cases, vicious and harmful. It is an insidious and dangerous form of vice, and inevitably affects those who practice it injuriously. I have heard and known of many families who have been ruined by it. I know of cases in which the husband sold his wife, and the father sold his child that he might procure the means of indulging the evil habit. And as regards the pawning of clothes and other possessions, the mortgaging of fields and houses, not to speak of thieving and robbery and gambling, these are things of not uncommon occurrence in this part of China in connexion with the indulgence in this vice. It is ignorance of the real state of matters as regards opium-smoking in China that is largely responsible for the statements one hears and reads as to its being harmless and even a beneficial habit. The opportunities which missionaries enjoy for getting to know this question all round as it affects the people of China are, I may perhaps be allowed to remark, exceptionally good. We live much among the Chinese, we learn to read and to speak their language, we visit them in their houses, and thus we get to know instances well nigh innumerable what the vast majority of them think of opium-smoking. Our testimony from all parts of this great empire is practically unanimous, and it is to this effect that the habit of opium-smoking is evil and only evil, that the Chinese almost without exception condemn it as such, and that they complain justly, I believe, of the action of England, both past and present, in this matter. I am, like most Englishmen, proud of my country, and think with the poet that "there is no land like England." But it is with shame, and sorrow, and with fear of impending judgment because of our national sin in this matter, that I think of the wrong we have done and are doing to China through our opium traffic. I have seen and heard too much of the mischief wrought by it to regard it as otherwise than iniquitous and disgraceful, and full of inhumanity—unconscious and inconsiderate inhumanity it may be—but still inhumanity. This traffic is a striking and outstanding instance of the truth of the words:—

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

In submitting the above evidence and remarks on the opium question as regards China, it seems to me only reasonable to state, as a matter of first-rate significance, this fact, viz., that no one who is known to be an opium-smoker or the keeper of an opium-shop is received into the Christian Church. Baptism is refused to such; and if members of the church should happen to become opium-smokers or keepers of opium-shops they are at once subjected to church discipline. This action is universally approved by the Chinese Christians (I refer

specially to Protestants), now some 50,000 in number. It would be an outrage on the convictions of these Christians were the missionaries to baptise or receive to the Communion such men. These missionaries all over the Empire belonging to every branch of the Church of Christ, and coming from England, Ireland, and Scotland, from the United States and Canada, from Germany, and from Scandinavia, are practically unanimous in accepting the views of the Chinese on this matter as just and reasonable.

It is not inconsistent with the principles of Christianity nor disgraceful to the church that those who make a temperate, habitual use of alcoholic drinks should be members of the church and in full communion with it. It is inconsistent with those principles and a disgrace to the church that men who habitually smoke opium or keep opium-shops should be admitted as members of the church.

H. W. MACKENZIE.

Swatow, 3rd March 1894.

REPLIES to QUESTIONS of the ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION,
by WILLIAM ASHMORE, 43 years a Missionary in
Siam and China.

Replies are made to the Questions as numbered.

1. Yes, it is very commonly used.
2. Of the Chinese adult males it is safe to say one in 10; of the women, very few; of children, none.
3. Effects vary on different constitutions the same as with alcohol. Some men of vigorous vitality will use opium for many years and not show marked results. Others show the effects almost immediately in a general physical and moral deterioration. The latter is equally marked with the former. It is an every-day thing, comparatively speaking, to hear Chinese saying about persons far gone in the habit, "It will not do to trust him; he smokes opium." In missionary work there is, as a rule, but limited hope of doing moral good to a confirmed opium user. His moral sensibilities seem to be besotted, his will-power almost gone. He forms many good resolutions, but when the craving comes on, down goes everything before it. His business is neglected, his family suffers, and as time rolls on he becomes a physical and a moral wreck.
4. They both smoke and eat, but according to circumstances. If they have money they prefer to smoke; when their resources run low, they take to eating cheaper and refuse sorts.
5. "Without injury": Apparently most of those who are in the early stages of the habit. This for a short time only. "With slight injury": The same persons above indicated as the occasional use becomes regular, and that too only for a time at the beginning. "With great injury": Nearly all of those with whom the habit is fully formed, and whose regular recurrent daily craving has attained the mastery over the man. When the hour comes, smoke they must. Such a man as this may not be called an "opium sot" as yet. That expression would rather apply to one who gives up all else about and devotes himself to the pipe and to getting means to supply it. At least that would be the definition here at this place; but opium, as I have seen its workings, does "great injury" to a vast number who would not be called "sots."
6. There is no such thing as an assured moderation. Men are "moderate" at the very first, but the desire grows for more. I have been told hundreds of times that it is in the end wholly a question of money as to the quantity of opium that will be smoked. My own observations all confirm this opinion. I know men who say they use two or three dollars' worth a day, and I know other men, very poor, who pinch along on three cents' worth a day. When the latter happen to strike a good job, and get, say, 10 or 15 cents a day, for a few days the extra, as a rule, goes for more opium, and not for clothes to replace the rags they wear.

7. Possibly a majority of well-to-do merchants, but not so much as a majority of artisans or labourers. Many sailors and boatmen are given to the habit. The use of opium, beyond any question, impairs their efficiency in their calling. They are weaker physically, and are wholly unreliable; their promises and engagements cannot be depended on. I have had good mechanics in my employ off and on for years. After they had begun to smoke opium, and had got the habit fixed, I found them utterly unreliable, and even dishonest with funds entrusted to their care.

8. Much of the same general nature, though of the two the opium rather exceeds the alcohol in damaging results.

9. Yes, "the general opinion of the Chinese" here does condemn the habit as degrading and injurious; but it is so common, and so many respectable persons are addicted to it, that the "opinion" has but little operative value. Foreigners are continually being reproached for introducing opium and all its attendant evils.

10. Very few have will-power enough to break off. Many feel the yoke, and writhe under it, and make efforts to break off, but they are usually weak and spasmodic. Until they try to break off, they are not aware of the tremendous grip the hankering has upon them. They usually must have help. Even then they fail oftentime. They return to the drug, or betake themselves to opiates in some other form, as in pills, hypodermic injections, &c.

11. The old smokers would, probably most of them, seek some substitute. But the new generation of smokers would be greatly lessened in numbers by reason of the lessening of the supplies and of the temptation.

12. But few Europeans that I know of. It is not popular as a stimulant among them. But if once started there would be reason to apprehend a wide spread of it, just as opium has spread in certain fashionable circles in certain American cities.

13. Usually on invitation, or as a holiday source of enjoyment. It has been said by a few that it is a preventive of disease, but it is not so commonly regarded by such people as I know in the towns and villages here about.

14. Many of them, but lack in will-power, as above stated.

15. Yes. The remaining questions can be answered better by others.

WILLIAM ASHMORE.

ANSWERS to QUESTIONS regarding the CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM in SWATOW and DISTRICT.

1. Yes.

2. About 10 per cent. of the adult males of the Tie Chin or Hok Do population of this district are consumers of opium. This estimate is based on information received from Chinese sources, and, I think, may be accepted as fairly accurate. Amongst the Hakkas the proportion is probably larger than 10 per cent. Women do not use opium to any appreciable extent, so far as I can learn, and children never use it.

3. So far as my observation goes, the effect of opium is decidedly to deteriorate the consumer morally and physically, particularly if the consumer belongs to the poorer class of Chinese. Smokers inform me that the habit lays a stronger hold on a man who smokes Indian opium than when he uses the Chinese-grown drug.

4. Consumers in this district all smoke the opium. The confirmed opium-smoker, when poor, frequently eats the dross or refuse of the pipe. Opium in the form of laudanum, morphia, or other decoction, is practically unknown to Swatow Chinese.

5. Some inquiry amongst non-smokers, moderate smokers, and confirmed smokers has led me to the conclusion that, on a rough estimate (i.) about 10 per cent. of smokers use the drug only at social functions, in order to appear like their neighbours. These do not inhale the smoke, and therefore they do not suffer any appreciable injury; (ii.) about 40 to 50 per cent. of consumers are constant smokers, with injury, greater or less, according to their habits and general health; and (iii.) the remaining 30 or 40 per cent. of smokers become "opium sots."

6. I have known a fair number of cases of what may be called moderation in the use of opium. These include the persons referred to in paragraph (i.) of answers to question 5, who are chiefly well-to-do Chinese, who "play with the pipe" (to use an expression of one of them), at gatherings of friends for dinners, &c. I have not known a case of a habitual opium-smoker who has not done harm to himself, greater or less; but many such cases are said to exist by persons whose testimony must be received with respect. I have

known several cases of men becoming complete wrecks, from the habitual use of opium.

7. I believe the use of opium to be the exception amongst labourers and artisans in this district. Amongst merchants it is the rule, and, so far as I can judge, the effect on them seems to be that of reducing their bodily activity without seriously impairing their mental faculties. To take an instance of one man with whom I have been brought in close daily contact for a number of years; the opium habit does not appear to have rendered him a less capable man of business. His memory is excellent (much superior to that of the average European), and his faculties generally unimpaired; but he always sleeps until about mid-day, and would be of no use if roused much before then, having spent half the night on the opium couch.

8. Instances of alcoholic excess are very rare amongst Chinese in Swatow, and I have no experience of any, though I believe that such cases do exist.

9. The general opinion of Chinese is adverse to the opium habit as being injurious alike to the health and the purse of the smoker. Whether it is considered degrading largely depends upon the social position of the consumer. What is considered a venial offence in the rich or well-to-do man is condemned in the case of the poor man, chiefly for the reason that the latter can afford neither the money to buy the opium nor the loss of bodily power which its use entails. It is also condemned in a poor man, because, when he takes to opium, he almost invariably neglects his family. I have not heard the opium and alcohol habit compared by Chinese.

10. Cases are comparatively rare in which the consumers can break themselves of the opium habit, but they do occur.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, consumers would take to the Chinese-grown entirely in place of using the two, as they do at present.

12. The number of Europeans in Swatow is small, and I have not heard of an instance of one who contracted the opium habit. Opium-smoking is regarded by most Europeans as a disgusting practice, chiefly on account of the offensive smell, and it has no attractions for them whatsoever. Chinese usually contract the habit when young men by frequenting brothels and gambling dens.

13. I cannot say whether opium is a prophylactic against fever, &c., and I have not heard Chinese describe it as such.

14. Consumers do not, as a rule, desire to get free from the habit, though there are many exceptions, I believe.

15. Chinese do not concern themselves with this aspect of the question unless it is brought before them by a European, in which case they might appreciate the good intention on the part of England, though it is doubtful.

16. The Indian opium is more coveted by smokers than the Chinese drug, with which it is frequently mixed. Smokers describe the Indian opium as "hot to the taste," and the Chinese as "cool."

17. The effect of prohibition of the export of Indian opium would, in my opinion, probably be (a) on the consumption of opium by Chinese, *nil*; (b) increased cultivation of the poppy in China; (c) increased taxation on native-grown opium.

18-19. These questions can be better answered from official sources of information than by me.

20. On the whole, the prevalence of the opium habit must, I believe, be regarded as a misfortune to the people of the district. The prevalence of the habit amongst the native officials and the revenues derived from the trade combine to render it very doubtful whether any honest effort to stamp out the use of opium is ever likely to succeed.

J. D. MORRO.

Swatow, 22nd February 1894.

From Dr. LAYNG.

1. Yes.

2. From 5 to 10 per cent. of adult. Of 300 consecutive Chinese patients attended during the last 10 months, 16 only were opium-smokers. Women very rarely; occasionally as a relief from some terrible malady, or

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when sunken low in the depths of prostitution. Children never.

3. When the bounds of moderation are passed there is unreliability, indolence, physical degeneration, and social degradation. Indian-grown opium is preferred by smokers as it is stronger; a smaller quantity suffices. I know of no difference in effects.

4. Chiefly smoke; occasionally eat. I have met with none who take a decoction. The lowest of the low will eat the dregs of the opium pipe.

5.—(i.) 10 per cent. (ii.) 50 per cent. (iii.) 40 per cent. With no possible statistics at hand these proportions are only approximate.

6. No. Yes, several. 1.—Chinaman aged 50; strong, healthy-looking man; smokes two drams daily, and has done so for over 20 years; consulted me for an affection of one eye; could detect no signs of injury. Examples of excess.—Son of a wealthy Chinaman, on father's death commenced to smoke opium and soon took it in excess; is now almost incapable of work and is still a young man. A "writer" smoked to excess—premature old age and death from kidney disease. Could quote many other cases.

7. Certainly not a majority.

8. The "use" of opium as a habit can hardly ever be beneficial. The use of alcohol often. The abuse of opium is far worse than the abuse of alcohol amongst Chinese. Many Chinese consume large quantities of alcohol, chiefly the wealthy class and the outdoor population; boatmen and fishermen, who are men of fine physique and capable of hard work. The habitual drunkard is rare. The drinking of alcohol does not as a rule interfere with their duties, as it is usually consumed after the day's work is finished.

9. Yes, as both degrading and injurious. Much worse.

10. Yes, and do, but not frequently.

11. Probably resort to Chinese-grown opium.

12. No. The pipe is too dirty; more advanced civilisation demands the drug in a more refined way. Poverty, absence of social enjoyment, inability to read amongst the lower classes.

13. Often on the advice of native doctors, as a result of gambling and of mental troubles. No. No.

14. Not usually, but often.

HENRY LAYNG, M.R.C.S. Eng., L.R.C.P. Lond.

CANTON.

H.B.M. Consulate Canton,
March 14th, 1894.

SIR,
UNDER instructions from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to enclose a series of answers I have received to the questions framed by the Royal Commission on opium, with a view to obtaining information regarding opium consumption in China.

I am, &c.

The Secretary,
Royal Commission on Opium.

BYRON BRENNAN,
Consul.

From Mr. F. S. A. BOURNE, H.M.S. VICE-CONSUL AT CANTON.

Answers to Questions put by Royal Commission on Opium.

1. Yes.

2. According to native opinion all men in Canton have smoked a little or smoke occasionally, and about 30 per cent. are addicted to opium so that they cannot get on without it. Scarcely any women or children smoke opium here, but in the Yün-nan and Kueichow Provinces, in which I have travelled for some months, men and women smoke alike and often children. Indian opium is not known in that region.

3. The regular habit is bad in so far as it hampers a man, making him almost as much dependent on opium as on food. Taken in excess its moral, social, and physical effects are bad. Its effect is the same, as far as I know, on all men, except that a strong will and moral control are necessary to throw the habit off; and therefore a less civilised people might *a priori* be expected to be more easily enslaved by it. A Chinese official in the Yün-nan Province on the Tonquin border told me in 1886 that he had cured himself of the excessive habit. I asked him how. He replied that he

began by taking anti-opium pills given him by an English missionary; but that there was only one way, namely, to determine that you would rather die than smoke. Chinese opium is milder than Indian, and makes a larger dose necessary.

4. Always smoke.

6. Certainly it is correct to say so.

7. In my experience opium does not harm those engaged in physical toil.

9. Excessive habit is condemned as degrading and injurious, but the moderate habit only as likely to lead to excess.

10. Yes.

11. There is not the least doubt that Indian opium would be replaced by native-grown, Persian, &c.

12. No. In my opinion opium is taken by the labouring class to dull pain and weariness, and by the educated class as a stimulant to give variety to a dull existence.

13. In the West of China, where I was stationed for two years, opium was universally regarded as a prophylactic against malaria. In the spring of 1885 an army marched across Yün-nan to Tonquin from Szu-chuan. On the return of the troops in the spring of 1886 I was told by several of the officers that every man of them had taken to opium as a prophylactic against fever.

14. Those who smoke in excess do.

15. No native opinion to that effect that I ever heard of except when prompted by foreigners. Many Chinese, particularly non-smokers, would like to see the sale of all opium stopped.

16. Indian opium is consumed by the richer natives principally along the coast and at the Treaty Ports.

17. Next to none; the opium wanted could be obtained very quickly elsewhere. (b.) To increase it. (c.) The Chinese Government would lose a large revenue. They have tried to tax native opium where grown, but have failed.

18. Yün-nan Kueichow and Southern Szu-chuen are covered with the poppy as a winter crop (see my Report of a Journey, &c., Parliamentary Papers, China, No. 1 of 1888, p. 75).

(Signed) F. S. A. BOURNE.

24th February 1894. H.B.M. Vice Consul,
Canton.

From DOCTOR RENNIE, at present Medical Practitioner at Canton, for seven years filling the same position in North Formosa.

His answers refer to Formosa.

REPLIES to QUESTIONS regarding OPIUM CONSUMPTION in CHINA.

OWING to my comparatively short residence in Canton, and consequent lack of knowledge regarding the social habits of the people, I do not feel qualified to answer the questions submitted so far as the natives of this province are concerned, but prefer giving my evidence from observations made in *North Formosa* during a residence of seven years in that island.

1. Yes.

2. It is difficult to give an explicit reply to this question, as many indulge in the habit only on very rare occasions, and have by no means become addicted to it. Between the occasional smoker and the confirmed *habitué* there are all degrees; but, counting all who use the drug in any form or degree, I should say about 75 per cent. Women also consume the drug, but in a much smaller proportion than men; children rarely. Amongst the aborigines of the mountains and the civilised aborigines of the plains (Pepo-hwans) the drug finds little or no favour. On the borders one occasionally sees a stray specimen whom the crafty Chinaman with some ulterior motive has corrupted by the combined influence of opium and samshu.

3. Effects:—(1.) Moral: Except in the case of those who have carried the habit to excess, I have not observed any moral deterioration; the moderate men are just as intelligent and honest as their neighbours. The moral sensibilities of the excessive smoker are somewhat dulled, he is indolent and may be even dishonest. (2.) Physical: When used moderately the

physical powers are not affected, but when the habit is carried to excess, then debility occurs; (a) from the drug acting as a direct poison on the nervous system, and so impairing the nutrition of the body, and (b) from the system receiving insufficient nourishment on account of the lessened appetite for food and in consequence of the want of funds wherewith to procure food. The effect on the sexual organs varies. In small doses it has no effect beyond delaying the orgasm, for which purpose the drug is sometimes used. In extreme cases sexual desire and power may be abolished, and the subject become impotent. (3.) Social: On the families of those who use the drug to an injurious extent a considerable amount of misery may be entailed, both on account of a diminished food supply from lack of the money spent on opium, and also from the lessened earning power of the head of the family. The Indian and Chinese preparations manifest effects varying only in degree; the former is richer in the active principles, and consequently acts more powerfully.

4. Opium is consumed both by pipe and by mouth. The effects are similar, but are more rapidly produced by smoking. Within the past 10 years many Chinese have supplanted the consumption of opium by morphia. This alkaloid of opium was originally supplied under the name of pills for curing the opium habit and soon became popular. Many now use the pills exclusively, and express a decided preference both on the ground of convenience and economy. Thus bottles containing 25 pills each of $\frac{1}{2}$ grain of morphia are sold for about 25 cents per bottle. Each pill has approximately the same effect as 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains of opium taken by the mouth. It may possibly be less stimulant than the crude drug, but on the other hand causes less unpleasant after effects. Three or more pills are taken daily. They are much in favour with the women on account of their portable form as compared with the opium pipe.

6. Approximately of all opium consumers: (1) 60 per cent. consume it without injury; (2) 30 per cent. consume it with slight injury; (3) 10 per cent. consume it with great injury.

6. In my opinion it is incorrect to say there can be no moderation in the use of the drug. I have known several who have consumed opium for years without apparent harm. Case in point. The Tuig Taotai resident at Taipehoo 1887, a man about 44 years of age, has smoked opium for over 20 years. He was in excellent health, and, for a Chinese official, both mentally and physically very active. As director of the arsenal and other works he led a busy life and was brought much in contact with foreigners, all of whom used to remark on his great energy and aptitude for business as compared with the other officials. The chair coolies in North Formosa are as a class almost entirely opium consumers, and judging from their appearance one would suppose that many of them suffered in health from this cause. Nevertheless, their powers of endurance are remarkable. I have been carried by three of these coolies—miserable looking specimens—from Taipehoo to Kelung, a distance of 21 miles over very difficult country in 7 hours, and that in the very hot days of August. Examples of great injury are men who by the excessive use of the drug are both mentally and physically incapacitated for work. They may subsist as small shopkeepers or be maintained by their relatives.

7. The habit is most prevalent amongst Government officials, who are mostly northern men (i.e., from the provinces of Ankin, &c.), also amongst shopkeepers, small tradesmen, and chair coolies. I am not aware of the habit affecting the efficiency of the work done; there is very little skilled labour in this part of China as compared with the cities on the mainland.

8. Alcohol in any form is so sparingly taken by the population here that it is impossible to institute any comparison.

9. By a high principled Chinaman opium would be pronounced as injurious and degrading, but I do not think such is at all the general opinion. It is very much as with alcohol amongst ourselves, many of us may denounce drink as a curse, but most of us take it in moderation. A Chinaman would regard drinking alcohol with greater disfavour. A man under the influence of opium is quiet and orderly and in this respect contrasts favourably with the rude and boisterous manner of the man who has imbibed alcohol too freely and so offends the rigid Chinese ideas of propriety.

10. Yes, but the effort requires great strength of will and endurance. Case in point: Chun, age 22,

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interpreter, a clever and well-educated half-caste, had smoked opium for over a year. On the advice of his employer he resolved to break himself of the habit. He lost weight, suffered from insomnia and diarrhoea, and altogether suffered severely for over a month, part of which time he was confined to bed. He ultimately got all right, but had he not been under foreign supervision, I am doubtful if he would have possessed the necessary strength of will to combat the craving.

11. Should the supply of Indian opium be cut off, my opinion is that the people would take to the native drug. A noteworthy fact in this connexion is that, although the population of North Formosa has greatly increased of late years owing to the influx of immigrants in connexion with the development of the tea trade and railway extension, &c., the importation of foreign opium has actually declined. Thus for the five years 1879–1883 the average annual consumption was 1,861 piculs, while for the years 1884–1888 it fell to 1,586, a decrease of 275 piculs a year in the latter period. The same state of affairs will be noticed in the Customs returns for Tainan, in the south of the island. There are only two plausible explanations possible; either the Chinese in Formosa are abandoning the habit or else the native opium is being imported by junks or by other channels beyond the cognizance of the Imperial Maritime Customs. The native opium comes chiefly from the Fokieu province, but no doubt Formosa, with its varied soil, could produce opium should occasion arise. It is very improbable that the people would ever adopt the alcohol habit.

12. Very rarely. I have known only one European who was a victim to the habit. He suffered severely from syphilitic rheumatism at one time while employed in a part of China where medical advice was not attainable; to assuage the severe nocturnal pains he sought relief in opium, and in time got so accustomed to it that he felt unable to relinquish the habit. Natives of a colder climate and of a more vigorous temperament Europeans prefer alcohol to the soothing drug which harmonises better with the impassive nature of the Chinaman. The former, as a rule, is fond of outdoor life, sports, and athletic exercises, with the enjoyment of which the opium habit would greatly interfere; those form a very small part in the life of the Chinaman, who, when idle, possesses in himself very few resources for passing time, and from *ennui* often indulges in the opium pipe, just as many Europeans under similar conditions consume an excessive amount of tobacco. Besides, the Chinese, being much more industrious than the British workman, doubtless finds that opium interferes less with his working powers than alcohol.

13.—(1.) Many are led to use the drug just as a European is led to smoke tobacco or drink. He may be invited by a friend to have a pipe or be curious to try the effects of a dose. His first sensations are not reassuring; they are decidedly unpleasant, just as the nausea and sickness of the first pipe of tobacco are to the embryo smoker, but he perseveres; the habit is established, and the disagreeable after effects are no longer experienced. When two friends are holding a confidential conversation they are fond of reclining together on the opium couch and enjoying a pipe; should one be a non-smoker, he is very likely, sooner or later, to adopt the habit of his friend. (2.) In many incurable diseases, such as consumption and cancer, the native doctors are wont to prescribe opium. Its employment in diseases where recovery is hopeless and pain intolerable renders existence bearable and death painless. (3.) In my opinion the moderate use of opium is, to a certain extent, a prophylactic against malaria, whether in its form of fever or rheumatism. Several Chinese, who were non-consumers prior to their arrival in Formosa from the mainland, have on this plea contracted the habit, the fever in the island being notoriously prevalent, and to natives from the north of China extremely fatal.

14. As a rule opium-consumers evince no desire to break the habit. When they do try to give it up, it is usually at the instigation of their relatives, who may fancy that the consumer is indulging to the detriment of his health, or is squandering his earnings on a useless luxury.

15. None whatever.

16. Indian opium is the luxury of the well-to-do Chinaman. The poor man has to content himself with the cheaper and less satisfying native preparation. I am unable to give any information as to the relative proportions in which the native and Indian opium are used.

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17.—(a.) The Chinese are not likely to give up the opium habit and take to some other stimulant or narcotic in its stead. (b.) The poppy cultivation will be extended to meet the demand for opium, and no doubt many soils hitherto untried will be found suitable for its production. (c.) Uncertain.

18. _____

19. _____

20. A new arrival usually finds that his ideas, moulded on statements current at home, are immensely exaggerated; he seldom comes across that type of the degraded opium victim with the description of whom we have in our earlier days been so familiar. Still, after more mature experience and looking into the question with an unbiased mind, he must admit that the habit is an evil. But what race has no pleasant vice? Opium is a solace to the wretched and luckless, and a stimulant to the hard-working and poorly fed breadwinner, too often handicapped by malaria in the struggle for existence. As with most of nature's gifts to suffering humanity, abuse often converts the blessing into a curse. But look at the matter how we will, whether or not in its use or abuse it is a danger to the individual, to society, or to the State, we most unhesitatingly declare that the opium habit is in every respect a lesser evil than the consumption of alcohol. We need only compare the inoffensive life of the opium consumer with that of the habitual or even occasional drunkard, to whose charge in our more Christian country so much of the sickness, misery, brutality, crime, and even murder is traceable. The question at issue is whether the prohibition of opium export from India will suppress the use of the drug in China. In our opinion the habit is too deeply ingrained in the life of the people to be eradicated by any measure of repression, and even were such a consummation feasible, there is the risk of the vice being supplanted by one more injurious in its effects.

(Signed) ALEX. RENNIE, M.A., M.B., C.M.
Canton, March 14, 1894.

FROM AN ENGLISH PROTESTANT MISSIONARY who has lived many years in the Provinces.

ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION
ON OPIUM.

Canton (Quong Tung),
March 1, 1894.

1. Yes.

2.—(a) It is difficult to give an accurate reply. I should judge from information received from various persons that from 50 to 80 per cent. smoke more or less; (b) not to any great extent in Canton. I have been informed on good authority that most women classed as "immoral" smoke opium; also in some country districts it is used to a considerable extent by women generally; (c) very few.

3.—(a) The effects of opium vary in different persons and under different conditions. The moral influence on men who frequent the opium dens with which I am familiar in Canton cannot but be bad. Moreover, opium and gambling dens are often grouped in the same locality, and those who frequent the one often are unable to withstand the temptations of the other. Those who become in any sense "victims" of the opium pipe, have their moral sense greatly impaired. N.B.—But it appears to me that the ordinary Chinese have but a poorly developed moral sense on many matters, in regard to which the Christian nations of Europe hold decided opinions. The "effects of opium," also physically, cover a wide range of experience. Many who smoke but twice or thrice a day do not appear to suffer any physical weakness. I question frequently men who tell me they have smoked for years, and no marks of physical deterioration are very manifest. On the other hand, when the smoker reaches a certain stage emaciation follows. I myself have seen many such. Moreover, where men spend hours a day, lounging in the low damp dens, inhaling a polluted atmosphere, the effect cannot but be physically impairing. This result is accelerated when men, which often happens, cannot command sufficient cash with which to purchase food and opium. The social results are like those results mentioned above, very varying. An opium-smoker frequently begins to disregard cleanliness in regard to his person; when he smokes to any great extent it interferes with his power of earning wages, also interferes with his just allowances

to wife and children, and so quarrels ensue, and often worse experiences still are known. I should say a very fair analogy may be found in the "drinking habits" of England.

4.—(a) Consumers generally smoke opium; (b) they drink a decoction of opium in order to commit suicide. This, I believe, frequently happens.

5. It is difficult to give exact proportions. I should say, speaking generally, if from 50 to 80 per cent. smoke, (a) many receive little or no injury; (b) many receive injury in the ways mentioned above, but not to the extent of preventing them performing their daily duties; (c) many, of whom I have seen a considerable number, become the victims of the vice, and yield themselves up to the results which they know must follow, as if they had no power to free themselves from what they know must end in death.

6.—(a) It is not correct to say there cannot be any such thing as moderation; (b) living in Caanton it is not easy to "know" men intimately, except the native Christians; but I occasionally meet men who have smoked for years and they are able to do their work well enough if they have their pipe regularly; (c) on the other hand I "know" men who are regular "opium sots."

7. I should say the majority of the labourers, &c. do not smoke opium to any great extent. Where men do smoke they are restless and unsatisfactory until they satisfy the craving, after which they go on with their work like other men who do not smoke, i.e., many boatmen smoke, and when on our boat journeys, if we have opium smokers on board, they must have their pipe at regular intervals. If they get their opium regularly they do their work equal to the best; if not they are restless, indifferent, and cause trouble. N.B.—I never will allow an opium-smoker among my crew if I can avoid it. This, however, is not easy, and sometimes impossible.

8. Alcohol is only used to a limited extent and then is confined almost entirely to Samshiu which is distilled from rice. Foreign alcoholic drinks are being imported, and must be used to some extent by the natives, because they are on sale in some shops in the city with which Europeans rarely do business. This Samshiu is drunk usually at meals, it makes the people jovial, it rarely leads to drunkenness, as far as my observation goes. Opium is taken after meals and at all hours; it makes the smoker restful and indifferent to his surroundings. In a word the "abuse" of alcohol is comparatively rare; the "abuse" of opium comparatively frequent.

9. The habit, because it is more generally indulged in, is now regarded by fewer persons probably than formerly as "degrading and injurious." Yet if you ask a smoker, he will generally confess the habit is not good. How far such a confession is sincere it is difficult to say, for those who are quite willing to confess this appear to make no effort to free themselves, nor to feel any shame when found with the pipe. On the other hand, those who do not use it, absolutely condemn it as degrading and injurious, and so do also all communities of native Christians.

10. Men who smoke but little and infrequently can free themselves from the habit, but with a longer indulgence it becomes increasingly difficult, until, if they have smoked long enough to become victims of "opium craving," it is well-nigh impossible for them to break themselves without assistance from the habit.

11. They would, in all probability, indulge in larger quantities of "Chinese-grown opium."

12.—(a) No; (b) I should say that Europeans are too full of energy and restlessness to lend themselves to the conditions under which the habit of opium smoking is contracted; (c) cannot say.

14. Men who have become victims to the opium craving certainly desire to free themselves, but seem to lack the moral, or physical, or to be without the spiritual power to do so.

15. Among the masses of the people I do not often meet with any expressed opinion on what we call "the opium question," nor any reiterated "wish" that England should not allow opium to be exported from India. I believe except in few instances the knowledge of the people of these matters is vague. On the other hand while at street preaching I have heard the trade severely condemned by intelligent Chinese. The small

Christian churches unanimously wish that England should not permit the trade to continue.

16. The wealthy and ruling classes smoke the larger quantity of Indian opium, because, though more expensive, it is stronger and more fragrant. Chinese opium is not grown, if at all, to any extent in this province; on the other hand, I have seen the raw opium being prepared in the city, and it is kept on sale at opium shops. I believe there is a tendency to diminish the import of Indian opium, and substitute in its place native-grown.

17. _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. I regard the smoking of opium, speaking in general terms, as baneful. I believe the habit must be on the increase because the number of shops at which opium is supplied is greatly on the increase.

A. BONE.

FROM A FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARY who has lived thirty years in Canton.

Province du Kwang-tong. Réponse aux Questions relatives à la Consommation de l'Opium en Chine.

1. À travers la province du Kwang-tong, quoique l'usage de l'opium soit très répandu dans les villes comme dans les campagnes, il n'est guère possible d'établir le chiffre exact des fumeurs.

2. On peut dire d'une manière générale qu'un vingtième de la population fume l'opium; ce serait peut être exagéré pour la campagne. Ce nombre reste le même pour les différentes races: Poun ti, Mak Ka, Hok lo. La femme qui a contracté cette habitude est rare; on la trouve cependant aux Mandarins, dans les maisons publiques; c'est le fruit de l'oisiveté et du vice. Les jeunes gens ne contractent guère l'habitude avant 20 ans.

3. Les effets produits par l'opium, qu'il provienne de l'Inde ou de la Chine, sont les mêmes sur chaque race. Qu'un enfant fume à quinze ans, disent les Chinois il n'arrivera pas à la trentaine. Au bout de quelques années, il devient impropre à un travail fatigant, impropre à la génération, impropre à une pensée élevée; il est abruti. Il vendra son héritage, il vendra sa femme et ses enfants pour se procurer la drogue. En général, chez le riche et le pauvre les effets varient un peu: Celui qui a chaque jour une bonne nourriture, supporte plus aisément le poison, surtout s'il est d'une robuste constitution. Néanmoins il ne tarde pas à prendre une teinte olivâtre, les yeux deviennent vitreux, son énergie s'en va, et huit fois sur dix il s'abandonne à la paresse. Dans la classe inférieure, c'est encore plus désastreux: Le malheureux adonné à l'opium n'a de vie que pour chercher les moyens de satisfaire sa passion. Que lui importe la famille? Quand le poison manque, sa femme et ses enfants sont les esclaves de sa tyrannie et de ses violences; il faut qu'il fume; la nourriture est chose secondaire; tout est loqué et guenille dans la maison.

4. Presque toujours, le Chinois fume l'opium; il n'est mangé que par des individus des deux sexes qui veulent en finir avec la vie, et les cas en sont assez fréquents. Toutefois les pauvres se contentent souvent d'acheter le résidu des pipes déjà fumées et de l'avaler tel quel; c'est moins cher et l'effet est obtenu; on le prend aussi en pilules, c'est rare. On dit que dans ces deux derniers cas, il est plus difficile de se corriger, parce que le poison pénètre plus intimement les différentes parties du corps.

5. Aucun Chinois ne fume impunément l'opium. Les degrés du mal qu'il reçoit proviennent de différentes causes: le temps, la quantité, le tempérament, le bien-être ou la souffrance influent sur les effets produits; et quoique la classe des abrutis ne soit pas la plus nombreuse on peut dire qu'à la longue, celui qui suit son penchant en la matière finira par y entrer.

6. Il n'est pas vrai d'avancer d'une manière générale que personne ne se modère dans la consommation de l'opium; j'ai connu des vieillards de quatre vingts ans, qui ont longtemps fumé sans grand détriment de leur santé, parce qu'ils se sont tenus dans une mesure relativement modérée. Il faut ajouter que ce sont des hommes généralement bien équilibrés, ayant conscience de leur situation et ne voulant nullement dépasser leur budget, ni perdre leur réputation aux yeux du monde. L'argent est aussi un grand modérateur. C'est la

baguette magique qui retient la classe moyenne. Les maladifs, poitrinaires, et autres semblables, paraissent trouver un soulagement à l'usage modéré et même un prolongement à leur existence.

7. La majorité des cultivateurs, des marchands, et des ouvriers laborieux ne fument pas l'opium. J'en ai connu plusieurs cependant qui avaient cette habitude. C'était des pères de famille à peu près inutiles; mais les enfants déjà grands travaillaient et subvenaient aux besoins de la maison. Rien ne semblait changé dans le ménage que la figure maigre et jaunâtre du maître encore capable de donner des ordres.

8. Le Chinois en général n'abuse que rarement de l'alcool. On peut même soutenir que l'alcoolisme n'existe pas sous la forme qui domine en Europe. Le cabaret est inconnu ici, tandis que les tavernes d'opium pullulent jusques dans les plus petits villages.

9. L'opinion générale des Chinois n'est rien moins que favorable aux fumeurs d'opium. On le regarde avec mépris dans sa famille; le marchand ne l'emploiera qu'à contre cœur, etc. Et cependant dans la société des lettres, il est devenu le symbole de l'hospitalité; on l'offre aux hôtes distingués qui rendent visite, il a remplacé la pipe et le bétel. L'ivrogne étant presque inconnu, je n'ai jamais vu faire la comparaison. Evidemment l'un ne vaut pas plus que l'autre.

10. L'habitude prise, le Chinois ne se corrige guère, la volonté lui manque; chez le célestial, l'énergie de cette faculté ne va pas jusque là. Tous les fumeurs ont des velleités de se corriger, ils prendront des remèdes ils connaissent leur situation; en trois ou quatre semaines, ils sont rebondir, les chairs reparaissent, c'est tout-à-coup un homme nouveau, tout le monde autour de lui se réjouit. Six mois après vous le rencontrez, vous allez le féliciter de son changement. Sa figure de citron vous arrête. Il est revenu à son vomissement. Il n'a pas su résister à l'occasion. Sa rechute devient incurable. Toute règle cependant a ses exceptions, et celle-ci comme les autres. En somme, ceux qui n'ont pas d'infirmité, peuvent se corriger sans de graves accidents; il n'y a que l'énergie de la volonté qui leur fasse défaut. Comme ils n'ont aucun frais moral, aucun lien religieux, ils se laissent emporter par le courant qui les entraîne sans sentir le besoin de s'accrocher à la pierre de salut qu'ils ne voient nulle part.

11. Si l'importation de l'opium Indien cessait, la plupart des fumeurs en souffrirait. Quelques-uns laisseraient la drogue; mais il est fort probable que le commerçant Chinois, attiré par l'appât du gain, trouverait bien vite le moyen de multiplier la culture du pavot encore fort peu répandu dans la province, et de se procurer en attendant, au prix de l'or, la drogue indigène déjà très abondante dans les régions du Nord. Je ne pense pas que l'habitude des liqueurs fortes ou tout autre narcotique parvint à remplacer l'opium, à moins que du monde extérieure quelque Dieu bienfaisant leur apportât un nouveau calmant, moyennant finance et profit; ce qui ne paraît pas probable. Si le fait arrivait, le Chinois insouciant se l'adapterait facilement pourvu qu'il y ait plaisir.

12. Les Européens sont peu nombreux dans le Kwang-tong, et je ne connais pas parmi eux de fumeurs d'opium. Il n'est pas douteux, que, si l'envie de fumer les prenait, ils subiraient les mêmes inconvénients que le Chinois, tout en tenant compte de leur constitution. Pourquoi ne s'adonnent-ils pas à cette habitude? C'est que l'Européen en connaît les dangers, et les évite en s'abstenant; il est affairé, et n'a pas le loisir de perdre son temps à se torturer sur un lit pour aspirer la drogue; l'exemple du Chinois n'est pas encourageant et pris enfin son énergie et son tempérament souffrirait de cette situation abrutissante. Le Chinois est au fond toujours enfant. Rien ne l'intéresse que l'argent et les amusements pueriles; la valeur du temps n'est rien pour le grand nombre; il passerait son temps à voir, comme on dit, couler l'eau d'un ruisseau; il tient sur le bout des doigts une alouette en cage durant des heures, il fera raisonner le Glou-glou d'une pipe à eau pendant une demi-journée, sans avoir d'autre pensée que de tuer le temps. Encore y longe-t-il? Son tempérament lymphatique a besoin d'une stimulante. L'opium s'est présenté, il y a trouvé une certaine satisfaction sensuelle; il l'a adopté à ses mœurs et coutumes. Le Chinois qui n'est jamais pressé, a de suite inventé cet attirail du fumeur d'opium, qu'il manipule d'abord avec un certain plaisir; et l'amour du passe-temps et de la sociabilité du *far niente*, l'a communiqué rapidement à ses semblables.

Apr. XXVI.

13. L'opium n'est jamais fumé par les Chinois comme préservatif contre les fièvres, rhumatismes et malaria. Les médecins le conseillent souvent aux phthisiques, asthmatiques, qui ne tendent pas à en contracté l'habitude. Comme remède, il est employé en pilules et ne sert qu'aux Chinois qui n'ont pas l'habitude de fumer. On remarque généralement que les fumeurs sont exempts de certaines maladies, et sont moins souvent malades que ceux qui n'avaient pas. Mais par contre la dysenterie est souvent mortelle.

14. Ils désirent, au moins en paroles, se débarrasser de cette habitude, et quelques marchands, que je connais, ont fait d'excellentes recettes en vendant des remèdes contre l'opium (voir plus haut).

15. Je crois que la question est très peu agitée parmi les Chinois, mais si elle était posée, les fumeurs et les marchands seuls réclameraient. Le gouvernement, qui tire un bon revenu, serait, je pense, enchanté, à cause de son égoïsme et de la haine contre l'étranger. Il désire certainement que le Chinois se suffise à elle-même.

16. Jusqu'ici la majeure partie de l'opium consommé vient de l'Inde, en particulier dans cette province, où l'on n'a pas encore réussi à une bonne culture. On est encore à l'état d'essai. Cependant l'opium du Nord commence déjà à paraître sur le marché, et avant peu il fera la concurrence à celui de l'Inde. Les Chinois qui préfèrent ce dernier, le mélange avec celui du Yunnan, pour en faire une drogue passable.

17. Les conséquences probables de la suppression de l'opium Indien seraient une diminution notable dans la consommation de l'opium en Chine, un développement plus considérable de la culture du pavot, et une baisse énorme dans les recettes des douanes Chinoises.

18. Dans la province de Canton, c'est à peine si on trouverait quelques de hectares de terrain occupés par la pavot.

19. Voir le rapport des commissaires de la douane Chinoise qui paraît chaque année en Anglais.

FROM A GERMAN MEDICAL MISSIONARY who has a very wide experience.

QUESTIONS regarding OPIUM CONSUMPTION IN CHINA.

1. Opium is in common use in the district I am living in. For five years I have been practising in Tungkun, a town of about 300,000 inhabitants situated on the East River, 70 miles from Canton.

2. A distinction must be drawn between an occasional consumer of opium and an habitual smoker. Of 100 adult males, I should think that 40 have become victims to the habit. Of the remaining 60, 50, I think, have smoked once or twice, which gives the high per-centage of 90 adult males who have tasted opium. The number of women smoking is much larger now than it was formerly. I know of many, specially of the better class, but am not ready to give a definite statement. Children under 10 years of age, in our district, at least, do not smoke. The parents, even when smokers, or rather on that account, keep their children away from the pipe.

3. The effects of opium are best depicted by the Chinese themselves. Inclusive I send two pamphlets written by well-meaning heathen Chinese, and respectfully beg of the members of the Royal Commission to peruse those few pages. Every sentence is a warning. May I be allowed to quote one of them: "The God of Hell does not know yet when to call thee down into hell. If he sees thee lying on thy bed smoking, oh! then thy fate is settled; thou shalt soon be a corpse." The opium smoker becomes a moral, a physical, and a social wreck, destroying himself, ruining his family, he is a burden for his nation. The Chinese-grown opium is not liked, being too weak to keep the craving in obedience. A smoker whose dose of Indian opium is three candareen,* has to smoke a mace of Chinese opium in order to appease his craving.

4. The opium pipe is used alone. In special cases, when a smoker desires to abandon the habit, he does for a while eat opium pills. No decoction or tincture is known to me.

5. I take the word using opium as meaning habitual smoker.

What are the proportions ?

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. Without injury, of a thousand, none. | |
| 2. With slight injury | 30 |
| 3. With great injury | 970 |

6. It is correct, for of a thousand habitual smokers there is hardly one who does not gradually increase the dose. The great number of patients I see every year enables me to formulate this statement. I personally know one wealthy merchant living in Sheklung, a town in our neighbourhood. He came suffering from a chronic ulcer. Although his general health did not seem to have suffered much, he confessed that opium hindered him in his calling, and that he strongly desired to abandon the habit. The tabular statement given above shows what in my humble opinion I mean to be the truth. A literate ruins his reputation; a farmer or an artisan, unable to find any employment, becomes a gambler or a thief; a merchant, too lazy to attend to his business, loses the confidence of his customers, and in a few years has to sell his shop to another. The stories of a few cases taken among those who have been admitted in the hospital will be an answer to the Question 7. Among the literate Government officials, and soldiers we find, as well as among the labourers, merchants, and artisans, a large proportion of opium consumers. The four lives I shall briefly describe will illustrate the four classes into which the Chinese are commonly divided.

Lun Ah Trung is a literate 34 years of age, and living in Shekung. At 20 he began to smoke, his dose being two or three candareen; one year after having first tasted opium his craving was established, and needed two or three mace of Indian opium to be appeased. Twice he tried by means of opium pills to get rid of the habit, both attempts were unsuccessful. He came to us accompanied by a friend, who paid for him the sum required for admission. When his clinical history was taken down we heard the following description of his daily life. He gets up at 12 o'clock, eats his dinner, and smokes. After the evening meal friends are coming, and with them is spent a part of the night, smoking, talking, and sleeping. Formerly he was a teacher, now the schoolboys are gone away. He confesses that for a long time he has not opened a book, being unable to do any work requiring some mental energy. This case may be a type of a literate who has become a smoker. It is useless to say that he was unable to endure the slightest suffering, and that he left after a few days.

Lai Ah Hang is a farmer of 27 years of age, who eight years ago began to smoke. For four years he had no craving. When he came to us his appearance was that of a man utterly desolate. He remained one month with us, and went home free from his craving. Six months after he was in a state worse than before, his friends having induced him to resume the pernicious habit. He came again to us, asking me to do a thing which is nowhere done, that is to admit twice the same patient. He acknowledged his guilt, knelt down, beseeching me to receive him. I refused. The day following came a few of his friends, who entreated for him so earnestly that I promised to give him the needed drugs to take home. This occurred in 1890, and up to that date, 1894, he has kept himself free from his former vice. I have mentioned this case in order to show the difficulties which an honest man has to surmount before he may be said to be free from the enslaving habit.

Tim a Sham is a young porter, who seven years ago began to smoke. His dose was six or seven candareen; three years after two mace by weight of Indian opium were needed in order to appease his craving. His father had a well-accustomed shop which, after his death, he left to his two sons. A Sham refused to do any work, and consequently had to withdraw his share from the shop. His mother, thinking that he could still be cured, brought him to us. After a month's time he had lost the craving, had gained 14 pounds in weight, but had not the courage of parting with old friends; shortly after leaving us he was a slave again. Now, in order to obtain some money, he steals here and there, gathers food for pigs, and spends the rest of his time in an opium den of the town.

Troi chic fan, 23 years of age, was in Canton, partner in a trading firm, when at 17 he began to smoke. At 19 he was a victim, his dose reaching rapidly to 3 mace of Indian opium by weight. His co-partners would not work any longer with him, so that he withdrew his share and sought a situation in the Yamen. Coming

* NOTE.—1 Candareen = 583 grains.
1 Mace = 283 "
1 Tael (Chinese oz.) = 683 "

down the social scale, he became a hawker. Last year he came to us, made very earnest promises, and was full of good intentions, if he could only be freed from his fatal habit. He got well, had no craving when he left; alas, he has not done better than the others, and now has reached a stage of utter poverty.

8. While a student in Edinburgh, where I took my degree, I have seen in the Cowgate and in the Grass-market bad cases of degradation brought about by alcohol; it never came to my mind to compare the two evils.

9. Young children have to learn poetical songs, whose rhymes they ought to remember when they are tempted to begin to smoke. Smoking is, in the opinion of the Chinese, a dirty, degrading, and injurious habit.

10. Most have tried to abandon the habit; their moral power being lowered, they are unable to endure, what is, at least in their opinion, a dreadful suffering; the impression left on the nervous system is so strong that, according to a Chinese proverb, even those who have left opium for five or ten years are in danger of fatally resuming the habit.

11. It would be a means of restoring to moral and bodily health millions of degenerated creatures. A few would for a while resort to Chinese opium; we may hope, however, that the prohibitions of the Chinese Government regarding the culture of opium, although entirely ignored in some provinces, would be a law, and that in the space of a few years opium-smoking could be a thing of the past.

13. No novice thinks of ever becoming an habitual smoker; invited, seduced by friends, he accepts to make a trial, smokes one or two whiffs, and knows the danger when it is too late to come back. Many follow the advices of their doctors; the latter when they are unable to bring any relief, advise the pipe as a last resource. A patient of mine, whose father and brother were opium smokers, got very ill. His brother advised him to smoke as a relief for his sufferings. "I shall follow your advice," answered the patient, "if before-hand a coffin be brought into my room, and if on the coffin is put the pipe I am going to smoke." Opium is not a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, and is not regarded as such by the Chinese.

14. All the opium smokers I have asked acknowledge that they are victims to a habit which ruins them morally and physically. From their mouths I have not yet heard one word in favour of opium.

15. In 1876 High Mandarins assembled in Canton, and tried, but in vain, to counteract the evil. Oh, may the day quickly come, fulfilling the desire of every Chinaman who earnestly loves his country when no Indian opium will reach a Chinese shore!

(Signed) JOHN E. KUHNE.

Tungkum, March 6. Geneva, M.B.C.M. Ed.

FROM A GERMAN MISSIONARY who has many years experience of Canton.

TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

1. In the part of China with which I am acquainted (south and north of the Kwangtung Province) the opium is commonly consumed. The number of the opium dens in most of the market-places, as far as I have observed, is equal to the rice shops. In some places of the Fa and Tshyang district there are even more opium dens than rice-shops.

2. Of 10 adult males three to four (in the Fa and Tshyangyen district), seven in the Nam Hyung district are consumers. Of 100 women, one (in Fa and Tshyangyen), 15-20 (in the Namhyung district) are consumers. In wealthier families, I am told, parents urge it upon their sons to prevent them squandering the family means upon gambling and other vices, and to keep them at home. In the great rich clans of Canton the patriarch of the family orders the opium pipe to the young widows of the family to prevent them entering prohibited relations.

3. The effects of the drug amongst the poorer classes, who are living on rice and vegetables, are moral, physical, and social destroying. The consumers become either sooner or later complete wrecks, emaciated in form, and as the Chinese acknowledge themselves, corrupted in morals. In better classes the ruin can be delayed by better living. Exceptionally robust men using opium at first may not lose their physical strength

so much for awhile, but their moral character often changes for the worst. They become the bullies of the quarter of the town they locate. Consumers of opium consider Chinese-grown opium (Yun nam pak) inferior to Indian opium (Kung yen). Those who are accustomed to Indian opium find it hard to satisfy their craving with Chinese-grown opium. There is a saying that Indian opium must be mixed with some stronger poison (arsenic).

4. Consumers of opium prefer to smoke it. Opium sots are often filling the intervals with drinking a decoction of opium. In passage boats consumers are swallowing opium pills, when hindered by stormy weather to smoke. I am narrated that strong consumers of opium when smoking are filling their anus or their nose with opium to get more satisfied. Amongst the smokers of opium there are two classes, those who inhale the opium smoke by deep inhalations and retain it as long as possible, and those who inhale it by superficial inhalations, keeping the smoke only in their mouth. The first way is the most injurious.

5. Consumers, when asked, declare that they in the beginning (from one month to one year) were playing with opium till it became a necessity for them to use the drug. This craving they acknowledge gets stronger and stronger. Good living often delays the evil effects, but I never saw or never heard of any consumer who for years used the drug without injury.

6. The great danger of the drug lies, as all consumers acknowledge, in the craving which seems to be irresistible and cannot be compared with the craving for alcohol. This craving is of growing nature, and it excludes moderation in the use of opium. It is not so much the man who eats the opium as the "opium" that eats the man," is a common saying.

7. Amongst 10 labourers there are two (in the south), seven (in the north of the Canton Province); amongst 10 literati (including yamen people) there are five resp. eight, amongst 10 merchants there are three resp. six consumers. All classes of smokers suffer, but the working classes in particular. There is with them, besides the loss of valuable time, the rapid deterioration of health and especially loss of muscular power.

8 and 9. Smokers and non-smokers regard it as a vice, a curse, and their greatest plague. I never met a consumer who approved of it or advocated it. The Chinese testimony is much stronger than any condemnation by us of the drinking habits of the West. Most of the Chinese agree in declaring that the use of opium under all circumstances not only is deleterious to health, but that it shortens life; that the long use of the drug leads to impotence, and that the evil effects of alcohol habit are small in comparison with those of the use of opium.

10. All smokers of opium I asked, who were in the state of craving, agreed that the habit could only be given up at very great risk. Many of them told me it was impossible for them to break off the habit. Those who have been converted to Christianity and have overcome the habit told me that the agonies and the pains were indescribable. These feelings are worst about the third day, and subside by the fifth or sixth, and by the eighth or tenth day relief comes. The greatest part of the smokers I conversed with expressed their desire to get free, but found it too hard. Those who are still in the state of "playing with opium" find it easier to abandon the habit, and many of these former smokers I know have really given it up. The habit clings to the Chinese people and cannot be extirpated. It is too late for China to abolish this evil. The drug has become a necessity for the people and can as little be cast off as the use of alcohol in our home lands. The native-grown opium, being inferior to the Indian drug, its effects would perhaps not be so pernicious, the process would be slower, the force of resistance would be greater, a Government whose hands are not bound would be stronger to retain the overflowing of the evil.

12. I never saw an European contract the opium habit, but heard of some. The European race as a whole has more energy to resist this kind of temptation. It is for the Chinese so easy to fall into this habit. It gives occupation to a man of leisure and means, it helps him to spend time, it produces a certain stimulus, for a time it increases the bodily powers, it is a solace in many circumstances, and above all, everywhere the pipe is presented to him. The refusal is often regarded as unpolicy. The whole world around him uses the drug, why should he abstain?

APP. XXVI.

13. Out of 10 smokers there are four who were led to smoke in order to get relief of some pain or cure of some ailment, six are seduced by friends. If opium is a prophylactic against fever or malaria, I do not know. All the Chinese with whom I conversed in the past years confirmed me that it is not. It relieves only for some time the pains, but then it must be used to remove the discomfort growing out of the habit of smoking.

14. The greatest part of the consumers expressed their desire to get free, but I am convinced that out of 10 smokers only four or five have an earnest and sincere desire.

15. Those who have to suffer from an opium smoker in their family condemn the import of opium in the strongest terms. It is one of the greatest hindrances to all mission work. The Chinese call the opium "foreign dirt, Jesus dirt," and blame England for having introduced it and forced it up to China.

16. The wealthier classes are smoking Indian opium, the poorer classes use the native drug or a mixture of both. Old and inveterate smokers of one tael* and upwards find that the best prepared Indian drug is quite unable to satisfy their craving. They have a contract at opium shops to be supplied with all their ashes of the first degree, because these ashes, as it seems, are containing in proportion more morphia than the opium itself. The native opium has been compared to a wood fire, the foreign to a coal one. The rich classes of smokers prefer the expensive foreign drug, and will retain their taste for it, so if the import of Indian opium is prohibited the drug, meeting a necessary want amongst the people, will probably be brought into the interior by all unlawful means.

17. Either the Chinese Government itself will undertake the poppy cultivation on lands set apart, or it will be left to every peasant to cultivate his own opium, and I am convinced the officials will make use of this as a great source of revenue, or if the Government is in dead earnest they will prohibit the growth and increase the heavy duties on the native drug. Edicts were issued against tobacco at the end of the Ming and the beginning of the present dynasty, and now it is cultivated everywhere. So it will perhaps be with the native opium. The evil cannot be extirpated, but I would be glad if the Christian Government of England should withdraw at least from direct participation in this business on the high grounds of morality and equity, international prudence, and Christian principle.

(Signed) C. J. VOSKAMP

(Of the German Berlin Mission).

Canton, 2nd March 1894.

FROM AN AMERICAN MEDICAL MISSIONARY who is in charge of a large Hospital in the City of Canton.

ANSWERS ON OPIUM CONSUMPTION with reference to the CHINESE RACE.

1. Yes.
2. While fully two-thirds use it, probably 20 per cent. have fully formed the habit. Women do not often use. Children not at all.
3. Degrading beyond question. Indian opium is much the strongest. A confirmed opium-smoker cannot stop the use of Indian opium and use only Chinese-grown in its place.
4. Chiefly smoke; this the most injurious form.
- 5.—(i.) No proportion. (ii.) 50 per cent. (iii.) 15 or 20 per cent.
6. Many use it moderately for some time, but the use of it is certain to require an increase in amount.
7. Labourers and artisans. Detrimental.
8. Worse than alcohol.
9. It is. Worse than alcohol.
10. Many make the attempt. In rare instances a few succeed.
11. The habit would gradually be abolished. In this part of China the attempt has often been made to raise the poppy, but without success.
12. _____
13. As an amusement and to be social. No. No.

14. Yes.

15. Yes.

16. _____

17, 18, 19, and 20. Am not prepared to answer at present.

(Signed) J. M. SWAN, M.D.

Physician and Surgeon to the Canton Hospital.

Canton, China,
February 24, 1894.

TRANSLATION of the WRITTEN OPINION of a CHINESE GENERAL, a resident of Canton, who has seen much service, and is thoroughly qualified to give an opinion on the opium habit.

Between 10 and 20 per cent. in the Canton province smoke habitually; most of these have acquired the habit by frequenting brothels and gambling dens.

In well-to-do, respectable families perhaps one or two women in 100 may take to opium as a relief in illness. Rich men also buy girls to amuse them and prepare their opium pipes for them. Of these women 10 to 20 per cent. become confirmed smokers. Girls are also taken out of brothels to become concubines; these, being accustomed to see opium smoked, may also become confirmed smokers to the extent of 20 per cent. Fond parents may occasionally give a whiff to their children when ill, in order to cheer them up, but in these cases the indulgence never grows into a confirmed habit.

Those who take to smoking always do so in order to cheer their spirits and feel comfortable. They begin with small quantities, but in time it affects their health and destroys their complexion. The pseudo pleasure is obtained at the expense of natural contentment. As years go on the craving increases.

Amongst smokers some may be found who gradually decrease the quantity, while others regularly increase it. Men of robust health can reduce the quantity; physically weak men give way. Men in prosperous circumstances and whom fortune favours smoke largely; unsuccessful men smoke less.

Men of the literary class, if well to do, smoke to enjoy pleasant sensations, but they suffer in reputation. Agriculturists, who work hard all the year round, know too well the value of money; not more than 1 or 2 per cent. of these smoke.

Artisans are more liable to smoke; being thrown together, they go with the crowd. Merchants and shopkeepers must keep a divan for their customers if they hope to do business; so more of this class fall a victim.

Whether men succeed or fail in their careers depends on their individual characters. Men of probity and perseverance will succeed, but opium-smoking does not help or retard them. Men of low class, such as hangers-on of public offices, official runners, street loafers, and brothel frequenters, all smoke with scarcely an exception.

Young men of respectable families are looked down upon if they take to smoking. Men of exceptional ability suffer loss in reputation; to their face their friends show the same respect, but behind their backs they are criticised.

Climate does not account for the difference in habit between Chinese and foreigners. Chinese smoke wherever they may be, regardless of climate. Foreigners abstain either because it is opposed to the laws of their country or because they fear the evil effects of smoking, or because they are in fear of public opinion.

There are those among the ruling classes of China who say that opium-smoking is a calamity sent by Heaven to try men, and that it is in conformity with the will of Heaven that man should regain his lost position by the practice of the cardinal virtues of patriotism, filial piety, chastity, and uprightness.

Seeing that opium-smoking at the beginning gives no pleasure, what is it that induces men to take to it? Men do so from various motives. In the intimacy and freedom of the opium couch some hope to worm out secrets with a view to their profit; some to knit closer the bonds of friendship; some seek to victimise those who have money; and others again try smoking as a cure for chest diseases. Physicians of repute do not prescribe opium in illness, but doctors of the commoner sort will recommend smoking when their patient seems dull and out of sorts, and also as a cure for malarial

* One tael = 68.3 grains.

diseases; but this is the exception, and the number of such is very small.

When a long course of smoking has undermined the constitution, the victims all repent the course they have followed; but it is almost impossible for an old habitual smoker to give up. He may try, but the craving overcomes him. For some inscrutable reason Heaven has sent down this curse; in the interest of the race I earnestly pray that the plans of Heaven may be changed.

OPINION of an OLD CHINESE CLERK for 30 years, in the service of Her Majesty's Consulate at Canton.

From 10 to 20 per cent. of adult males smoke opium in Canton city. In the country districts it is hard to say, but it is believed that in the Kao-chow, Lien-chow, Lei-chow, and Chung-chow districts 60 or 70 per cent. smoke. The reason is that people there smoke to keep off fever which is prevalent in these malarious districts.

But very few women smoke in Canton city, perhaps 1 in 100. Those who are smokers acquired the habit either by way of keeping their husbands company, or through smoking opium as medicine.

Men may smoke in moderation by refusing to exceed a certain quantity, and this may go on for years; but if a man exercises no restraint, and smokes as he feels inclined, the quantity gradually increases.

Labourers who smoke are at a disadvantage with those who do not. They cannot endure so much fatigue.

Forty years ago men lost in the estimation of their fellows by smoking. Since the prohibition of smoking was rescinded it makes little difference. Still, a non-smoker will regard a smoker with less consideration.

Chinese contract the habit which foreigners do not, because in their social intercourse they are thrown together with smokers, and learn the lesson from them. Amongst foreigners there are none to give the example of smoking.

Opium-smoking begins through three or four men finding themselves with nothing to do, or when two men meet they think it will promote good fellowship; or men may feel low spirited and indolent, and they smoke to rouse themselves; or a man may begin in the hope of relieving pain or curing an illness.

Doctors do prescribe opium-smoking in certain diseases when they do not know what else to prescribe. Some patients refuse to smoke fearing to become confirmed smokers, but they will listen to the doctor in the hope of getting cured.

Smokers of many years' standing, feeling that the habit enslaves them, would like to give it up; but they fear that it might injure their health and they hesitate. It is only those who are wealthy and without worldly cares that look upon opium-smoking as harmless.

ANSWERS obtained by Mr. LITTON, now residing in Canton, from a Chinese Acquaintance.

Rwok Pak T'o', native of Sam Shni district, resident for many years in Canton City. Has been employed as superintendent of a salt ship on the Yang-tze for six years, also in Hong Kong for some time, and has also been in Singapore some years, teaching Cantonese. Now resident in Canton City, and teaching Cantonese. Age 43; has smoked opium over 20 years. Enjoys good health,* is an early riser and a good walker.* Appetite also good.* May be considered as a well-bred and well-educated Chinese.*

1. Opium is generally consumed by all classes of adult male Cantonese.

2. Should say about 80 per cent. of the adult males consume opium more or less. That is, about 20 per cent. are either total abstainers or smoke so very rarely that they may fairly be classed as non-smokers. No children, to his knowledge, smoke. The youngest smoker he can remember was 17. Practically no women smoke. Has heard of a few cases where the wife of a rich opium-smoker also acquired the habit, but it is very exceptional. Some of the Chinese prostitutes in Hong Kong smoke, in Canton hardly at all, the reason being that money is spent more freely in Hong Kong brothels.

3. This question entirely depends on the amount smoked and the hold which the habit has acquired. In the case of the very small minority who have the craving or "yan" (see below, 5) the effect is in every way bad. The heavy smoker may become a useless burden to every one, for he smokes all night, or till after midnight, and when he does go to bed does not rise till after midday; the reason being that opium removes the necessity for sleep at the proper time. Then a heavy smoker wastes a great deal of time, from three to five hours, in the mere operation of smoking, while the continual sucking in of the breath in smoking is held to be very injurious. Again, if the man is poor, he denies himself proper food, clothing, and shelter in order to get opium, which may account for the miserable appearance of some of the lower class of opium-smokers more than the actual effects of the opium itself. There is no actual necessity that a heavy habit should unfit a man for business, but it nearly always does, unless he is the head of the firm and has trustworthy subordinates. It would certainly unfit a man for work in a shop by reducing his energy and keeping him to the opium couch. Among the more immediate physical effects of heavy smoking should be noticed the lessening of sexual passion. The skin also becomes of a pale and (in advanced cases) of a yellowish tint. There is also a blackish and fatigued appearance about the eyes. This is far more apparent in the case of those who smoke the preparation of opium dross known as "i yin," or in slang as "yin shi" (literally opium excrement). Has heard that formerly, in the days of Commissioner Lin, the effects of opium were far more visible and dreadful, owing, he supposes, to imperfect method of smoking. The opium also was not cooked so carefully or mixed with foreign matter so much. Another physical effect of smoking is constipation. This is not so marked if native opium only is consumed. Opium-smokers frequently go for four days without action of the bowels, and they invariably fear to take medicine, saying that they will get incurable diarrhoea if they do so. Socially the opium-smoker is not debarred from the society of his friends. Indeed, the opium couch is far the most comfortable place in the house. This, he thinks, is the chief reason why the habit has become so common. To smoke and chat is all a Chinese has to do. A heavy smoker, with his late habits and loss of energy, certainly cannot be a busy man. This is the chief evil of heavy smoking. He does not believe it shortens the lives of the smokers or does them other injury. He can only talk of Chinese smokers, and as to differences in the effects of Indian and native opium, he can only mention that the native is not so constipating. All the above refers solely to excess in smoking. The ordinary Chinese who smokes moderately without a "yan" feels no ill effects. On the contrary, he (the speaker) is convinced that it is of benefit. It is at once a stimulant and sedative. In cases of lassitude, stomach ache, or fatigue it is of great benefit. Even heavy smokers, before they have acquired an incurable habit, feel in extraordinary spirits and health, a fact which often accounts for their going on until the habit is difficult or impossible to break. The "yan" may not be acquired before a whole year of regular smoking; or it may, in cases of weak constitutions, be acquired in two or three months. The easiest way to acquire the "yan" is to smoke at a regular time, especially after meals, every day, or to smoke at night in the company of friends. The opium takes away the desire for sleep, and thus more and more is consumed to while away the time, until, in a short time, the habit is acquired. In reply to a question, said a man could compose prose or verse much better after smoking opium. Knows of at least one man who has acquired the highest literary degree, and is a confirmed smoker.*

4. Entirely smokers. Eating prepared opium is a common form of suicide. Occasionally, as in cases of asthmatic diseases, when the breath is obstructed, he has heard of persons taking small quantities of opium. But there are various forms of smoking, which should be distinguished. (i.) Smoking Indian opium. This is commonly practised by wealthy smokers in and near Canton. In Canton 1 oz. of Indian opium varies from \$1 to 60 cents an ounce, according to its age and purity. (ii.) Native opium, which varies in price from 60 cents to 30 cents an ounce. The best is the Yunnan pak, and the worst the Pok Chan (Hunan) opium.† (iii.) The "second opium" or "opium

* These facts are in my own knowledge, as he has been my teacher and has travelled in the interior with me.—G. LITTON.

† This refers to a Cantonese Hun-Lin graduate of the year 1892.
* These native opiiums are commonly used in the N. and N.W. of Canton Province.

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excrement." This is a preparation cooked up from the refuse left in the opium pipe, and made into little pills. This is far the cheapest. One ounce of Indian opium will leave nearly half an ounce of dross, which is worth about 12 cents, and is invariably sold. The lowest classes invariably smoke this, especially the Hakkas. The "yan" is more easily acquired and more difficult to get rid of, while the physical effects are more disastrous. It is said to deprive the smoker of the power of moving his eyes freely. Smokers of Indian opium rarely use the native. The small is quite different, and not nearly so fragrant.

5. Thinks the only distinction is between actual benefit and serious injury to a man. Should say about 25 per cent. of all smokers have the yan, but in some classes the proportion is greater than in others.

6. Certainly not; the great majority of smokers are moderate. Taking in view, on the one hand, the large number of smokers, and on the other hand the results of excess in smoking, it would be quite impossible that there should be as much life and activity as there is in Canton if the greater majority of consumers were not moderate. It is difficult to give particular examples, for nearly everyone smokes more or less.

7. Is of opinion that the lower classes of labourers smoke more than merchants or artisans. Chair coolies and carriers or porters, who abound in every part of Canton province, smoke heavily. Thinks perhaps one-half of these particular classes of labourers exceed and have the "yan." Attributes this partly to the fact that their work is very exhausting, and partly to the fact that many such labourers have spare time, an hour now and an hour then with nothing to do; or when stopping at roadside teahouses smoking is very common. Thinks many of them could not do their work without it. Employés in shops smoke less and moderately generally after work hours. Thinks a heavy habit would interfere with their calling, especially if they had accounts, &c. to look after. Many of the rich merchants also smoke. Has nothing special to say of them.

8. Can hardly answer this, as the abuse of alcohol among the Chinese is practically unknown. Some frequently get drunk, but he has never heard of a wine-"craving" among the Cantonese.

9. It cannot be said that the smoking of opium is generally condemned by public opinion, for so many people smoke. The apparatus for smoking is found in nearly every house, and a man who himself does not smoke opium will offer it to his friends. Has heard that formerly, in 'Lo Kwong's reign, the habit was regarded as degrading, but then the results were more harmful than they are now. He himself would not like to go into partnership or marry his daughter to a man whom he knew to be a confirmed and heavy smoker.

10. When once the craving or "yan" is fixed few can break it off, but some do. Probably not more than one-fifth or one-sixth of the total of heavy smokers, and those who have broken the habit in many cases again resume it. The smokers of "dross" or "second opium" practically never break the habit. The best means of attempting to rid oneself of the habit is to take medicines for that purpose, and lessen the amount consumed every day. A heavy smoker of long standing, say anyone smoking 5 mace,* would be likely to die if he attempted to break off the habit. If the attempt to abstain produces a cough, then it is hopeless. In his own case he formerly had the "yan" for more than a year, when on the Yang-tsze.† He afterwards cured himself by lessening the dose and taking a medicine called "essential powder," made by Messrs. Watson, of Hong Kong. This was like white salt. An overdose would kill the patient.

11.—Cannot say. Thinks more native opium would be grown. Does not believe that the Chinese would take to drinking.

12.—Has never heard of Europeans having a strong habit, but has seen sailors of foreign nationality taken by Chinese friends into opium houses, and believes many Macao Portuguese smoke. Thinks European constitutions are stronger than Chinese. Also that the fact that the opium couch is a comfortable place to talk

when there is nothing to do is the chief cause of the prevalence of the habit. Has always understood that Europeans generally despise opium smoking as a degrading habit, and believes that many of the Chinese who have had intercourse with Europeans would strongly condemn opium when asked the questions contained in this paper, merely out of a polite wish to coincide with the foreigner's opinion. On the other hand the ignorant classes, knowing that foreign opium comes from the west, believe that it is grown by Europeans.

13.—Young men when they first go out into the world see other people smoking, and hear that it has a soothing effect; thus are led to imitate their elders. Thus again the reason of the prevalence of the habit is a social reason. A few, perhaps two smokers out of 10, have been led to use the drug as an antidote to pain or illness. Has never heard that the habit is hereditary. Thinks that if the father smoked heavily, the sons would be more likely to learn younger; but can recall the case of one of his most intimate friends, who was a heavy smoker. He had two sons, one of whom is a total abstainer. It is certainly his belief, based on experience, that opium is an antidote to pain and he thinks that the opinion of most Chinese is agreed on this point. It also acts as a stimulant. The brain is made more active, and when the habit is first acquired, the smoker feels in extraordinary spirits and health. Cannot account for the belief prevailing in Europe that a state of dreamy sleepiness is produced by opium. A heavy smoker only gets to sleep very late and then sleeps like the dead. The stimulating effect of opium induces many to exceed and acquire that "yan" which is difficult to break off. Has always heard that opium is an antidote to malaria, but cannot speak from experience. Knows a man who was on the Annam frontier in the French war, and who attributed his good health on that occasion to the use of opium. Thinks it is an undoubted fact that opium smokers are less liable to illness.

14. Thinks that heavy consumers fear the sickness and general want of spirits which results from abstinence.

15. People sometimes say it would be a good thing to suppress opium, but there is no general public opinion to that effect. Some people will not allow opium to be smoked in their shops. Agreed to my suggestion that some persons regarded opium much as a strict Methodist in England would regard theatres or cards.

16. Cannot say much on this. On the Yang-tsze thinks more is consumed than in Canton. But it is native opium. Canton is the place "par excellence" for the consumption of Indian opium, and even there in the north and west borders native opium is commonly consumed. The reason for this is the cheapness of the native drug.

17. Cannot say. Thinks China will plant more. The Chinese administration would be utterly unable to carry through such a measure as the suppression of opium, and it would be the last thing they would be likely to attempt.

18. —————.

19. —————.

20. Calls attention to the enormous consumption of opium "dross," or "excrement," or second opium by the poorer classes. Knew of a shop in Queen's Road, Hong Kong, where the current expenses for license, rent, wages, and food of employees alone, amounted to \$125 a month. Yet this shop confined itself to selling opium dross mostly consumed on the premises. Seeing that a good profit was invariably realised while the opium was sold, the consumption must be very large. Thinks that Europeans are too ready to believe that the wretched appearance of some few smokers is entirely due to opium; believes it to be often due to the hard and distressing lives these people lead, or to some illness which induced them to smoke. Thinks it is not easy for Europeans to arrive at the truth about opium. Everyone will say something different, and it will be difficult to know who to believe. Has heard that foreign missionaries do not allow their converts to smoke opium. Thinks that what native Christians said about the matter would be quite untrustworthy. People must have smoked in order to know what the effects actually are. Probably the fact that the Christians have taken up so strong a position against opium would account for the general belief among Chinese that

* 10 mace = 1 Chinese oz. = 593 grains.
 † He has no "yan" now as I travelled in the interior with him for two months, in a small boat, and he never smoked. He is too a very early riser having for long been in the habit of teaching me at 7 a.m.

foreigners regard the habit as degrading. Thinks that in consequence of this it will be difficult to arrive at the truth.

Canton, February 1894.

G. LUTTON,
of Singapore.

INFORMATION obtained by Mr. HARE, now residing in Canton, from a Chinese acquaintance.

ANSWERS to QUESTIONS of the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, by Yan-Shek-Tsim, a native of San Leng, now settled in the City of Canton, proprietor of a Chinese boot and shoe shop, Chap Yun Shan, Ho-Pun Street, age 41. Has lived in Canton over 20 years, and travelled in connexion with his business in Kumsai, all over the Canton Province, Hailan, Hong Kong, and Annam. Is an opium-smoker of nearly 20 years' standing. Has always enjoyed good health. Is an active, intelligent, well-informed representative of the better middle-class Chinese traders.

1. Yes.

2. Thinks about 50 per cent. or more of the adult males smoke opium, but the proportion varies with the locality and the class of people. For instance, should say nearly 65 or 70 per cent. Chinese adults smoke in the city of Canton. In villages there is not so much smoking, but it is on the increase. A few prostitutes smoke; children never. Never heard of women in respectable families smoking. Hakka women (who do more work usually than the males) will not allow their husbands to smoke if they can stop them. The smoking done in brothels in China is very little.

3. *The Effects of moderate Opium-smoking.*—A. *Morally*: Cannot say that he thinks a man is the better or the worse for the habit. Says the question is not clear, that whether a man is a saint or a sinner is not affected by the mere habit of opium-smoking. Cross-examined: Says he has heard of the "opium cunning"—Yin-Cheng—and explains it to be a phrase applied to smokers who devise plots and scheme to do things to the harm of their fellow-men. Does not think this an immoral effect arising from opium-smoking. Says such a man would plot and do injury to others whether he smoked or not. If he is a heavy smoker, he has more time to think out his plans. Thinks that positively the habit has no good moral effects, but that, negatively, it may have by keeping people quiet. B. *Physically*: Says the habit, speaking from personal experience, is decidedly beneficial. Finds it a good digestive medium, a sedative for pain and worry, and a stimulant that enables him to do more work (such as going into accounts and intricate figures) than he could do without it. Ascribes his freedom from any opium diseases (such as sleeplessness, constipation, or diarrhoea, jaundiced complexion, &c.) to his moderation and carefulness in the use of the drug. Says he only smokes once a day for about an hour, and sometimes abstains for a few days. Says he could give up the habit if he liked, but that he is sure that he is physically better off for taking his pipe regularly. C. *Socially*: Is of opinion that the opium habit promotes and extends social intercourse. Although everyone does not smoke habitually, yet there are very few Chinese who do not know how to smoke and keep a friend company. A Chinaman finds it hard to kill time, and the opium-pipe and its pretty appurtenances has given quite a new æsthetic pleasure to them. So strong is the social bearing of opium-smoking now on Chinese society, that even total abstinents provide and devise a pipe in their shops and houses for visitors. Many rooms in big trading establishments are now called the "opium hall"—Yin-Ting—and I have heard that there are now special rooms provided in all Chinese Ya-mens for opium-smoking.

The Effects of immoderate habitual Opium-smoking.—The worst effects of such abuse are the physical evils. The unfortunate cannot sleep well, cannot eat substantial meals, often gets constipation and diarrhoea, his skin and complexion becomes tinged yellow, his eyes are ringed and their nerves often affected, and the body will waste. People who smoke the opium dross or refuse—yin-shi—suffer much more than others. Socially the "opium sot" is a nuisance, as he induces other people to smoke more than is good for them, and keeps men up all through the night. Morally such a man becomes unscrupulous and shifty,

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is always smoking other people's opium, and never offers to return the hospitality enjoyed. If the man is poor, his family suffers. The effects of consuming opium on the Cantonese, Hainanese, Hakkas, Tan-Kas, and Kwing-Sai men seem the same. The Hakkas are perhaps the most immoderate smokers. They and the Tan-Ka all smoke opium dross or a second preparation of that dross, and the impurity of the drug soon brings on the "yan," or craving in its worst incurable form. Chinese-grown opium is coarse and unsatisfying, and without the fragrance of the Indian drug. Everyone who can afford to smokes Indian opium. The sedative effect of Chinese opium is not so great as that of the Indian drug, and the poorer classes, who smoke native opium, are often led to take more than is good for them to produce the desired effect.

4. Consumers all smoke opium. Occasionally, if necessity (such as on journeys by land or water, when the pipe and apparatus is not taken) compels very heavy smokers to do so, they will swallow opium pills specially prepared by Chinese chemists for this purpose. No Chinese drink decoctions of opium. Swallowing a-p'in-ko or chandoo is a common way of committing suicide or poisoning others.

5. Thinks the proportion of those who smoke opium and derive benefit from it very large. Is not sure about the proportion, as it depends so much on the status and condition of the smoker, e.g., says the carrying classes and coolies of Canton, who smoke inferior opium, have the "yan" or craving in considerable numbers. Very few wealthy people get an incurable "yan." Of the artisan, agricultural, and petty shop-keeping classes, thinks perhaps 15 to 20 per cent. may have a "small yan"—sin-yan—i.e., a curable craving. The "opium sots" are few in any class, and are usually cases where the man is, apart from his opium-smoking, a "bad hat," who has descended in the social scale from other vices as well as smoking, or who was so weak in constitution when he took up the habit, often as an antidote to pain, that it has merely hastened the end of his other diseases. Says the poorest classes, who smoke heavily, could not make their living from day to day unless they had their pipe, and that it is this knowledge that makes them work to get money to buy opium. Says that people (miserable bags of bones, broken down in every way) that Europeans call "opium sots" have always existed in China (where the struggle for bare life is so severe and distress so universal), shows that opium-smoking is not a thing of to-day, and often supposed to be the cause of broken lives that have been ruined by other natural causes.

6. Moderation in the consumption of opium is the rule, and abuse the exception. Says he has himself taken opium for nearly 20 years with distinct benefit to himself. Has stopped smoking for as long as a month or two months at a time. Knows of very many cases of consumers who have taken their pipes for years with benefit, as far as he knows, and certainly without any apparent harm to themselves. Asked to give examples, says he has lived in Ho-Pun Street for nearly 20 years, and that there are over some 400 shops in the street; that he knows about 60 other shopkeepers in the vicinity of his own shop, and is on visiting terms with them; that the majority of these shopkeepers all smoke without any ostensible ill-effects, and that he never heard of anyone in his street coming to grief in any way from smoking too much. States he knows of one case of a distant cousin who came to grief chiefly over smoking and gambling. The man was an accountant in a village shop, and got 2 dol. wages a month. He smoked to excess, borrowed people's things and pawned them to gamble and smoke with, and eventually took the shopkeeper's money from the till and removed to Hong Kong. Witness thinks that the Chinese "black sheep" in big wealthy official families often smoke to excess, and has heard that they are not infrequently encouraged to do so, as their own people think even abuse of opium-smoking a lesser evil than wasting money on fan-tan and other forms of gambling and on prostitutes. Says he feels pretty sure that few cases of consumers smoking with great injury to themselves can be found among the lower-labouring classes. Says these people, although they may smoke too much, and get an habitual craving, know that they must make money daily to buy their opium, and so never smoke to such an excess as will utterly incapacitate them from working. Says that he has heard that many Buddhist priests smoke to great excess, and that yali-men, lictors, and other low fellows of this stamp are the most reckless.

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7. Certainly, the majority of labourers, merchants, and artisans, and agriculturists now smoke opium, that is to say the great majority, if not habitual consumers, yet know how to smoke on occasion. Says he went back to his ancestral village in San-Lang a year ago after an absence of 10 years and found smoking had increased very much there, and thinks that opium-smoking generally has increased universally during the last seven or eight years. Does not think the efficiency or inefficiency of these men in their calling much affected. The labourers, agriculturists, and artisans find it consoling after a hard day's work, and as they all go to bed very early it does not interfere with their work next morning. The merchants, official classes, reading men, take opium chiefly as a brain stimulant or sedative. If abused, the opium habit leads to bad habits—late rising, unwillingness to get up from the divan and attend to business, wastes time generally, and leads to sickness and ill-health. Accountants and clerks in shops do not smoke as much as the masters, because they have not time to do so; the majority of these men, however, frequent opium-houses and smoke there. Says he knows several shops where the shopkeepers do not smoke, and will not take opium-consumers on as employees; thinks this due to excess of vigour on the part of such men, and adds that he knows of one such shop where the accountant (presumed to be a non-smoker) smokes every other day or so at the opium-house after meals, once a day. Says a moderate smoker who takes only one or two pipes a day (say at most 1 mace* at first, or 1½ to 2 maces after years of smoking) can never be known, as far as appearance goes, from a non-smoker; says for instance that he knows a number of the Chinese employed in Shamin as compradors, shroffs, clerks, office-runners, and butlers, and has seen them all smoking at one time or another, but does not suppose that their European employers either know that all their classes smoke, or find them affected by it as far as their work goes. Asks if his own appearance after 20 years smoking would lead one to say he was an opium-smoker. (Physically I can see no difference in him, beyond that his eyes look heavy, and I know he walks well and can eat big meals. —E. P. Han.)

8. Denies that drunkenness exists in China. Has seen drunken Europeans in Canton and Hong Hong, but thought their eccentric behaviour was merely a temporary thing due to excess at feasts and dinners. Cross-examined: Yes, has heard of a "wine craving," but says it is very rare in this province, and is mostly here confined to Chinese from other provinces, especially from the north. People who have this wine-craving invariably take spirits or wine with their meals. Many of the foreign soldiers in the city from other provinces take wine at their meals. Has never heard of this habit acquiring mastery over a man like the abuse of opium leads to. Has heard in Hong Hong and Macao of Chinese born there who are always drunk and unfit to do anything. Does not know enough about the abuse of alcohol to venture to compare it with the abuse of the opium habit.

9. The general opinion of the Chinese is that taking opium is neither injurious or degrading, and this general opinion has been gathering strength for some years. On the other hand there is a minority of strict precisians (such men as object to their sons dining in their father's company, or sitting in the same room with them, and treat them generally as children when they are men) who condemn opium-smoking as injurious to the body. Has not heard anyone say the habit is degrading, i.e., gives you bad name. Does not see how opium-smoking, any more than tobacco-smoking, or spirit-drinking, can be degrading. Has heard that converts to the Christian religion are not allowed to smoke, but does not think this would affect other Chinese; cannot say why Europeans believe the Chinese call the habit degrading, may be due to some old proclamations and notices issued years ago at the time of the Opium War in Fao Kwang's time, when opium-smoking was condemned. Says opium was not understood then, was badly prepared and often misused, and perhaps there were more bad cases of victims to the habit then, and that this gave the habit a bad name. As a matter of common sense, he adds, that what every one does and what everyone condones in his neighbour for doing, and what the leading official and literary classes do cannot in itself be very wrong, and states further that if the

habit was so bad and the evils so many as to make it necessary for Government to put it down, how is it that Canton is such a rich and prosperous place in spite of a habit that is indulged in more or less by some 60 per cent. of the people. On the other hand it is matter of common knowledge that Canton has thriven greatly during the last 12 years, and that the consumption of opium has increased too. Thinks that this shows that opium is becoming a luxury or semi-necessity to the majority of Chinese. Does not know enough about the alcohol habit to compare it with the opium habit. Says the Chinese proverb "gambling, wenching, drinking, and smoking opium," commonly fired off as a description of Chinese vices, mentions drunkenness first before opium-smoking as being the more injurious. Says that wine-drinking, such as occurs at feasts, parties, morra games, verse-copping, &c., is really not degrading in any way, and yet it is put down as a national vice; so too is opium side by side with it, but the proverb of course only refers to excess and abuse in both cases.

10. Certainly. For various reasons, chiefly in witness's experience when they have not money enough to spend on the habit. Some, too, find the habit getting too strong a hold of them, and break it off with a view to recovering their normal self-control over the habit. Says the habit is insidious, and that in most of the bad cases the abuses arise from inexperience and ignorance of the smoker. When men give up the habit chiefly from fear of losing self-control, they in most cases resume the habit some six months or 12 months afterwards, but take great care never to exceed a small limit. Knows two cases of relatives living in the city who took far too much opium (a 3½ to 4 mace habit), and who both ultimately gave up the habit altogether. If the man who takes opium to excess is broken down in health or of weak constitution, he finds it very difficult to break off the habit; may kill himself if he tries to do so without proper medical treatment. Says most emphatically no person weak in body or broken in health and fortune ought to smoke.

11. In Canton all who can afford to smoke Indian opium. If this men cut off, the consumers of the Indian opium would have to put up with the native drug for a time. Its growth, however, would be probably greatly increased, and more care bestowed in its manufacture to make it purer. Probably too many Chinese merchants would try growing the poppy in Annam, Siam, and other places. The Chinese would not take to alcohol or other narcotics, and would certainly not abstain altogether.

12. Has never heard of Europeans smoking opium habitually, supposes it does not suit them to lay down at length in divans and smoke in this position. Says Europeans, too, have so many more ways of killing time than Chinese have, and that this slow tedious way of smoking would not probably suit the bustling Europeans. Thinks, however, if opium-smoking pavilions were opened in nice places with æsthetic surroundings, Europeans might take to smoking a little as they do to gambling at Kan-Lung in Hong Kong. Says, too, it is due to national characteristics—points out that Europeans always take liquor at their meals, and at all times during the day without being in any way the worse for it, and that the Chinaman takes tea in exactly the same way. Says that very few Chinese take wine except at dinners and at festival occasions. Opines, too, that Chinese are not so strong as the Europeans, and do not take so much nourishing food and liquor, and that the European does not feel the want of the stimulant like a Chinaman.

13. Opium consumers learn to smoke in nearly all cases in social intercourse. It is a very common rule of Chinese etiquette to never refuse what is offered you, however much you may dislike it. Thus, people visiting smokers or even non-smokers are invited to have a pipe, and usually begin in this way. States he has heard of Chinese in Annam smoking to keep off fever and malaria. Says the general opinion of Chinese is agreed on this, that opium-smoking is undoubtedly an anæsthetic. Says paddy planters up country have told him smoking was a good thing to keep off rheumatism, but has never heard anyone else say so.

14. Every man who has smoked till he has got the "horrors" badly wishes to break off the habit, but very few can. Has never heard of the ordinary smoker desiring to get free of the habit, on the contrary, most temperate smokers look forward to the opium pipe just like a man who habitually smokes tobacco does.

* 1 mace = 58½ grains.

15. Only Chinese who have travelled abroad, or have relatives and friends who go to foreign countries, or such as have intercourse with European friends, know when opium is grown in the west. Very few indeed know that the opium is chiefly imported by English as distinct from other foreigners.

16, 17. _____

18, 19. _____

20. Says the habit, speaking from long experience, is an insidious one, and that habitual smokers have to be careful not to abuse it; that the habit is now become a confirmed one with the majority of Chinese, to some as a necessity, and to others as a luxury; that there is no general opinion amongst Chinese or other evidence to show a general wish to prohibit or restrict opium-smoking; that any such attempt would be utterly useless, as the governing classes themselves are the most consistent and steadiest smokers, and would certainly not deprive themselves of this means of enjoying themselves; that the Chinese are very good judges of their own business and wants, and that if opium was such a very bad thing the Chinese Government would not permit it to be imported, and would prohibit the growth of all native opium too.

INFORMATION obtained by Mr. C. J. SAUNDERS, at present residing in Canton, from Chinese friends.

ANSWERS to QUESTIONS by ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Yü-Keng-Pak.

1. Yes, very common.
2. 80 or 90 per cent. smoke; more in last 10 or 20 years, and last three or four years still more prevalent. Of adult males 30 per cent have the craving. Perhaps 9 per cent. of the women have the craving; all women that smoked have the craving. Few children (under 16) smoke.
- 3.—(a.) No energy, lazy. Plots and plans and gets the better of people; has the whole day to think out his plans. (b.) Weak; grows thin and pale, his back will get bowed. No appetite; rises late: (c.) Lazier in intercourse with friends. No distinction between Cantonese and Chinese from other provinces.
4. Opium is invariably smoked. I know one man who took one mace of opium in strong spirits before meals (one mace=58.3 grains).
5. Of those that have the craving (i.) two or three per cent.: (ii.) two or three per cent.: (iii.) 90 per cent.
6. All, except those who take opium as a remedy for illness, are bound to go to excess in time. Those who are least injured have not the same good spirits as before.
7. Of the three classes, field labourers fewest and mercantile classes most. But most of all gentlemen at large, 80 per cent. Coolies smoke to about 80 per cent. of their number.
8. The effect of opium is incomparably greater. From spirits the man's mind is only confused for the time.
9. It is not regarded as degrading, but those who do not smoke all say that smoking is injurious. Drinking alcohol, even as a habit, is only objected to if the man's temper, in his cups, is bad. About 30 per cent. must have wine with their meals; only about three per cent. have the wine craving apart from meals.
10. The craving can be dropped. I have a friend who dropped an eight-mace* habit. About 50 per cent. could drop it.
11. They would smoke native opium. Those who were compelled to (from price, &c.) would drop the habit. They would not take to alcohol; the two have no connexion; opium-smokers, as a rule, cannot drink much spirits.
13. For amusement. To welcome guests. Because of illness. Opium is a remedy against malaria, not against rheumatism or fever. Everyone says that opium prevents malaria. Birdseye and manilla cigars have the same effect.
14. Some wish to throw off and some make the excuse of illness. Perhaps 20 per cent. throw off the craving.

* 8 mace = 468.40 grains.

15. Very many wish England to restrict opium.

Yü Keng Pak is about 35 years old, his family came from Chekiang, and he is now domiciled in Canton city. He is a Chinese graduate of the first degree. He has no craving for opium nor for wine. His father was Chief Secretary at the Governor's Yamen.

APP. XXVI.
Canton.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER written by YU-KENG-PAK subsequently, and forwarded.

England has long been known as a civilised country; in internal government and intercourse with other nations she is making a gradual and continual advance. At the present time, she more than ever shows the reality of her friendly disposition towards China, and the whole empire looks on her with reverence. But the importation of opium into China is not a thing to be proud of; it results in innumerable evils. The magnitude of the trade may be seen from the fact that recently, according to the Chinese Customs, the importation has reached the figure of 70,300 boxes. This means that every year China sends out of the country in payment over Ts. 30,000,000. This huge amount is forever lost to the country. How can China help being poor? From my experience, I should say that 30 per cent. of the inhabitants of this country have the craving. Now the population of the 18 provinces, including men and women, old and young, does not fall short of 400,000,000, that is to say, there are 120,000,000 opium smokers. How can China help being weak? Those who discuss the opium trade say that it does incalculable harm to China; it is from it that China is reduced to poverty and weakness. What can be urged in excuse by the party that at once gets the profit and does the injury? Surely England must shrink from the judgment that is passed on her behind her back. Surely she cannot bear to sit and see the people of a friendly country injured by herself without even stretching out a helping hand.

I have written this especially in answer to the questions that you were good enough to show me, and I hope that you will forward it to the Government of your country and to all true gentlemen, that they may take the opportunity of joining heart and soul in the suppression of the cultivation and sale of opium. There is no room for empty excuses, let them make haste to help China and do away with this huge evil. To the world at large there is nothing that can be of greater advantage than this, and by this one act the reputation of your country for taking pity on her neighbours and wiping out their injuries will spread like thunder and lightning from pole to pole.

ANSWERS to QUESTIONS by ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Wong Chuk Kwan.

N.B.—Answers 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, of course, only refer to those that have the habit or craving.

1. Yes.
2. 20 or 30 per cent. In the country, Pun-tri, 15 per cent.; Hakka, 25 per cent. At Canton City, 25 per cent, as smallest estimate. Difficult to find one woman opium-smoker in 100, even in Canton City; in the country women have a great contempt for opium-smoking. Only know two women in my own country town who have the habit. Do not know any child (under 16, at which Chinese come of age) who smokes.
- 3.—(1.) Moral effect bad. First does not like people smoking his opium; afterwards comes to like to smoke other people's and save his own. So gives rise to avarice in general, and as the man spends the day in smoking opium, he has plenty of time to plan and contrive, and gets the better of people who have any business with him. This of men who have enough money; if the man has no money, he will sell anything in the house (down to the kitchen knife); he will indulge his habit rather than support parents and family; he will borrow money and not repay, borrow clothes and pawn them, and, as a last resource, will steal. Dog-stealers and hen-stealers, &c., 100 per cent. are opium-smokers. The smoker in want of money will even sell wife and daughters to be prostitutes. Bodily effect, in all cases bad; cannot eat so much rice. Must smoke at night, at least to 12 midnight, and by day no spirit for work. If he occasionally give up the habit, he will certainly fall ill, and in some cases die.

APP. XXVI.

Smokers always talk in a muddled way. Cannot get up early in the morning. Strength less; can only carry 70 catties to the 100 of the non-smoker. Always thinner, and generally thin; a bad and yellow complexion. (Can he get children?) Makes no difference, but sexual passion less. Social effect: (Is it a disgrace?) Not in the least. Smokers find it very difficult to get employment in shops. (Do non-smokers make preparations for smokers?) Yes, very often. Always in shops, and often in reception rooms at own house, and on the boats of all classes except ferryboats and "sampsans" [the latter not passenger boats]. Careless about dirtiness of clothes and room. Laria in intercourse with friends. The effect of foreign and native opium the same, but the man who smokes native opium cannot satisfy his craving with foreign opium, and *vice versa*.

4. All smoke opium. Except, when there is business out of doors directly after a meal, when a smoker will make up a "smoke date" and gradually eat as he walks. Or when the opium is insufficient, when the smoker will, after his smoke, swallow a certain amount of opium dross, or if he cannot find enough of this, he will smoke "second opium" (a decoction of the opium dross mixed with something else, chiefly smoked by the chair coolies, &c.). Or if he cannot rise even to this, he swallows "third refuse" (a decoction adulterated from the dross of opium dross). No one takes it in a liquid form. Swallowing is only a *pis-aller* for smoking and has the effect of making the complexion black.

5.—(i.) At least 10 per cent. can do work like any other man. (ii.) 60 per cent. smoke with slight injury. (iii.) 30 per cent. good for nothing, wasted.

6. No; *i.e.*, there are a great many (of all classes) who carry opium with them, and do not have the opium habit. Many smoke, say, for a week at a run, and then stop for a bit. (How long does it take to acquire habit?) At least two months, generally more. Many of the class of employés in shops get the habit, unknown to themselves, by going with friends to the opium shops after meal. Others get the habit by continually sponging on friends for a smoke. Many men smoke opium for years, but not every day, without harm. Of those who have the habit, all have a feeling of tiredness and weakness, are unable to make a proper meal. Of cases of great injury: Own cousin 5-mace* habit. Smoked till daylight, and rose at 4 p.m. Took only one meal in the day. Finally tried to throw off the habit, fell ill, and died, after throwing off and resuming habit several times. His illness took the form of dysentery (opium dysentery) and a cough. It is the throwing off the habit, and not the habit itself, that makes a man ill or kills him. Case of heaviest habit, 7 mace (quarter of a dollar) a day; aged 60, but apart from slackness no harm.

7. At shops only a small proportion of employés smoke, but probably a greater majority of shopkeepers and accountants smoke than of any other class (excepting all classes at the Yamen, from the mandarin to the police). Of reading men perhaps 30 per cent. smoke at Canton, but in the country only 20 per cent. The mercantile classes from smoking become dilatory and behindhand. Employés have the same bad points. Reading men waste their time. The mandarin comes to trust to his underlings. Artisans only work to smoke; that is, while they have money to smoke they will not work, *e.g.*, a man with some money and a shop, which earned a lot of money. After the death of his father he began to smoke at the age of 18 or 19, and got the craving. After this he daily gathered smoking friends (who perhaps were not allowed to smoke at home) in his shop, and smoked and talked "opium" all day; it takes the day to make 4 or 5 mace of opium. He gave no attention to the business, leaving his employés to themselves, and all his transactions were a failure. The shop at last failed, and he had to sell house and land; and finally he himself had to take to selling things in the street. (There are many chair coolies and musicians, too, of the lowest occupations, who originally had some money.)

8. About 60 per cent. do not like to drink more than a very little; *i.e.*, only drink for form's sake; of these, 20 per cent. have a real desire to drink. About 30 per cent. like to drink (*i.e.*, will always accept an invitation), but only 10 per cent. must have spirits at every meal. Drunkenness only at entertainments, with universal pledging and the game of "morra." No class of "drunkards." Some who drink at every meal get weak on the legs (Cantonese term "wine wind legs").

Chinamen grow pugnacious and fight when drunk; but otherwise the evils of drink bear no proportion to the evils arising from the use of opium.

9. Opium-smoking is not regarded as degrading nor as injurious. Drunkenness is not a common failing, and is not mentioned in comparison with opium-smoking. (But the colloquial expression?) "Women, gambling, drinking, and smoking"; the first is worst, as it will lead to the other three; gambling next, as it leads to selling even wife and children, and stealing, &c.; drinking next, as a man when drunk may kill a man; and smoking comes last.

10. Many break off the habit; probably all at some time or other. But afterwards smoking for a few days brings back the craving, and at least 95 per cent. resume the habit. I only know of one who gave it up, to my knowledge, for four or five years. Many give up or bring down their craving from want of money.

11. If there were no Indian opium, people would certainly smoke native opium. (?) Certainly would not take to drink. Would not take to opium pills, &c.; the delight in opium-smoking is greatly æsthetic, the lamp and all the paraphernalia being pretty to look at. Perhaps 50 per cent. would give up the habit, but only temporarily, till the production of native opium became sufficient.

12. An opium apparatus keeps a party of friends together longer. The preparation of the opium is a pleasant occupation (*cf.* 11, æsthetic element).

13. Most smoke first at the houses or shops of friends, or go in parties to the opium shops after dinner for a talk. Some (very few) parents make sons smoke; I know one case, when the son was too fond of joining in the battles between villages. I have not tried it as a medicine; I hear that people generally take (*e.g.*, in the streets) as a preventive of malaria. Many take it for blood-spitting ["inward injury" = "consumption"]. Not for rheumatism. Opium-smokers can bear a hotter temperature in a room than other people.

14. Yes, everyone when he finds that he has the craving.

15. Most people do not know where opium comes from; and I, knowing, also know that the proposed prohibition would have no effect.

16. On the East River foreign opium smoked most at Sheklung, where native can also be bought. In Waichanfu native opium and foreign opium are used about equally.

Wong Chuk Kwan, who answered these questions, is about 36 years old, and comes from Sheklung, in the Tung-kwun district. He is a non-smoker, and has a positive dislike to drinking. He formerly had a school, and has also been an accountant. For the last year and a half has been teaching me colloquial, but he has still an opinion of his own, which he is not afraid of expressing. He knows Shanghai, Hong Kong, Bangkok, and Singapore.

(Signed) C. J. SAUNDERS.

PEKING.

SIR,

Peking, February 6, 1894.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the papers referred to in your letter of December 6th reached me on the 28th January, and that I at once forwarded copies to Her Majesty's Consuls in China for circulation amongst persons whom they considered competent to give trustworthy evidence on the points referred to. The replies will be forwarded to you direct with the least possible delay from the various consulates, of which I append a list.

I have also circulated copies of the interrogatories in Peking, and enclose the answers received.

With regard to the desire of the Commission to obtain from me information as to the attitude of the Chinese Government and of provincial governors in regard to the importation of Indian opium and the production and consumption of opium in China, while I am unable to quote any recent direct expression of opinion by high Chinese officials, I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that the opium question is now regarded by them almost entirely from the financial point of view. I am fully convinced from my experience here that the Chinese Government would regret the stoppage of the importation of Indian opium with the consequent loss of revenue. When I was in charge of this Legation in 1885 and 1886, I had many conversations with the Chinese ministers, both about the new opium convention and about wrongful seizures of opium by *likin* officers, but not one of them ever made the slightest suggestion in condemnation of the

* 5 mace = 291 grains.

trade, their only concern being that China should secure from it as large a revenue as possible. This is, indeed, the view explicitly expressed to Sir Thomas Wade in 1881 by a former minister of the Tsungli Yamen, now a provincial viceroy. Sir Thomas asked the ministers what the policy of the central government on the opium question was, to which this minister, speaking for his colleagues, replied that the central government had not formulated any policy. But speaking from a general point of view 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, however, 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."

On Sir Thomas Wade's further asking whether a gradual diminution of the opium supply from India, ending in its total abolition, would meet the approval of the Chinese Government, the same minister 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. . . . Philanthropic efforts to check the evil in the manner suggested by Sir T. Wade would affect the revenue without in any way reaching the root of the mischief."

These views were, it is true, diametrically opposed to those held by some high Chinese officials, notably by the late Tso Tsung-t'ang, who did his best to suppress the cultivation of the poppy in the provinces under his rule, but they are those on which the Chinese authorities, both central and provincial, now act. In illustration of this, I enclose *precis* of a joint memorial to the throne from the Tsungli Yamen and the Board of Revenue in 1891 on the taxation of native opium. It will be noticed that no reference is made to any other than the financial side of the question, the object kept in view being the extraction from the trade of the largest revenue it can safely produce.

I should have been glad to be able to obtain for the Commission an expression of the views of Sir Robert Hart, to which his long official experience gives exceptional weight, but he considers both himself and the members of the Customs' service generally to be precluded by their position from giving any evidence on the question.

There being no British or foreign mercantile community in Peking the abstention of the Customs' service has obliged me to confine the circulation of the interrogatories here almost entirely to missionaries, whose views can, perhaps, hardly be accepted as fully representative.

As to my own personal views, I do not profess to have more than a very superficial acquaintance with the effects of opium consumption in China, but I am willing to admit that if the use of the drug in China depended on the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could or ought to be taken to discourage its importation.

But in my opinion this is not the issue. The quantity of opium grown in China is increasing enormously; even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout, I may say, the whole empire; and were the importation of Indian opium to be stopped, China would in a few years so increase her production as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export opium to foreign countries. The chief sufferers would be the well-to-do classes, in being obliged to substitute an inferior and more injurious extract for that of good quality they previously consumed.

I have, &c.

The Secretary, (Signed) N. R. O'CONNOR.
Royal Commission on Opium,
India.

LIST of CONSULATES, &c. to which COPIES of the QUESTIONS have been sent.

Newchwang.	Foochow.
Tientsin.	Amoy.
Chefoo.	Swatow.
Shanghai.	Tainan.
Ningpo.	Tamsui.
Chinkiang.	Canton.
Wuhu.	Pakhoi.
Kin Kiang.	Hoihow.
Hankow.	Pagoda Anchorage.
Ichang.	Macao.
Chungking.	Söul (Corea).
Wênchow.	Chemulpo "

Dr. JOHN DUDGEON, C.M.

1. Yes.
2. Thirty per cent., irrespective of race (Chinese and Manchu) of men; one or two per cent. of women; of children, none.

3. *Moral effects.*—Untruthfulness, blunting of the moral sense (thickness of skin as the Chinese term it), unshamefacedness; difficult to arouse the conscience (the smokers compared to wet fuel, the non-smokers to dry fuel); practising the arts of deception, is apt to fall into habits of stealing to secure the pipe when his necessities require it; has no hesitation in asking favours; general untrustworthiness. *Physical effects.*—Degeneration of the whole body, laziness, idleness, goes to sleep late and rises late, leanness; smokers with very few exceptions lose weight; colour changes to grey or dirty yellow, inveterate constipation (two or three evacuations in the month), loss of appetite (craving for cold things, fruit, &c.), reproductive organs materially impaired after confirmation of habit. *Social* (the social element in China not strongly developed).—Cessation of all socialities, inability to support his family in the great bulk of the poor smokers, loses the respect of people, loses his old friends who are afraid of associating with an opium smoker, neglecting the business of others, opium smoking merchants damage and finally lose by neglecting their business, he is avoided in matters of business, he fails to come up to time in his engagements. There is no distinction in this matter of opium between the two races here, Chinese and Manchu. In respect of the above three points, no difference between Indian and Chinese grown opium, the injury is the same; the only difference, speaking generally, being in price. The Chinese is milder and more easily abandoned. The Indian is now more easily given up than it was formerly as it is now no longer of the old quality. The Chinese often compare the native to a wood fire a blaze and finished and the Indian to a coal fire.

4. Among the better classes only smoking. The lowest classes eat the prepared extract, or opium ashes; some also drink a decoction of the opium in spirit containing also some medicinal drugs, also pills containing opium; also morphia, now very largely, of which some 17,000 ounces were imported into Shanghai last year. The effects of these different articles cannot be distinguished.

5.—(i.) None. (ii.) 20 per cent. (iii.) 80 per cent.

6. It is difficult to speak of moderation where the habit must be gratified at regular times every day. Among the smokers with the habit or craving 1 per cent. or 2 per cent. smoke in moderation, there may be 2 per cent. or 3 per cent. who smoke intermittently and do not acquire the habit. If persisted in for a month regularly, the craving is established. Of the scores of thousands of opium-smokers that I have seen or have passed through my hands during 30 years at Peking, among all classes of the people, not more than four or five were to all appearance unaffected by it. One was a Buddhist priest over 60 years of age, who smoked three mace for some 20 years; another was his Excellency Chény Lin, a minister of the Tsungli-yamen, under 60 years; he died suddenly of hæmorrhage; a third, Jen Shan, over 50 years old, who smoked three or four mace for less than 10 years, and who has now abandoned it. Of the 80 per cent. who sustain great injury from their addiction to the habit, at least 20 per cent. have ceased to resemble human beings. Of the great injury committed I have, alas, seen innumerable cases, the complete ruin of the

APP. XXVI.

individual and family. The evil is so patent that to give examples would be superfluous. As the chief minister of the Tsungli-yamen remarked the other day, "the injury is ours, the benefit is England's," or as a colleague of his remarked at the same time, "there are undoubtedly many cases of smokers that seem to smoke with impunity, but the great majority suffer irreparable injury."

7. About 20 per cent. of merchants, about 10 per cent. of artisans, of labourers 50 per cent. (the evil is particularly felt here). The general effect is loss of time and neglect of their business. Before and without the satisfaction of the habit, they are utterly useless and incapacitated for any work; after the satisfaction of the habit they are able for any work and do it well. It is the very best of the above three classes that smoke. Because they are competent they must have recourse to the pipe to make themselves equal to the demand upon them.

8. The opium-smokers suffer incomparably more than the alcohol drinkers. In Questions 9 and 11 it is taken for granted that the Chinese do not consume alcohol. The conjunctive "would" in these two questions should be exchanged for "do." The Chinese largely consume alcohol. The people partake of samshod or a native wine, fermented from rice, at nearly all meals. The middle and lower classes drink ardent spirits at each meal, and without this adjunct they would be unable to digest their food. Although thus largely given to drink, it is only at meals, and the fusel oil contained in the coarse spirit makes it so disagreeable for them that they are obliged to stop before the point of intoxication is reached. This is why so few drunkards are seen in China. A little less alcohol is now drunk than was the case before the advent of opium; at the same time a good deal of opium is taken by spirit drinkers to remove the unpleasantness of the spirits. No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that opium in China takes the place of spirits in the West. The one can substitute the other, and both exist to a large extent among the same people.

9. The opinion of the Chinese, without exception, is that the habit is degrading and injurious to an alarming extent. They regard the use of alcohol (there is hardly any abuse) favourably. In both business is neglected, but the one is intermittent, the other regular. The same effects follow the abuse of alcohol here as in the west, only drunkenness and immoderation are much less frequent. The evils of alcohol are largely absent from opium, and it is this that makes opium appear the better by comparison. The spirit drinker quarrels with his wife and children and is a nuisance to society in general; with the opium smoker the case is reversed, the wife, children, and society quarrel with the smoker.

10. Yes, but with great difficulty, it is certainly not easy; there are a great many difficult matters about it, and they readily fall before temptation again. Of 10 who give it up, not more than three adhere to their resolution.

11. At present it would be without any effect, the smokers would smoke more of the native, but it was not always so. The time has not yet come for forming a decision in regard to what action the Chinese Government or high officials would take in the event of the Indian supply being cut off. We know what it would have been previous to the cultivation of the native, and before the habit became so extensively prevalent. Judging from the general corruption and the analogy of other matters, it is to be feared that no action will be taken. There is no saying, however, what a strong Emperor, and a strong Inner Council, or the individual action of some powerful Viceroy might not do in the shape of stopping the native growth. The high officials are as a rule themselves free of the habit but not so some members of their families. It is possible in the future, as at the beginning, that opium and tobacco may be smoked together to satisfy the opium craving without the ordinary loss of time, or morphia may become the rage by hypodermic injection, or by the mouth for a similar reason.

12. No, I do not know why Europeans have not contracted the habit. They probably lack the time, and they would consider the habit too degrading. The Asiatics take to it from a variety of causes, such as leisure, idleness, laziness, lymphatic temperament, misrule, desire for comfort, and the banishment, temporarily at least, of miseries, a good way of passing the time.

13. Opium-smokers are led to the use of the drug from a variety of reasons, chief among which are the cure, or at the least, the alleviation of the pain of disease, licentiousness, leisure, as an antidote, or in some cases a substitute for spirits, or rather, I should say, spirits are taken as a substitute for the opium. As to opium as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, I have no experience. North China is not malarious, and yet opium-smoking is very prevalent, especially in the opium-producing province of Shansi. Opium has undoubtedly certain advantages with regard to allaying the pain and discomfort of rheumatism (muscular, in acute form, does not exist in China). It may be prophylactic to some small extent against fever but will not cure it. During fever the smoker abandons the pipe, as tobacco is by our own people during a serious illness. Its prophylactic virtue against rheumatism is less than with either fever or malaria. The condition of the body, hot inside and cold outside, rather induces to rheumatism from the ease which the "deflected" air gains admission. Opium certainly relieves rheumatism. As regards malaria, opium seems to be to some extent prophylactic, and if contracted will relieve it. A large number of diseases being benefited, up to the time the habit gets confirmed, the people, in the absence of skilled physicians, take to opium. The people generally know its virtues in relieving pain; few, if any, know anything of its prophylactic virtues.

14. All, without exception, desire to be freed from the habit, but many are afraid to undertake the cure.

15. All recognise that the injury came from abroad, without distinguishing the nationality. If there is any wish that foreigners should give up the trade it is merely, in the north at least, from a desire that the silver should not flow out of the country; and the fact that the silver would no longer flow out of the country might even lead to a larger consumption of opium.

16. Indian opium is now consumed almost exclusively by the rich, and is confined chiefly to the seaboard provinces, and particularly the S.E. seaboard provinces. The Indian drug is now much adulterated with the native. Inland, the native is smoked by the rich as well as the poor. In diarrhoea and dysentery the smokers have recourse to the Indian, in very severe cases of these two maladies, everything is ineffectual. The native is always able to compete with the Indian on account of its cheapness. The smoker smokes little comparatively of the Indian and more of the native. If a smoker smokes of the Indian two mace, he will require of the native three mace; so far therefore as the price is concerned the consumption is the same.

17 and 19.—(a.) No result except to increase his consumption of the native.

(b.) Increased production of the native growth and most probably the increase of price of the native.

(c.) The Chinese Government will lose all revenue. At present they receive Tls. 110 on each chest coming from abroad, amounting to six or seven millions of taels or a little over one million sterling. The Government receives no revenue from the native, or at least very little. After the Tséng-Salisbury Treaty was entered into a few years ago, a duty was proposed to be levied on the native, but up to the present no regular fixed rate has been adopted. Any duty levied is small and unimportant and barely sufficient to pay the likin duties. There is a duty levied upon it on entering Peking, but it is also small, and from the ease with which it can be secreted it is largely evaded.

18. No statistics exist by which to furnish an answer to this query. It is now grown pretty largely in all the provinces and in three or four to a very alarming extent. This enlarged growth dates back only for a very few years. Twenty years ago the poppy was not cultivated in half the provinces of the empire; 50 years ago it was confined to three out of the 18 provinces, viz.: Shansi, Szchuen, and Yunnan, and then not to any large extent, and 70 years ago it was not grown in any part of China, all assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. The Chinese from the earliest times have known and cultivated the corn poppy for its seeds, flowers, and capsules but for nothing else. The capsules have been known for several centuries in medicine. Their poets have sung of the beautiful flowers and the grael made from the seeds, but that is all. Opium-smoking was unknown in China before 1720, and was then confined to the island of Formosa, and two spots on the main land for many decades of years after that. It was imported in small quantities up till nearly the

end of last century as a medicine for the cure of dysentery, &c., and was known to possess and was used aphrodisiacally. It began to assume widespread dimensions during this century only. The native growth that sprang up to a small extent about 1830 in two provinces was speedily put down about the time of our first war and did not again appear till the troublous times in the reign of Hien Feny 1851-61.

Brief concluding Remarks.—The British Government should cease the monopoly in India and put an excise duty on the export at Calcutta as at Bombay. She should at the same time officially inform the Chinese Government through the Chinese Minister in London, and the British Minister in Peking, that China is free to tax and control the import of opium from India, as she (the Chinese Government) may think proper. I do hold that China is not free to act, notwithstanding the statement of Sir James Fergusson in the House of Commons. If China gives 12 months' notice to terminate the treaty, both parties fall back upon the treaty of Tientsin by which a duty of Tls. 30 was levied on every chest of opium. The Tsungli yamen for nine years fought with Sir Thomas Wade over the question of an increase on this import duty in order to save their people; the great General Tso, the conqueror of the north-west, and Mas chang Hsi, a minister of the Tsungli yamen, demanded permission to raise the tax to Tls. 150 per chest. This was persistently refused. Our Foreign Office through Lord Granville refused to advance beyond Tls. 60, making in all Tls. 90, with the import duty. This amount was to free all likin, &c. duties, and permit under transit passes Indian opium to pass over the empire. The Viceroy Lé demanded a total sum, first of Tls. 120, and finally Tls. 110, i.e., Tls. 80+30. To this Lord Granville gave also a *non possumus*. Sir Thomas Wade was recalled in consequence of the failure to negotiate and the rising agitation at home. The Salisbury Government finally granted the Tls. 80 where it now stands. In view of the circumstances of the case, he would be a bold man indeed who asserted that China was free. Even Sir T. Wade in his evidence admits that the extinction of the trade or rather the abrogation of the treaty would require negotiations with the Chinese Government. The late Marquis Tséng remarked once to me that "China was not free to take the first step." If the Indian Government resolves to double the Indian output of opium and reduce its price by one half the duties here remaining unchanged, she is able to strangle the native growth in China, hold the field, and maintain her revenue. If China largely extends her growth, the Indian being prohibited, she may one day become a great opium exporting country, provided the quality is improved. With the opening of her coal mines, the working of them by foreign machinery, and the advent of railways, she may be able to export enormous quantities of alcohol to Europe. If the native growth in China and that in India are to be stopped and the common people of both empires saved from misery and final extinction, the two Governments must come to an agreement for mutual prohibition. Heathen China never has said and never will say what India says, "I cannot do without the revenue." The prohibition would require perhaps to be somewhat gradual in its operation, extending over, say, 10 years, so as not to dislocate trade, &c. A few years ago the question was brought up in the Cabinet, and it was represented that a certain sum annually was certain from foreign opium, and in case of war they could rely upon it, and as India was unable or unwilling to give up the revenue from opium exported to China, the further consideration of the prohibition of opium in China was shelved. The late Marquis Tséng told me that his Government did not care anything about the revenue derived from opium, but what they did desire supremely was the safety of the common people, and the proposed taxing of the native was with this object in view and not for the purposes of revenue. The smokers argue now that if the Emperor receives a revenue from opium, they should not be prohibited from smoking. The Emperor or any high official who chose to root out the evil would carry with him the conscience and patriotism of the country. The Emperor has the power as the "Father of his people" and the "vicegerent of God upon earth," to carry out such an edict of prohibition, and if circumstances were favourable the will would not lag behind the power. It is to me foolish to read of the blessings conferred by opium. After the imperious craving has been established, then the smoker smokes not for positive enjoyment but to relieve the pains and aches which the non-satisfaction of the

craving sets up. It is equally foolish to read of the stalwart races who are addicted to opium. It is quite fallacious to reason thus, the Chinese are given to opium, but the Chinese are industrious, therefore opium is beneficial. The poor lazy good-for-nothing people in China are the opium smokers. No doubt, immediately after the craving has been satisfied there is unwonted brilliancy and activity, both physical and mental, and this requires constantly to be renewed, but what miserable wretches they do appear before the habit has been satisfied. I of course speak here of the vast multitude of the lower class smokers upon whom the evil tells grievously. If a rich man eats well, lives well, does not smoke inordinately, and confines himself to a certain quantity, not too large, at regular times he may go on for 10, 20, 30, or more years without much apparent harm. But even here he who runs may read, he looks sallow, meagre, and aged, certainly 10 or even 20 years older than he really is, and is carried off suddenly by some ailment. There is no question that it would be an unmixed blessing to the Chinese if they could be delivered from this vice. There does not seem much hope for the rejuvenescence of China so long as this terrible evil remains in their midst. The vice is entralling, the craving is imperious, and the abandonment of the habit extremely difficult. Since the introduction of opium, suicides in China have become alarmingly frequent. This is owing to the ease and cheapness with which opium can everywhere be obtained, and the quiet and speedy and peaceful end thus obtained. Chinese druggists do not sell poisons to the people at all.

(Signed) JOHN DUDGEON, M.D., C.M.

Peking,

February 6th, 1894.

Dr. B. C. ATTERBURY.

1. Yes.
2. Statistics are misleading especially in China. Cities and country districts, occupations, social positions, all make a difference. What is true of one place may not be true of another not so far away. Hence come conflict of opinions on this vexed question. In Peking proportion of users of drug:—

Manchu and Chinese about (men) 1 in 5.

(women) 1 in 80.(?)

If both "parents" smoke "children" frequently.

3. *Effects.*—Social: If not used in excess, but slight. Moral: Bad. An invariable loss of self-respect and consequent deterioration. Physical: Where there is a termination to smoke only a daily quantity and money to buy nourishing food to repair damage to system. Physical effects for years may be but slight. When this limitation is passed, and when poverty prevents buying of food in liberal quantities and of nourishing character, the physical defects are deploring. Opium is also much adulterated with pigs' blood in places which lessens its effects.

4. *Methods of use.*—Usually smoking the drug. If occupation does not allow time for smoking, it is taken as a fluid or solid extract. Ashes from pipes also used by those demanding the cheapest and strongest effects. Effects worse when eaten than smoked.

5. Partially answered in above. Cannot answer impartially as my dispensary patients are nearly all from poorer classes, who with but few exceptions are injured financially, physically, and morally by the use.

6. There certainly is moderation in the use of the drug among especially merchants and clerks in foreign houses, duties, desire to advance, and other reasons assisting the determination to limit the use of the drug. Cases of the long use of the drug are known to me, but these are very few in comparison to the many who have been in our opium refuge and who have lost health, positions in their callings, &c., by its use.

7. In the country the proportion among our patients using opium is smaller than it is among those living in the city. See Section 2. Among those who can command their own time, such as heads of business houses, sons of rich men, higher class of officials, the moderate

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use of opium may not interfere with their occupation, among others whose time should be wholly their employers it in most cases leads in time to dismissal.

8. The habit of drink is not so common here in the north of China as elsewhere. As a rule, however, the use of opium affects quicker the user himself, while its effect is perhaps less severe on his family, he does not beat his wife and children as does the drunkard.

9. All the Chinese in theory condemn the use of opium, and call it "a bad thing." The practice is, however, so common as to excite but little remark.

10. Sometimes, not often. The Chinese, as a rule, are singularly deficient in will-power, and need help and encouragement from outside sources.

11. The Indian supply is the strongest. Its stoppage would lead to increased use of the native article to make up for loss in quality and quantity. As to alcohol, a few years ago when opium was far less used than it is now, alcohol never took its place, nor will it in the future should opium be stopped. Alcohol does not suit the Chinese constitution and nature as does opium. It is too stimulating.

12. Less strength of character, fewer social amusements, perhaps a difference in food, they eating less nitrogenous food, hence demanding a less fiery stimulant than alcohol, and above all section 13, and reasons why Asiatics contract the habit more than Europeans.

13. Opium is not considered a prophylactic against any disease by the natives. It does, however, ease their pains, soothe their coughs, and takes the place of the skilled medical treatment in civilised countries. For these purposes, however, the drug has to be used in ever increasing quantities, so that its ultimate usefulness is very doubtful.

14. Personally I have never met with any one, official or ordinary man, who, on finding out my profession and hearing of my interest in helping many to give up the drug, did not express a wish to be free from the habit.

15. The common name for opium here is "foreign dirt," and there being but little distinction in the minds of most between the different countries, wonder is constantly expressed that foreigners should have anything to do with such a drug. The opinion is general in China that foreigners are in some way responsible for the introduction of opium into general use, and it is very difficult to explain to a thoughtful Chinaman how both Christianity and a poisonous drug come from the same country.

16. Indian opium being stronger and better prepared is everywhere preferred by those who can afford to pay the increased price.

17. Opium has come to China to stay. The revenue its use creates for a Government which cares but little for the moral condition of its people seemingly precludes all possibility of its being prohibited. The responsibility for its use and cultivation should, however, rest with the Chinese Government, and no Christian Government by special trade regulations should even seemingly seek to increase its use and demoralising effects.

Mr. YOUNG.

1. Yes, commonly. In Manchuria, North China, I have travelled in the three provinces and been resident for a period exceeding three months during the past five years, viz., in Liao Yang, Monkden Kirin, Quancheng-tsu, and Ahshih Ho.

2. In Monkden province say 4 per cent.
 " Kirin " " 12 " "
 " Amongst Manchus " 20 " "
 " Chinese " 3 or 4 per cent.

Women do smoke where they have opportunity.

3. *Moral.*—I do not believe it possible to act directly upon the moral sense, but certainly it does indirectly through the physical effects; I would trust an opium-smoker less than a non-smoking Chinaman. *Physical.*—Deterioration; inability to resist and want of recuperative power from disease, especially when affecting the respiratory or alimentary systems. *Social.*—To disentangle the internal complicated network which leads to the present deplorable condition of Chinese society and morals, and analytically determine the relative disintegrating effects of opium beats me; it would have its place. Racial effect impossible to distinguish;

the bad effects are quickly seen in sedentary life. Indian opium is very little used.

4. Largely smoke; many take to eating or drinking decoctions to save time or in the attempt to break the habit.

5. Without injury - - - 2 per cent.
 With slight injury - - - 75 " "
 With serious injury - - - 15 " "
 With great injury (opium sopts) 8 " "

6. No, as far as my experience goes (and have cured many and met hundreds of smokers) it would be incorrect; many men smoke for quite a lifetime. Case.—Chang ehé shêng, age 57, has smoked opium for upwards of 30 years of the native product in the 24 hours; he exhibits no ill effects, he affirms that he is in better condition now than if he had lived his exciting life as a gambler, without opium; he is a strong active man, I know him well, as he is my landlord.

Kao, mandarin, Monkden, has taken opium eight or ten years, a heavy smoker, but hale, hearty, and digestive man, &c., but opium acts incomprehensibly contradictorily according to the individual idiosyncrasy, and, alas, I must state that a much larger proportion go on to disintegration and premature death.

7. The per-centage would stand much higher amongst teachers, doctors, officials, and Manchus soldiers, they are inefficient anyway, it is hard to believe that opium can have the effect of making them more inefficient. Merchants often prohibit it in their "hongs"—"Kwang shu'en hao"—and Mr. Kiu, the largest owner of businesses in Kirin Province, makes it a *sine qua non* amongst his employés.

8. In Kirin Province, where grain is so cheap and the cost of transport great, the custom is to change the grain into whisky and pigs, and thus gaining quality at the expense of quantity, they are enabled to transport at a profit, whisky being cheap is taken very largely by the inhabitants. It is perhaps a coincidence that opium-smoking and the abuse of alcohol go hand in glove in this district. The drink is very bad, having a very large per cent. of fousel oil; I would rather have a smoker as a patient than a drinker, but I have more patients who abuse alcohol than opium. The effects of alcohol are quite as certain and lasting, both are bad, and two blacks cannot equal one white.

9. Generally speaking, yes.

10. Frequently.

11. Nil. They grow it in such large quantities already, and as there is only one short summer a year, they are limited by nature. They would grow it twice if they could, I question if it would make any difference to Manchuria. I make no question that they would certainly not abstain altogether.

12. No, probably because there are none.

13.—(a.) Cure of pains. (b.) Custom of the country, urged by their friends much as tobacco-smoking is contracted at home. (c.) To "kill time." Certainly not within my knowledge. I have had fever, rheumatic, malarial patients opium-smokers frequently. I do not think it is regarded as such by the general opinion. It certainly is a prophylactic against an awakened conscience.

14. A very few from an honest desire to break the habit, many because they cannot afford it or are unable to get situations.

15. None either for or against, while unblushingly sordid they are indifferent to anything which does not affect themselves directly.

15. Indian opium is only used in the houses of the very rich.

17.—(a.) None. (b.) Increase in the cultivation of the poppy.

20. I consider "opium" an unquestionable evil to the Chinese.

J. M. YOUNG, M.B., C.M.,

5th February 1894,
 Peking.

Edinburgh University.

Mr. H. COCKBURN.

1. The parts of China with which I have become acquainted in the course of nearly 14 years' service are Peking, Amoy, Canton, and Chungking, (in West China). In all these opium is commonly consumed, especially in the West.

2. I can make no estimate of any value of the proportion of adult male consumers of opium, except for Chungking, where I think it is about 40 per cent. Smoking is common among women there, but I cannot estimate the proportion. Children rarely smoke, so far as I am aware.

3. I have not observed any particular moral effects produced by opium when not habitually taken to excess. When so taken, the moral effects seem the same as those of similar addiction to other narcotics or stimulants, that is, there is complete moral degradation. Of the physical effects I need not speak, as they will no doubt be described by medical witnesses. I may remark, however, that it is not possible (at least for the non-professional observer) to detect a moderate opium-smoker by his outward appearance. This fact explains, I think, to some extent the wide differences in estimates of the proportion of consumers. The "opium sot," the man who habitually smokes to excess, is easily recognisable. As to the social effects, so large an unproductive expenditure as that on opium in China affects both individuals and society in numberless ways, not possible to trace. I know of no marked difference between the effects of Indian opium and of the best quality of native opium, but the effect of the inferior kinds is, I believe, more deleterious.

4. Consumers in China almost invariably smoke, but I have heard of opium being eaten occasionally, for instance, by couriers with no time to smoke.

5. If for "without injury" be substituted "without apparent injury," I should say that the great majority of those who smoke opium do so without apparent injury. Where without excessive indulgence in the habit injury to the constitution is nevertheless apparent, it is, I think, commonly due to inability to afford both opium and sufficient nourishing food, just as an Englishman out of work and hard up will commonly spend on tobacco and alcohol an undue proportion of what money he has. My impression is that the proportion to the whole body of opium-smokers of those who habitually smoke to great excess is smaller than the proportion of habitual drunkards to moderate drinkers in Great Britain. But I also believe that the number of those who smoke much more opium than is good for them is much larger in proportion than that of the corresponding class amongst consumers of alcohol at home.

6. It is certainly not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have met several men who have told me they had smoked for from 10 to 15 years, and who certainly had not taken to smoking in excess. But I cannot say that they had smoked "without harm to themselves," though neither can I assert the contrary. It is as difficult for the ordinary unprofessional observer to ascertain the effects of opium-smoking (in moderation) as it is for the same observer to ascertain the effects of moderate indulgence in alcohol on Europeans. One cannot cross-examine casual acquaintances on the state of their insides. But though I am convinced that there is such a thing as moderation in the use of opium, I think there is a strong tendency to its use in more than moderation, to which many consumers yield. They do not become "opium sots" but they smoke much more than can possibly be good for them.

7. I think that probably a majority of the merchants in the West of China smoke opium, but not a majority of the other classes mentioned. Where opium is habitually smoked to excess the effect on a man's efficiency is very marked. He becomes incapable of long-continued labour without intervals for opium, and there is no energy in what work he does do. But as far as my observation goes, where opium is only smoked in moderation (that is, in the great majority of cases), the habit is without perceptible effect on the workman's efficiency. I was formerly acquainted with a French missionary (now dead) who was at the time I knew him engaged in re-building the Roman Catholic premises destroyed at Chungking in 1886. He employed no contractor and closely superintended the whole work himself. He had from two to three hundred men at work at a time, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, &c., and one of his conditions of engagement was that a man should not be an opium-smoker. He told me he had found only five or six of those he employed to be opium-smokers and these he dismissed. It was quite certain, and he fully recognised the fact, that there must have been many times this number of opium-smokers amongst his men (looking at the great prevalence of the habit in

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Chungking), but the effect of his rule was that he could at once get rid of those who betrayed themselves to be opium-smokers by inefficiency as workmen. It follows that in the great majority of cases no such inefficiency was noticeable.

8. I have come across very few specimens of habitual drunkards amongst Chinese though I have met many hard drinkers. The effects of alcohol seem to be the same amongst the Chinese as amongst Europeans but it is used on the whole with much greater moderation. Of the effects of opium I have already spoken.

9. In general Chinese opinion, so far as I am acquainted with it, opium-smoking is condemned as often injurious and always expensive, but I do not think it is condemned as "degrading" except in formal and conventional utterances. There is a strong traditional feeling against opium amongst the Chinese, closely akin to that formerly existing in England (witness several of Thackeray's stories) against tobacco, the use of which was thought *prima facie* evidence of unsteadiness of character. But I see many signs that the Chinese attitude towards opium is changing; it is becoming more tolerant. As to the Chinese view of the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit, I think they regard habitual excess in either opium or alcohol in the same way, that is, they put habitual drunkards and "opium sots" on the same footing. But they have (speaking generally) no disapproval for the use of alcohol in moderation, whereas very many of them do disapprove the habit of opium-smoking, even in moderation.

10. I have known of some cases of moderate opium-smokers leaving off the habit, but I do not recollect how long they had smoked. I believe the habit to be very difficult to break off even where a man does not smoke to excess. Where he does so smoke I believe he very rarely shakes himself free from it, and probably he never does so without placing himself under control.

11. The cutting off of the Indian supply could have no permanent effect in diminishing the quantity of opium smoked in China. If the stoppage were sudden it would probably cause a great deal of misery, for the rise in the price of native opium which would follow a sudden diminution of the stock on the market would mean greater expenditure by individuals on opium and less on better things. But this would be only temporary, for production in China would soon overtake the demand. The native production increases yearly as it is, and the quality is continually improving. A Chinese who has accustomed himself to Indian opium, is as unwilling to take to the native drug as a man used to one class of tobacco is to change it for another and coarser kind. But just as the latter will rather make the change than give up smoking, so the Chinese opium-smoker who prefers Indian opium would rather smoke native opium than none. In Ssu-ch'uan, Indian opium is practically unknown, and there, where opium-smoking is probably more common than in any other part of the country, the effects of the stoppage of Indian opium would be very slight and only visible probably in some slight increase of the local price, due to increased demand from other provinces. It will be gathered from the above that I see absolutely no reason to suppose that Chinese opium-smokers would, if the Indian supply were cut off, take to alcohol or to any other narcotic.

12. People of European race in China do not contract the habit in any numbers, though there are instances of their doing so. I do not know of any satisfactory explanation of the fact of the Chinese taking to opium more readily than Europeans, but some reasons may be suggested, though they are not, in my opinion, quite adequate. In the first place, the life of the better class Chinese is a comparative dull one—he has fewer interests and far fewer recreations and distractions than the European of the same class. This is especially true of the evening, which he mostly spends sitting on an uncomfortable chair in a badly lighted room. The opium pipe is then a welcome distraction or aid to conversation. In the second place, it seems probable that some Chinese and Europeans are constitutionally more inclined to narcotics than others. Such persons, whether Chinese or European, usually smoke tobacco, but the European smokes a very much stronger tobacco than the Chinese, and not impossibly his strong tobacco satisfies his craving for a narcotic, while the Chinese has to seek elsewhere the satisfaction his weaker tobacco fails to give. A third reason for the general European abstinence from opium one may perhaps find in the fact

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that the proper enjoyment of an opium pipe demands a recumbent attitude and the devotion to it of a good deal of time and trouble. These requirements are a small obstacle to the average Chinese, but a serious impediment to the more active European. This does not account for the Europeans not taking opium in other forms, but it helps to account for it, when one remembers the preference so many people have for a narcotic that can be smoked. Not many tobacco smokers would be content to swallow some liquid solution instead of smoking, however apparently similar the physical effects. I do not put forward the above as anything but suggestions towards the solution of an interesting but obscure problem.

13. I do not know whether opium is a prophylactic against fever or malaria, but I know that it is so regarded by many Chinese. I have never heard of its being considered a prophylactic against rheumatism. A partial answer to the question, how opium consumers are led to use the drug, has already been suggested (No. 12) in the dulness of Chinese life. To this may be added that opium-smoking is in China a social institution. Not to offer a pipe of tobacco is (in many places) a failure in hospitality. Opium is further often taken to soothe pain, and I have been told by Chinese that the habit is sometimes formed in this way. Among the lower classes the fact of its producing a general feeling of *bien être* must be a great attraction. But, when all is said, the spread of the opium habit in China remains as inexplicable as the spread of tobacco in Europe, which did very well without it for many hundred years, though a tobaccoless Europe is now difficult to picture. The wind of such habits blows as it lists, and no man seems able to tell us whence it comes or whither it goes.

14. Yes, I think they do, but their desire is not keen enough to spur them to any very decided effort to shake the habit off. Most opium-smokers would probably be glad to get some medicine which would free them from their craving for the drug without any discomfort to themselves. They would then, they probably think, be able to take just as much or as little as they felt inclined. Sometimes, too, a man knows he cannot afford to smoke and would be glad to be free of the habit.

15. I have never heard any such wish expressed, but I think it probable that many dealers in native opium would like to see the Indian import stopped. There must also be amongst the Chinese who disapprove of opium altogether some who still indulge the hope that if Indian opium were excluded their own Government would take steps to stop the cultivation of the poppy in China. Such persons would probably be found chiefly in the few provinces where no native opium is produced.

16. There are proportionally more opium consumers of Indian opium amongst the well-to-do than amongst other classes. I can make no statement as to the districts in which Indian opium is consumed, not possessing the necessary information, but, speaking roughly, it may be said not to reach the West at all, and the North very little. But there is in many parts where native opium is commonly consumed a small importation of Indian opium to supply the wants of officials and merchants whose taste has been formed elsewhere. As to the competition of Chinese with Indian opium, the present tendency is for the former to supplant the latter by reason of its greater cheapness. In some parts this process is going on with great rapidity. However, one of the best judges in China, Mr. Bredon, of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, has placed on record his dissent from those who anticipate an early extinction of the Indian opium trade owing to the competition of the native drug. (See his report on Shanghai; Decennial Customs Reports, 1891-92, page 326.) It is true that this opinion was expressed before India adopted a gold standard, a step which heavily penalises Indian opium in the China market, and cannot fail to seriously affect the trade.

17.—(a.) Of the probable consequences of the prohibition of Indian opium on the consumption of opium by the Chinese I have already spoken (No. 11). The restriction of Indian opium would probably have hardly any effect at all, though it might cause a slight temporary rise in the price of native opium, especially in the southern provinces. (b.) Such prohibition or restriction would lead to a more rapid increase in the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium in China than would otherwise take place. (c.) The Chinese Government might seek to make good the revenue lost to them

by the prohibition or restriction of the Indian trade by increased taxation of the native drug, but this would probably fail, because when the taxation on such an article as opium is raised beyond a certain point the higher levy leads to more frequent evasion of duty and greater speculation by the officials. Probably, therefore, the Government would trust to there being a sufficient increase in the native production to yield a larger revenue than is at present derived from it.

18. No. I have no data on which to form such an estimate. The production of opium in Ssü-ch'üan (the largest of the provinces and the chief opium producer) was estimated in 1881 by a very competent observer (the late Mr. Donald Spence) as twice the whole Indian import into China. The latter has largely decreased since then, while Ssü-ch'üan production has increased.

19. I cannot estimate the amount of revenue derived from native opium by the Chinese Government, but it is certainly very large. The taxation on it is lighter than that on Indian opium. For details I must refer to the Decennial Customs Reports, where much other valuable information about opium may also be found.

20. I had intended to add a few general remarks, but this paper has already reached such a length that I abstain.

HENRY COCKBURN,
Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary,
H.M. Legation, Peking.

BISHOP SCOTT.

Church of England Mission, Peking,
4th February 1894.

I ENCLOSE herewith two reports (in reply to the paper of questions issued by the Opium Commission), one by the Rev. F. L. Norris, one by Dr. Alice Marston; both have been in this country and in frequent contact with the people for more than four years. All the facts which they adduce are consistent with my own experience, and I see no reason to dissent from the opinions expressed. My own evidence was given to the best of my ability in 1880, before a Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury. Since that time I have been less in contact with the Chinese outside the Church, and could add nothing to the valuable contributions from the two missionaries of the Church of England named above.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) CHARLES P. SCOTT,
Bishop of the Church of England
in North China.

Rev. F. L. NORRIS, M.A., of the Church of England
Mission in North China.

1. Opium is, as far as my experience goes in the province of Chihli, "commonly consumed" by the official classes, in the yamens, and less commonly, but by no means rarely, by those shopkeepers who can afford it.

2. I can give no conjecture as to the proportions of adult males smoking opium; but at Yungch'ing, a district town 50 miles from Peking, there have been five magistrates in succession in the last four years, of whom four have been opium-smokers; of the men connected with yamen as writers, police sergeants, &c., with whom I have come in contact, more than two-thirds have been opium-smokers; of the scholars, i.e., literary class, and better-to-do residents, something like one-third have been smokers. Of the poorer classes, exclusive of yamen runners, and servants at inns (among whom it is very common), I know but few instances of men addicted to the habit. N.B.—These figures are not conjectures as to the general extent, but rough conclusions as to the proportion of smokers to non-smokers among the men I have come across, directly or indirectly. I have only known one woman who smoked, though doubtless there is a large proportion.

3. Effects of opium.—*Moral*: deterioration, corresponding very much to that caused by habitual drunkenness in England. *Physical*: until it has become a fixed habit, i.e., until what the natives call the yinz, or regular craving has set in, there is no apparent harm done to the system, any more than is done by occasional excessive use of alcohol in Europe. But, at the same time, Chinamen can recognise a

opium-smoker, even in the first stage, with almost unerring certainty, showing that there is a physical effect. Confirmed smokers are unfitted for transacting any business until after their smoke, when they seem, if anything, brighter than the same stamp of man who did not smoke would be. But the effect does not last for many hours. They are liable to certain forms of illness, e.g., dysentery is almost always fatal to an opium-smoker; though conversely, opium is sometimes recommended as a cure for dysentery to non-smokers. When the quantity smoked is large, inability to obtain it, or to get it at the right time, results in great misery to the smoker, who will resort to almost any expedient sooner than endure the pain caused by unsatisfied craving. *Social:* I know few Chinamen (not Christians) who make a really strong protest against the use of opium. Most acquiesce in it as a recognised evil, and treat the smoker as they would a non-smoker. This used not to be so formerly, when the consumption was tabooed, and the drug looked upon as an accursed thing by nearly all educated men. Indian and Chinese opium, so far as I am aware, are to each other much as Havannas and cheap cigars, i.e., the former, more expensive and of better quality, does really less harm than the latter, which is of a coarser quality.

4. In my experience, the Northern Chinese always smoke opium when they can get it in that form. Beggars drink concoctions to quench their cravings, and opium pills are resorted to by those who wish to break themselves of the habit of smoking.

5. In my experience the three divisions mentioned refer rather to the three stages of the use of the drug. I have repeatedly questioned opium-smokers and non-smokers, and they have led me to this conclusion as regards North China.

6. As regards North China (and so far as I can learn, it is quite unreliable to generalise on the subject, owing to the different effects of climate on constitution) instances of "moderation" are very rare, if by "moderation" is meant lifelong, harmless, or advantageous use of the drug. I know of none such cases myself. Of the smokers I have known I could quote many examples, such as the following:—(1.) A well-to-do middle-class farmer reduced to absolute beggary by opium; bad harvests doubtless assisted in his ruin, but his friends, and he himself, ascribed it mainly to opium. When I last saw him his mother of 85 was ill starving and miserably clad, and his family in great distress, while he himself was possessed by only one idea, viz., to get opium which he had been without for two days. (2.) A well-to-do better class sort of man, corresponding to the upper classes of some small country town at home, who has a very strong constitution. He smokes now an ounce a day of native Chinese opium. He is heavily burdened with debt, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon or so (before his first smoke, when just up) utterly despondent. At 10 p.m., when he has got through the best part of his ounce, he takes a bright view of the future and is full of plans, never destined to be fulfilled. I was assured by his cousin, an ex-smoker, that this is a common feature of opium-smoking, and further that this man, who now seems hale and hearty, will break down in less than two years (i.e., before he is 50), and become simply a slave to his pipe. (3.) Officials, district magistrates, &c., who smoke are regarded as bad men of business, at all events by their inferiors.

7. No. In the case of labourers and artisans very few smoke. Of merchants, the really active managers of the business seldom smoke; the sleeping partners often do. I have rather gathered that when the head of a business takes to hard smoking he looks out for a manager who does not smoke, and I know they are usually very strict with clerks, &c. In inns, the waiters, called upon to work very hard about twice a day, viz., 9 to 12 a.m. and 4 to 10 p.m., usually smoke; several have told me (truthfully or not) that they could not stand the work otherwise. But very seldom have they looked upon it as anything but an evil necessity.

8. The use of alcohol in North China is confined to drinking more or less neat spirits made from rice or millet. The drunkard is almost always quarrelsome, the opium-smoker not so. Carters (all travelling and conveyance of merchandise is by road throughout two-thirds of this province of Chihli) nearly all drink, to "keep themselves warm"; very few that I have met with smoke. The drunkard leaves off wine (spirits) much more readily than the smoker leaves off opium.

9. As far as my experience goes (and it lies more among the poorer classes of peasantry and country farmers) opium-smoking is looked upon as a great evil belonging to the rich and official classes. One of themselves giving way to it is regarded much as the notorious drunkard of an English village.

10. Before the yin or habit has set in, which depends on the amount taken, and usually occurs between five and ten years after the man begins to smoke, it is easily left off by a strong-minded man. Afterwards, instances are very rare. The Chinese medicine shops sell opium pills, which are supposed to help smokers to leave off the habit, but the confirmed opium-smoker seldom has sufficient moral fibre left to avail himself of any voluntary means for breaking it off. I was told this by a most interesting Chinaman of the better class, who began to smoke about 20. He was a hard smoker long before he was 30. He broke himself of it without any recourse to pills or other alleviation, after four days of intense suffering; and he took to it again before a year had elapsed. He was enabled to break himself of it again by the help of an English missionary and doctor some years later, and becoming a Christian he has not gone back to it. He told me that the second time he could not have broken himself of it; he felt his will was sensibly weaker than five years earlier. His wife was the only instance I have known of a woman who smoked, and she was only cured by the help of the English missionary.

11. The large majority of opium smoked in North China is native grown. It is very much cheaper than the Indian drug, which is smoked only by the richer classes, though every one who has tried it prefers it. The Chinaman referred to in the preceding paragraph told me he thought the Indian drug less injurious, and far preferable to the native drug.

12. Opium-consumers are led to smoke either by the desire for self-indulgence—quite the commonest reason as far as I have been able to ascertain—or in some few cases it has been prescribed by native doctors as a cure for dysentery and rheumatism. I have no medical knowledge to test the efficacy of such prescription, but the opinion amongst the Chinese poor, as far as I have learnt it, is that the probable good effect is not a sufficient gain to counteract the danger of meddling with the drug. Two other causes have been suggested by a missionary of great experience: (1) for alleviation of pain of all sorts; (2) for swagger.

13. I have hardly seen a single opium-smoker who has not expressed either a desire to be cured or a more or less real regret that cure seems impossible.

14. I cannot say there is any such general wish. I have sometimes but not often (perhaps from the politeness which, in my experience, is a very marked characteristic of the Chinese) been asked why England has allowed it, but the country people are generally ignorant on the subject beyond calling the drug "foreign tobacco."

15. The use of Indian and native opium is a matter of price, so far as I have learnt, in North China at least; the price of the latter is very much lower.

17. I cannot say.

18. I cannot say.

19. I cannot say.

20. In conclusion, I would remark that the essential difference between opium-smoking and the use of alcohol in the West seems to be that while the latter is more generally used in moderation than in excess, advantageously than injuriously, the former in North China at least is hardly ever used without injury to the consumer, and he can hardly ever break himself successfully (i.e., without returning to it even if he gives it up for a time). But it is worth while to remark further that in comparing the two much weight must be given to the difference in character between eastern and western nations; if the Chinaman had the self-control of the Englishman, it is quite possible that the evil effects of opium would not exceed those of alcohol in the west, though this does not imply that it is an advantageous habit for the inhabitants of this part of China, whatever it may be in South China or India. And one cannot but feel that the moral effect of the refusal of the English Government to allow the export of opium to China, if it can be justly carried out, must have some weight with the official classes of China in their treatment of the opium evil.

N.B.—It may be worth while to mention that the Chinaman referred to in paragraph 10 told me that his

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father was one of the first two men to smoke in Yung Ching, led to do so by a military official who had returned from the South of China some 40 years ago. But the use of opium in and around Yung Ching was very rare till after the war of 1871, since when it has increased with rapid strides.

(14.) N.B.—A missionary of long experience tells me that the motive assigned by opium-smokers for wishing to give it up has, in his experience, been almost invariably a pecuniary one, the expenditure on the drug, or the loss ensuing from slavery to the habit.

MISS MARSTON.

Church of England Mission,
Peking, North China.

1. Opium is commonly consumed in this part of China.

2. The proportion of consumers, I should conjecture, is about 10 per cent. of adult males. Women are also consumers, but not so frequently as men. Children are sometimes given it by their mothers to quiet them, but do not take it voluntarily.

3. The effects of opium are to weaken the nervous system, and produce mental and moral turpitude, also, by interfering with digestion, to cause general debility and emaciation. The confirmed opium-smoker is generally sluggish, self-absorbed, and indifferent to the claims of his family and friends. I believe the effects are the same on the consumers of each race. I have not distinguished between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. In China consumers almost invariably smoke opium. The crude opium is taken in the form of decoction only with suicidal intent, and in that case the effects are those of acute narcotic poisoning.

6. I cannot imagine "moderation in the use of opium," because as toleration is established larger and larger doses must be taken to produce the same effect. I have not met with any cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves, but I believe that exceptionally there are people who take it without apparent injury; it certainly has a less pernicious effect on some persons than on others. As an example of a case of great injury, a young woman was brought to my dispensary by her husband, apparently at the point of death. She was cold, collapsed, and almost pulseless, with contracted pupils. She was half unconscious, moaning feebly, but unable to answer when spoken to. There had been constipation and complete arrest of secretions for some days. I was at first at a loss to determine the nature of her complaint until the husband informed me that they had both been opium-smokers for 10 years, and that once before she had had an attack of this kind, from which she had been recovered with difficulty. I administered the usual remedies, and after an hour or two she revived sufficiently to walk to the cart. I spoke to her and her husband strongly on the danger to her life if she continued to use opium at her present rate, and urged them both to break off the habit. They promised they would if I would give them medicine to help them. The next day I went to see them, and found the woman lying on her k'ang in a half somnolent condition, and with her opium pipe and its appurtenances beside her. I begged the husband to take them away, which he did, again assuring me that they would make an effort to give it up. I left them medicine, and promised to come again if they sent for me, but they never did, and I was told soon afterwards that they were both smoking as hard as ever. I realised then how entirely confirmed opium-smokers are slaves to the habit.

8. The Chinese sometimes use opium as a remedy for their complaints, in which case it ranks as a medicine, only that it is taken at their own discretion, and therefore may lead to abuse. When not used as a medicine it can hardly be called anything but the abuse of the drug, and the effects have been already described. Most of the Chinese use alcoholic liquors in moderation, but there are few confirmed drunkards. They may get intoxicated at their feasts, but they rarely become slaves to alcohol.

9. The habit of consuming opium is condemned as degrading and injurious by the Chinese. Many of them regard it as a calamity from which they cannot escape, and all know that it is injurious to their health and prosperity. The habitual opium-smoker ranks in the

opinion of the Chinese as about on a par with the habitual drunkard.

10. Persons who have consumed opium for any length of time appear quite unable to break off the habit of themselves. The inability lies, no doubt, partly in the moral paralysis and irresolution induced by the drug. Many of them voluntarily become inmates of opium refuges and mission hospitals. To ensure their remaining under treatment they are required to deposit a sum of money on entrance, which is forfeited if they leave before the time appointed for their cure. Naturally, only those who are in earnest will accept these terms, and a certain proportion are cured, though some of them relapse after returning to their homes.

11. I gather from what the Chinese tell me that if the supply of Indian opium were cut off the custom would probably decrease. The present opium-smokers would resort, if possible, to Chinese-grown opium. Whether they would take to any substitute it is impossible to say. At present, I am told, the number of opium-smokers is on the increase, and the facility for obtaining the drug is alleged as the reason. Probably there would not be the same facility in obtaining a substitute.

12. There are comparatively few Europeans in this part of China. I have not heard of their contracting the opium habit. Moral and religious differences would no doubt have some weight in differentiating between Europeans and Asiatics in this respect. The Chinaman smokes opium because it is the custom, and because he finds it pleasant to do so, with little regard to consequences and conscience or to self-respect. When he finds it a hindrance to his worldly prosperity and injurious to his health, he wishes to give it up, but by that time he finds it impossible, or thinks he does.

13. Many opium-smokers take to it, in the way I have mentioned, because it is sociable and customary. Some commence the habit in order to relieve pain in illness, but few, if any, I believe, adopt it as a prophylactic. Opium is of use, as a medicine, in some cases of malarial fever, but I have not heard of the Chinese using it for this purpose. The majority of the women opium-smokers I have met with tell me that they acquired the habit during illness, and found it impossible to give it up afterwards. This, I believe, much more often the case with women than with men. When we know the inefficiency of Chinese doctors, it is not surprising that opium is resorted to for the relief of pain.

14. Opium-smokers frequently express a strong desire to get free from the opium habit, and apply for medicine to enable them to break it off, but it seems hopeless unless they can be shut up in some place, such as a hospital, where they cannot get at the drug. They find the craving, and the nervous depression accompanying it, impossible to resist. Among my patients I have a young woman in good circumstances who is a confirmed opium-smoker. She sent her first baby to me with the request that I would save him, as he was suffering from opium poisoning, due to her having nursed him. By my direction she engaged a wet nurse for him, and the child flourished. Her second child has been brought up in the same way. She is fond of her children, but when I remonstrate with her, and beg her to break off the habit for their sakes, she says, "I wish very much to do so, but it is impossible," and all her relations seem of the same opinion.

15. The opium-smokers are glad to get their opium easily and cheaply, and naturally do not wish the importation from India to cease. The non-smokers on the contrary, who see the ruin and misery caused by it in their families, would gladly hear that England had ceased to export it from India. It is realised, I believe to be a great national evil, and the best of the people would rejoice to have it lessened. They would also, I believe, respect the action of England in withdrawing the opium supplies at some loss to herself. (The remaining questions I do not feel competent to answer.)

ALICE K. MARSTON, L.K.Q.C.P.I.
Medical Mission to Women and Children.

REV. GEORGE OWEN.

1. Opium is very commonly smoked in Peking neighbourhood.

2. From 20 to 30 per cent. of the adult male population of Peking are opium-smokers, and in the cities and towns around about 20 per cent. In the village

the proportion is much smaller, being only one or two per cent. The proportion of women smokers is from 10 to 20 per cent. in Peking. The Manchus having Government allowance and an abundance of idle time, are opium-smokers in larger proportion than the Chinese.

3. *Physical Effects.*—Gradual loss of appetite, slowing of the digestive processes, weakening of the digestive powers, emaciation, loss of strength and energy, pallid, sickly appearance. These effects are usually much more marked and rapid in the poor than in the rich. *Social Effects.*—The lazy, indolent habit produced by opium-smoking leads to neglect of public duties, business, and family affairs. The confirmed opium-smoker neglects everything public and private which he can neglect, and never does to-day what he can put off till to-morrow. He exerts himself under compulsion only. The consequences to himself and family are necessarily disastrous, and also very detrimental to the commonweal. *Moral Effects.*—Opium-smoking in the earlier stages of the habit greatly stimulates the sexual passion leading to private excess and public immorality, to the smoker's own hurt and the injury of public morals. It should also be stated, however, that in course of time, partly from the direct effects of opium and partly from excessive indulgence of the sexual passion, the opium-smoker loses his virility more or less completely. (b.) The increased outlay and diminished income of the opium-smoker lead him to adopt all sorts of shifty, lying, and dishonest ways of getting money, to the great injury of his moral sense. Of course, opium can have no direct moral effect; but in the ways indicated it weakens his moral fibre, so that other things being equal, an opium-smoker is much more distrusted and suspected than a non-opium-smoker.

NOTE.—As already stated, the evil effects of opium-smoking are usually much more apparent in the poor than in the rich, especially at first. Given a fairly strong constitution, plenty of good food, an easy life, and moderation in the use of the drug, a man will stand a lot of opium-smoking without much apparent harm. But a poor man soon shows the effects of the vice. It is too expensive, and leaves him poorly fed and poorly clad. It also takes too much time as smoked by the Chinese, leading to loss of employment, and thus ruin, more or less complete, soon overtakes the poor man who indulges in opium.

I do not know that there is any difference between the effects of opium-smoking on Mongols, Manchus, and Chinese. Nor am I aware of any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. Consumers mostly smoke. They eat opium in the form of pills when there is no time or place to smoke. Most opium-smokers carry a small bottle of these pills about with them and take one when they feel the need. Old sots whom the pipe hardly satisfies drink a decoction of opium. Poor people also, who cannot afford the pipe, eat and drink opium, the drug being more powerful thus taken than when smoked.

5. From observation and inquiry I judge that not more than 2 per cent. take opium without injury; (ii.) not more than 3 per cent. take it with only slight injury; (iii.) half of those that consume opium do so with great injury to themselves and become more or less sottish.

6. No; but moderation is very rare, the tendency to increase the dose being very strong. I know no case of the continued use of opium for years without harm, though I do not deny that there are such cases, but they are certainly rare. From what I hear on every hand the number of those that ruin themselves through opium must be very great; but I do not come in close contact with them, and do not know the details of their lives. From Chinese sources it would be easy to fill volumes with stories of persons ruined through opium. I will mention two cases from my own experience. (i.) Li Ho-Chi'ao, a literary graduate, and member of a highly respectable family residing in T'ung-Chou, near Peking, took to opium-smoking and soon ran through his patrimony. He then became a teacher of Chinese to foreigners. He had been an opium-smoker for many years before I engaged him, and was very poor. I could never get him to come early in the morning, he had to sleep off his nightly debauch. At about half-past 9 he would generally arrive, bright and well up to his work, but towards 12 o'clock he would begin to flag

* A large number of smokers must be placed between the (ii.) and (iii.) classes.

and get stupid. He would then slip a pill or two into his mouth, and soon recover his energy. This went on for some years. Though receiving a fair wage he was always in great straits for money. The opium craving was growing upon him, and he sacrificed everything to its gratification. When he could not borrow money he would pawn his clothes and go about almost in rags, more like a beggar than a teacher. When about 55 years of age he began to fail rapidly; became very weak; could not eat nor digest the little he did eat; the digestive organs ceased to work. After lying in that state for some days he died, ruined in body and estate. (ii.) A cousin of the foregoing, also a literary graduate, was my writer for a short time. From his sallow, sickly appearance I suspected that he was an opium-smoker, and questioned him, but he stoutly denied it, declaring that his appearance was due to sickness. The statement was false. He was not only an opium-smoker, but an opium-eater, which is worse. When not under the influence of opium he was sleepy and dull. Just three years ago he borrowed a little money to go home for the new year's holidays; but instead of going home he went to his lodgings and indulged in an opium debauch. After two or three days I heard he was ill, and one of our hospital dispensers visited him. He was in a semi-conscious condition. The digestive organs had ceased to act, and he could not eat. In a day or two he was dead, killed by opium. He was only a little over 40 years of age, and a strongly-built man. Like his cousin, he sold everything he possessed to satisfy the opium craving, and died miserably poor.

7. The following is an approximate estimate of the proportion of opium-smokers among the various classes in Peking:—Officials, 70 per cent.; Manchu banner men, 40 to 50 per cent.; Chinese soldiers, 30 per cent.; merchants, 30 per cent.; literati, 20 to 30 per cent.; official underlings and police, 30 per cent.; servants in rich and official families, 20 to 30 per cent.; mechanics, very few; labourers, very few, not more than 1 per cent., if as many. (b.) The effect on the calling of all classes is to render them more or less inefficient and unsatisfactory. Every opium-smoker sooner or later becomes indolent and averse to work. All who can afford it turn night into day and never rise till mid-day. The poor man does the same as far as he can. The effects of this alone on their calling are disastrous, to say nothing of weakened physique, &c., &c. I have heard of many instances of persons losing their employment, and of business men gradually losing their business through indolence and late rising induced by the opium habit.

8. Here in North China those who drink alcohol (mostly whiskey) moderately, greatly outnumber those who smoke opium. Almost every adult male drinks a little whiskey. Those who abuse alcohol to any great extent are not more than 5 per cent. Carters and cab-drivers are almost all heavy drinkers. As to the effect on their efficiency in their calling, their use of alcohol being generally moderate, the evil effects are comparatively trifling. The sots of course suffer, but happily they are not very numerous.

9. The use of opium is universally condemned by the Chinese as injurious while the moderate use of alcohol is generally held to be beneficial.

10. A considerable number of opium-smokers, on account of poverty, try to give up the habit, and a good many succeed in giving it up for a time; but they then suffer from so many nervous and other complaints that they generally go back to the pipe again. Those who really break themselves of the habit are very few.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off the effect would be the increased consumption of Chinese opium. I do not think it would have any effect on the consumption of alcohol. In North China, so far as I know, there is no connexion between the use or non-use of opium and the use of alcohol.

12. I am not aware that any Europeans in North China smoke or eat opium. I think it is the phlegmatic disposition of the Chinese, and their love of sensuous dreamy pleasure that lead them to take so readily to opium.

13. The Chinese are led to use the drug through their companions and through family and business connexions. Also through desire for new and pleasing sensations, and through desire to stimulate the sexual appetite. Sickness is a very common reason for taking to opium. Whenever a Chinese doctor does not know what is the matter with a man or woman or does not know how to cure him, he always recommends the

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opium pipe. The effect is immediate and magical. Opium is a wonderful panacea at least for a time. This is why many men and more women contract the habit of opium smoking. (b.) So far as I know, the Chinese in this part of China do not regard opium as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria. I have never heard any Chinese claim for it these beneficial effects, but from inquiries which I have made I gather that opium renders a person less sensitive to cold and heat, and is to a considerable extent a preventative against chills, diarrhoea, and malaria, though when an opium-smoker does become ill, particularly of dysentery, his recovery is very difficult, the Chinese say hopeless.

14. Those whom opium has greatly injured, especially those whom it has brought to penury, are generally pitiable in their lamentations, and loudly proclaim their desire to give up the habit. But fear of the suffering involved, and dread of consequent sickness, usually prevent their trying to do so. Opium-smokers gradually lose their moral fibre and become flabby as jelly-fish.

15. I have often heard England, and foreign countries in general, abused for bringing opium to China, and charged with being the cause of this fearful curse to the flowery land. Opium is always put among the dire evils which foreigners have inflicted on China. When preaching to Chinese I have had it thrown in my face. But I am not aware of any general desire among the Chinese that England should forbid the export of opium from India. They do not know enough probably about the subject to form such a wish.

16. I know very little of the relative consumption &c., of India and Chinese opium.

17. (a., b.) In the proportion that the importation of Indian opium is restricted the production and consumption of Chinese opium will be increased.

(c.) What the effect would be on the fiscal arrangements of the Chinese Government I have no means of knowing.

18. From my own observation I can give no reliable information regarding the area under poppy cultivation in each province.

19. I have no special knowledge of opium taxation.

20. Just one remark in conclusion. Possibly by an arrangement with the Chinese Government something might be done to prohibit the production and use of opium in China, though I doubt if China could or would prohibit either. The evil is too widely spread and too deeply rooted. It is to be hoped, however, that no doubt or fear regarding China's action will prevent England freeing herself from the abominable traffic. Opium is a terrible curse to the Chinese and it is a disgrace to England to bring the accursed stuff to them. Though late, let us even now, at whatever cost, wash our hands of the evil thing.

GEORGE OWEN,
28 years a Missionary of the
London Missionary Society
in China.

Peking,
February 5th, 1894.

REV. E. BRYANT.

1. Having resided in Central China for over 12 years as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and in North China for another period of 12 years as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, or as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and having travelled a great deal during that time in both regions, I have seen much of the habits and practices of the Chinese, and I have no hesitation in stating that the consumption of opium among the people throughout Hupai, Hunan, Chili, Honan, Shantung, Shansi, and Shensi, is exceedingly common; and I am told that it is also common among the Manchus of this city, Peking, where I now reside.

2. It is difficult to find out the proportion of the adult males that are consumers of opium; it varies greatly in different localities, from 20 to 80 or 90 per cent. of the male population. When travelling in Shansi and Shensi in the years 1884 and 1885, I made

special inquiries of the natives there at several points, regarding the proportion of opium-consumers, and the invariable answer was eight or nine out of every ten of the men, and about two out of every ten women; and not a few young children, it was said, were addicted to the use of the drug.

3. The effects of opium on the Chinese is generally to damage them morally, physically, and socially; but there are unquestionably some, perhaps many, exceptions. As to the moral effects on consumers they are commonly, weakened will power, deadening of their naturally feeble conscience, obliteration of their sense of self-respect and of shame for evil-doing, and an abnormal quickening of their innate meanness and duplicity, so that they become proverbially untrustworthy. The physical effects are commonly, at first soothing or stimulating, according as the consumers are in an irritable or depressed condition, but gradually and surely a disordered stomach, weakened appetite for food, great lassitude, loss of flesh, a haggard, cadaverous look, an unnaturally glossy eye, and a general muscular debility, which seriously interferes with the faithful discharge of duties, and not infrequently incapacitates the opium-consumers altogether for any physical or mental work. The social effects are lamentably in harmony with the moral and physical effects. Neglect and diminished capability for the fulfilment of duties lead to diminished income, or loss of situation; the increasing hold of the opium habit on the consumers often lead to increased expenditure on the indulgence, and the consequence of this is the selling of all that is saleable in order to get money to purchase opium and to gratify the now uncontrollable craving. Not only are lands and house property and household furniture parted with for money to buy opium, but also children, and even wives, are sold or made prostitutes for the same purpose. I myself have known one such case at least as is hinted at in the last phrase, and the Chinese tell me that such cases are not uncommon.

4. In China smoking seems to be the more common method of consuming opium, but eating it is also not uncommon, especially in Shansi and Shensi, I never heard of the Chinese drinking any decoction of the drug, except for purpose of suicide. As a non-medical man I can only state, respecting the different effects of these two methods, what the Chinese consumers say, viz., that opium eaten is stronger in its effects on the system than opium smoked.

5. It is difficult to answer this question except in very general terms; but my conviction, supported by Chinese testimony, is that comparatively few consume the drug without any injury, indeed, it is doubtful whether any consume it without ultimate serious injury, but the great mass of those that use opium do so to their present and visible great injury, morally and physically. It is indelibly stamped on their bodies and characters.

6. To say that there is or can be moderation in the consumption of opium, except medicinally, seems to me to be anything but correct. As above stated, there are some who use opium daily, and I may say, who use a considerable amount of it for years, apparently without injury, but such persons are comparatively few, and it is at least doubtful whether advancing years do not disclose that in such cases even, the habit has been very injurious. The bulk of opium consumers, however, are unquestionably injured by it, and it would seem to be as correct to say that there can be moderation in the consumption of arsenic and other catable or drinkable poisons as to say that there can be moderation in the use of opium. All depends on what is meant by the word moderation. I have met with some instances of opium-consumers who did not seem to be any the worse for it, except that they were impoverished by the habit. Here is an instance of the kind I met with on my travels through Shansi and Shensi Provinces in July 1885, and which I will give in words written at the time: "I met to-day a man, formerly a school-teacher, who had used opium for 30 years, he said; and for more than 10 years had smoked five mace, or half an ounce, per diem, but he is too poor now to afford anything like that, he has therefore taken to eating (or swallowing) opium in the form of small lozenges, which secures for him a stronger effect with less quantity, and therefore with less cost, than he could obtain by smoking it. . . . Strangely enough, this man, though he had consumed (he said) half an ounce per diem for 10 years, did not look so bad as I should have expected to see him. It was

"only by the peculiar glossiness of his eyes that I at first suspected him of taking opium. But nearly all the others I met with in the inn, on the street, and in the shops, carried on their faces and bodies tho many unmistakable marks of opium sots, and generally looked indescribably wretched. To a question I put to several such men they all testified that opium-consumers had fewer children than those who do not use the drug." How far this statement is borne out or otherwise by scientific observations, I have no means of ascertaining. I give the testimony of the natives as I received it, whatever may be its worth. Of persons that have been greatly injured, nay, irreparably injured in body and estate by the consumption of opium, I met many daily in my several journeys through the provinces already mentioned, and during my more stated life as a missionary I have met with not a few such cases. Here is an example: A respectable man, whom I knew well, and a nominal Christian for some time, became addicted to the opium pipe. His duties were neglected, his situation he lost. His funds were exhausted, but the craving for opium remained, and all other means of getting opium having failed, he compelled his wife to become a prostitute, so as to earn money for maintaining his opium habit and their wretched subsistence. I know to-day a man and wife who are both opium-consumers, and who have owned in the past a considerable extent of land; but this property is gradually dwindling away, it being sold, plot after plot, to get cash to buy opium and other necessaries, which, owing largely to their opium habit, they are unable otherwise to supply. Time and space alike forbid my giving other instances, which might be easily multiplied.

7. The answer to this question is, I think, given in the foregoing. Ultimately and surely the consumption of opium unfits men for their calling, whatever that may be. It may be true that coolies and others who use opium can do their work efficiently in many instances; but that is only when they are able to obtain at definite intervals their usual quantity of opium, and that efficiency again is, as a rule, of very brief duration. Should such men be unable for a day, or half-a-day beyond the usual time, to obtain their supply of opium, their ability and willingness to work would soon come to an end. As a matter of fact, opium-smoking is not a recommendation to any workman or clerk in the estimation of Chinese employers, but the reverse. And even most Europeans, I believe, would rather not employ opium-smoking or opium-eating servants in their homes and offices. In the case of their compradores and those servants attached to the compradores who are opium-consumers, the European masters have, as a rule, to accept the inevitable.

8. Comparison does not seem practicable. Among the Chinese the use of alcoholic drink is all but universal; but its visible injurious effects on the consumers are assuredly nowhere compared with those of opium.

9. When I came to China 28 years ago, the consumption of opium was universally condemned by the Chinese of all classes, as degrading and injurious, and so their opinion has continued; but owing to the known prevalence of opium consumption in the country, among all classes, from the Imperial Court to the ragged beggar, that adverse opinion seems to be now slowly modifying; still the respectable non-consumers of opium firmly adhere to the old opinion, and look upon the consumption and the retailing of opium alike as utterly degrading. But the opinion of the Chinese as to the injuriousness of opium consumption is not yet materially changed.

10. Not easily, as a rule. The struggle to escape from the grip of the tyrant is, in many cases, terrible. Still many have done so, though almost always with the help of remedies.

11. Chinese-grown opium seems now to bid fair to drive the Indian article out of the market, except, perhaps, a comparatively small quantity, which may be required to meet the demands of the rich. Whether the Chinese authorities and people would really put down the native growing of opium, if the supply of Indian opium were cut off, is doubtful. It is to be hoped they would, for the sake of their country's prosperity. Their hands would then be free to do it, and they would be deprived of the excuse for allowing native opium to be grown, which they have had in the past.

Natives tell me that it is more than probable that, if the Indian supply were cut off, the native opium

would soon become more expensive. Seeing that the Chinese, previous to the prevalence of their present pernicious habit of consuming opium, were not generally addicted to excessive alcoholic drinking, there does not seem to be any special reason why they should become so in the future, in the event of the Indian supply ceasing, and their own home-growing of the drug being effectively prohibited.

12. It is, I believe, quite a rare thing to find any person of European race in China contracting the opium habit. I have known only two or three cases during my 28 years' connexion with this country. It is probable that the monotony of their life, and the dearth among them of appropriate remedies for the common ills of life—physical, mental, moral, and social—have much to do with the greater liability of Asiatics than of Europeans to contract the habit of consuming opium.

13. Curiosity, and the desire for "fun," lead many to begin the use of the drug; bowel complaints induce others to begin its use; bodily pains of various character and indefinable indisposition, makes others resort to its use; trouble of various kinds drives others to the drug. None of these classes, however, ever think that they will become the perpetual slaves of the habit, and the wretched, helpless victims of its woeful tyranny. But they find that out, when it is too late. It is not considered by the Chinese with whom I have come in contact as "a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria," and so far as my observation goes, smokers and opium-eaters are no more exempt from these ills than others who touch not the drug.

14. As a rule only when poverty makes it impossible for them to gratify their appetite. I have met with multitudes who wanted to give up the habit on that account. Candidates for admission into the Protestant Christian Church, who are addicted to the practice of opium-smoking, or opium-eating, of course, desire to get free of the habit; for on no other condition can they be admitted. On this point the native Christians all through the empire and the missionaries are at one, no opium-consumer or retailer can be admitted into the Christian Church.

15. There used to be a universal wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India for importation into China, and bitter feelings have often been manifested by Chinese against the fair name of our country solely on account of England's relation to the Indian opium trade with China, but now, I fear, indifference to this matter begins to prevail. The people have become hopeless as to England doing anything to rid them of that which they know to be so destructive to the welfare of their country.

On the remaining questions I do not feel competent to give any testimony.

(Signed) EVAN BRYANT,
Missionary of the London
Missionary Society.

Peking, Feb. 5, 1894.

Mr. W. H. MURRAY.

National Bible Society of Scotland,
Peking, China,
February 5th, 1894.

1. It is common.
2. Some districts, where opium is cultivated and where the people are agricultural, the use is almost universal. Men, women, and children smoke. The sight is harrowing.
3. The effect is the loss of moral distinctions. The rich prefer the Indian. They regard it as much the finer, and can stand the use of it longer by some years.
4. They smoke it.
5. None use it without some result, viz., drying up the constitution, cutting off the hope of propagation. The wealthy, who can nourish themselves, stand out against these dreadful ravages longer.
6. So far as I ever heard. One must go on increasingly to consume the drug. I have heard of none using it with impunity. The cases of injury are numberless; men selling their wives for opium is a common, everyday occurrence.
7. All classes are addicted alike. In prosperous districts artisans are numerous, and they are restrained. To be known to use it means to be cast off, as it means incapacity and wasting time, dishonest, &c., &c.

APP. XXVI.

8. In regard to alcohol, the people are very temperate.

9. It is universally so understood. None leave off unless where drugs are used, which medical men have devised.

12. No. They regard this as low, vile, and only for sluggards.

13. In the same way as vice of any kind is propagated.

14. It is a commonly expressed wish. But they believe it means great pain and endurance, and probably death.

10. The curse of the Creation must follow it. Are there no proofs of this? So, if those who do not wish to be partakers of curse, how can they question the propriety of being the means of supply?

I am, &c.,

(Signed) WILLIAM HILL MURRAY.

PRÉCIS of MEMORIAL from the TSUNGLI YAMÉN, supported by the BOARD OF REVENUE, with regard to the TAXATION of NATIVE OPIUM.

June 1891.

A decree was issued in 1890, in reply to a memorial from the Yamen and the Board of Revenue, directing that native opium should be taxed either at the place of production or in transit; and that evasion of the duties should be severely repressed, and calling on the provincial authorities to report on the circumstances of each province.

These reports have now been received, and have engaged the Yamen's attention. They have to observe that mature deliberation is necessary in dealing with this question, in order that the revenues of the State may be benefited without interference with the means of livelihood of the people. From the reports which have now come in from the provinces it is evident that the conditions of the production of native opium vary so much in different provinces, and differ so widely from those affecting foreign opium that no uniformity of treatment is possible. In some provinces the production is so large that there is a surplus over local consumption for export to other provinces; in some the production is only just sufficient for the local demand, while in others no opium is produced, and cognizance has only to be taken of it in transit. Native opium again imported from one province into another differs from foreign opium in this respect, that it reaches the Customs stations from scattered points in the interior, while the foreign opium first passes the Maritime Customs and is then distributed. In the opium-producing provinces, again, the conditions of production vary greatly, causing differences in quantity and quality, with consequent differences in price, so that uniformity of taxation is impossible.

The Yamen then proceed to summarise the suggestions made by the Viceroys and Governors of the different provinces as to the taxation suited to each, giving their own views as to its adequacy. In some cases they consider the tax suggested too light and recommend its increase; in others they accept the suggestions of the provincial authorities. In the case of some provinces they approve the local taxation suggested, but consider the duty proposed on opium exported to another province too heavy if levied more than once. They would, therefore, make it pay duty only at the first Customs station out of the province, and be thereafter free of all levies. They disapprove a proposal to levy an *ad valorem* tax, varying with the price of the drug, as likely to lead to disputes, and would substitute for it a tax based on an estimate of average price.

The authorities of three provinces misunderstood the Imperial edict and have suggested taxation according to the amount of land under poppy cultivation. The Yamen suggest that this system should be given a trial, but that if found to cause trouble and annoyance to the people it should be abandoned and another plan adopted. They make this proviso in the interests of the people's resources and the revenues of the State, the provisional character of their acceptance of the plan being intended to prevent the perpetuation of abuses on the ground of precedent.

After some further criticism of the reports from the provinces, the Yamen conclude by observing that the

collection of likin on opium being of recent date there have been no trustworthy statistics of the quantity produced or sold in each province. Under these circumstances, where the duties were not evaded they were pocketed by the officials.

Now that heavier taxation is being imposed, all the provincial authorities should use their best efforts to prevent false returns from the Customs stations and other abuses, and should select competent and upright officers to make the inquiries necessary to supply the statistics above mentioned. The result will be, they hope, an improvement in the Customs revenue. They append to the memorial a tabulated statement of the taxation proposed by the different provincial authorities and the alterations suggested by the Yamen.

The Imperial rescript is—"Proposals approved."

In a postscript memorial to the above the Yamen, supported as before by the Board of Revenue, consider a report by the Viceroy and the Governor of Kiangsu on the so-called "Hsüchou" (i.e., Kiangsu) opium. The report states that the opium is produced in eight districts, and that the quantity varies from 10 million ozs. to 14 or 15 million ozs. in the last years.

The Yamen remark that Hsüchou opium is now the great staple of the province. There were many irregularities in the collection of likin, less being reported than was actually collected, and it was not until the Viceroy and Governor were called upon by Imperial decree to make thorough investigations and to put a stop to this speculation, that the actual quantity produced was ascertained.

They have now proposed ten regulations which the Yamen think on the whole satisfactory, though they propose some amendments.

The regulations, with the amendments, are then given.

In conclusion, the Yamen remark that there has been, they hear, a steady increase in the production of Kiangsu opium of late years, and they express their belief that the estimate in the Viceroy and Governor's report of Tls. 300,000 of revenue to be derived from it will be exceeded if proper care is taken in its collection. The officer to whom the supervision of the new arrangements is entrusted should, therefore, be zealous in the discharge of his duty, in which case it may be hoped that the revenue will steadily increase.

Rescript—"Approved."

SHANGHAI.*

Shanghai,

SIR, 23rd February, 1894.

IN accordance with instructions from Her Majesty's Minister, I have the honour to transmit herewith some of the replies received in answer to the questions regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China furnished by medical men, merchants, and others who are specially conversant with the subject. Such further replies as I may receive I will forward by the next mail.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) NICHOLAS J. HANNEN,
The Secretary, Royal Commission on Opium,
Calcutta.

1. REPORT by Dr. COUSLAND, a Medical Missionary residing near Swatow, Southern China. Eight years' experience.

1. Yes.

2. Very difficult to say. Varies in different districts. More common probably in towns and less in villages. Not more than 10 per cent. Perhaps average (about) 5 per cent. Very few women smoke opium. Children, not that I know of.

3. Moral, physical, and social effects depend upon the amount smoked, duration of habit, constitution, and circumstances as regards food and work. *Moral Effects.*—The moral effects are those common to all abuse of narcotics and alcohol. Loss of will power, moral perversion, deceitfulness, untrustworthiness, untruth-

* For other Shanghai papers, see page 329.

fulness. General moral degeneration, loss of self respect. *Physical*.—Emaciation, malnutrition, muscular and nervous debility, diminished capacity for work of all kinds, constipation. *Social*.—The great majority of the Chinese of this part are poor, earnings averaging from 15 to 20 cents per day. A man smokes 10 cents a day, many smoke more, little is left for food. He himself suffers and a vicious circle is set up. Wife and family inadequately provided for. Much suffering from poverty and sickness results. Husbands even steal wife's and children's things and pawn them; sometimes children even are sold; leads to feuds and quarrels; even in wealthier families leads to feuds, &c. Many young men belonging to good families take to it and in the absence of any definite occupation rapidly become slaves to the habit. I do not know whether or not there is any difference between Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium; those who become too poor to smoke eat the ashes remaining after the opium is smoked. A number now take foreign powders containing morphine; these are sold as a means of cure, but merely result in the pipe being changed for the powder. Opium is not taken in a liquid form. I cannot distinguish between the effects of opium smoked or eaten, but I have never specially studied the question.

5. It is difficult to classify opium users in this way, and still more difficult to make an estimate. I question if any use it habitually without injury, rather, I should say, it is injurious to all, the amount depending on such factors as work, food, constitution, amount smoked, and duration of habit. 1. Medicinally, in suitable cases. 2. With injury slight up to grave. The great bulk. 3. Ten per cent. perhaps. These estimates refer to habitual users; those who take it occasionally or irregularly soon acquire the opium habit.

6. If by "moderation" is meant harmless habitual consumption, then I believe it is correct to say, as far as my observation goes, that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I know of no cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves; I know of cases who have done so without very obvious harm; such cases are often quoted as instances of its harmlessness, but if they are followed up for a number of years, the moral and physical degeneration will become apparent, in some exceptional cases very slight, in others more marked; I know of many cases of great injury. I regret that, being at present absent from my station on sick leave, I am not able to give detailed account of cases. Opium sots are to be found in all classes of society. I have known mandarins who would not transact business, doctors who could hardly be got to see patients, officials, shopkeepers, chair-bearers, soldiers, coolies, who have smoked themselves into unfitness for work, leading to loss of occupation, poverty, and distress of self and family. I know of several wealthy and influential families that have been brought to beggary in this way.

7. No, a minority. The effect of opium habit is to diminish their efficiency. An opium-smoking labourer, merchant, artisan, or teacher, is at a discount; both Chinese and foreigners prefer the non-smoker. I never employ an opium-smoker in any capacity if I can help it; if I did, I would get less work and of poorer quality, and would not be able to place any reliance on the man. A chair carrier said to me lately, in recommending his shop, that none of the men took opium or whiskey; this was entirely unsought for, and uninfluenced testimony.

8. As alcohol is not extensively used, and seldom abused, it is difficult to answer this question; the alcohol habit is not readily formed; with opium, on the other hand, the habit is rapidly acquired, and lays firm hold on its victim. The habitual use of a moderate quantity of alcohol does not often lead to the user becoming enslaved, but with opium the habitual smoking of a small amount leads, in the course of a few months, to the opium habit being formed, a habit that cannot be given up without a severe struggle, and almost invariably leads to the dose being increased, and moral and physical deterioration setting in. While I have treated nearly 2,000 applicants for the cure of the opium habit, I have never had a case coming or brought to me for the cure of the alcohol habit, and the cases of

chronic alcoholism that have come under my notice have been few and far between. In short, the abuse of alcohol is rare, while the abuse of opium, *i.e.*, the opium habit, is exceedingly common and is an evil of the most portentous dimensions. There is little to choose between the opium and alcoholic habit; in the case of opium, the moral perversion, and in alcohol, the physical injury are the more marked. The opium habit takes the stronger grip and its cure is more difficult.

9. Yes, universally and unanimously. I have never heard, directly or indirectly, a good word spoken for opium by any Chinamen, while the connexion of England with the importation of it to China is constantly brought up against our country.

10. Very seldom unaided. I have met with two or three cases who profess to have done so. Many try to be cured, and if you ask them they say they have broken off the habit, but on further inquiry you find they are taking powders or pills containing morphine or opium. Some try to cure themselves by gradually diminishing the dose, but this plan seldom succeeds. Native recipes and shops for the sale of native and foreign stop opium pills and powders are common in the larger towns. Lately the method of cure by the hypodermic injection of diminishing doses of morphine has been tried, but without success. Of the hundred odd cases in which this method was employed at Ch'ao-chow-fu, I could not hear of a single cure. In fact, the operator had to flee the city to escape from his exasperated patients. Those cured in hospital or by other means usually relapse after a few months or years. And, even if they do not, they seldom completely regain their moral tone.

11. Opium-consumers already use the native drug to some extent. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off the effect would probably be to raise the price of opium, and force many to resort to our hospitals and to native methods of cure. I feel certain they would not take to alcohol or some other narcotic, for at present those who wish to stop or who have stopped do not take to these substitutes. The effect would tend towards abstinence.

12. I do not know.

13. They are led for the most part by learning from one another, and for mere pleasure. Others commence for the relief of a great variety of ailments, chiefly painful affections, chronic diarrhoea, dyspepsia, phthisis, and cases what the native practitioners fail to cure. I have not seen any evidence of opium being a prophylactic against fever or rheumatism or malaria. I have never heard of its use being advocated by any Chinaman on those grounds. Smokers are found among all classes, and whether on the hills or the plains in highly malarious or slightly malarious districts, the proportion of smokers varies very little. On the other hand, quinine is already much appreciated, and extensively used by the Chinese.

14. Yes, almost universally. Among those who are in comfortable circumstances there are exceptions. Large numbers are always found seeking to break off the habit by one means or another. A satisfactory cure requires residence in hospital for several weeks, and many who are anxious to stop the habit cannot afford to leave their work so long.

15. Yes, a very strong wish. One very able and influential gentleman in my neighbourhood proposed lately to get up a great petition, signed by all the officials, literati, gentry, and business men, to be presented to the Queen of England, begging her not to send any more opium to China.

20. I have spent more than eight years in China in hospital and dispensary work among the people. I have treated nearly 2,000 men who have come into hospital for cure of the opium habit. I have lived for several years alone, in a Chinese house, in Ch'ao-chow-fu, a city of 250,000 inhabitants, and have therefore some acquaintance with the people, and good opportunities of being conversant with this subject. I wish to record my opinion that the consumption of opium among the Chinese around me is rightly regarded by them, as degrading and injurious. For one or two cases of sickness benefited there are one hundred who are injured. And many who use it medicinally do so mistakenly, and add to their former ailment an expensive and debilitating habit.

APP. XXVI.

I look upon the importation of Indian opium as simply a means of debauching and degrading the people.

N.B.—“China” and the “Chinese” in the above answers mean those in my neighbourhood.

(Signed) PHILIP B. COUSLAND, M.B., C.M., Ed.,
Ch'ao-chow-fu, viâ Swatow, China.
February 21, 1894.

REPORT by Rev. W. MUIRHEAD, a Missionary who has lived in Shanghai for 46 years.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?—Very largely.

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent? Do children?—In the circle of 30 miles or so, it is supposed that about 25 or 30 per cent. of the common people consume opium. The proportion of the rich or well-to-do community is less. There are few women who smoke opium, perhaps not more than 1 per cent., and a still smaller number of children.

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races? Is there any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium?—Among the higher classes from their standing and position in life, and the circumstances in which they are placed, the effects of opium in these various points of view are not so marked and obvious, though they are often to be met with, but in the case of the poorer classes and lower orders, the results are readily apparent and most distressing. Morally, they soon lose character and face as the Chinese call it. Physically, they are enfeebled and dependent on a constant supply of the drug. Socially, they become lazy and degraded in appearance and habits. They part with everything to supply the craving, and make both themselves and their families wretched. If they become sick, they are more difficult to recover than in other cases, and suicide and murder not infrequently happen in consequence. Indian opium is more powerful, from the preparation it undergoes, and so more baleful in its effects than Chinese-grown opium.

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke or do they eat opium? or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?—Smoking is the ordinary and universal form of consumption here, and the drug is not eaten or drunk by those who indulge in it, except in the cases of suicides, or it may be, and rarely, in the form of pills, when smoking cannot be provided for.

5. What are the proportions of those who use opium? (1) without injury, (2) with slight injury, (3) with great injury (“opium sots”)?—We unhesitatingly answer that opium is never used in the manner indicated without injury, but, of course, the extent of the injury depends upon the amount used, and on their having a sufficiency of good food or otherwise to sustain them and counteract the effects of the habit. We cannot give a comparative estimate under this head.

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? If so, please give description of one or two such cases in detail. If you know any or many cases of great injury, give examples?—Moderation in the use of opium is difficult. If the parties are sick, or their minds disturbed about anything, or they are wearied and tired from over-work or other causes, they must and will increase the dose, and so the habit and requirement become a matter of ever-growing intensity, always allowing, however, for the variety of cases. We have never known a case of opium-smoking for years without injury, but we have known many who have suffered great injury in consequence. One was a scholar of high repute who took to the habit after we knew him, or in whom it became more apparent in course of time, that he utterly unfitted himself for the work of teaching

and lapsed into a most degraded state, resorting from time to time to the lowest opium den, until he lost all vital strength and moral character and died in a wretched manner. Another was a compradore in a foreign hong, and in good circumstances. He also took to the drug, became weak in mind, and died an “opium sot.” Such cases are of frequent occurrence, in a greater or less degree; enough, however, to make the habit one of widespread lamentation.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, of the part of China with which you are conversant, smoke opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium on the efficiency of their calling?—Of common labourers in this neighbourhood a large majority are given to this habit, say seven out of ten. The proportion of merchants may be two out of ten, but of the artisans very few, as they could not otherwise attend to their daily work, and so could not be employed. Many of the literary classes are habitual smokers, as having time and opportunity for indulging in the practice. While under the influence of it they will do splendid work, only requiring a constant supply to keep up their spirits and stimulate them in what they are doing. Here I could specially refer to men who were in my employ, who regarded as the very *élite* of scholars, but were slaves to the habit, and needed after a short time to repair to the open den for refreshment. One in particular had been an opium-smoker for over 30 years, but showed a most withered appearance, while his work, under the drug, exhibited his remarkable powers, though he was fit for nothing in two or three hours at most.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among the races of that part of China with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races, in regard to the effect on consumers? Alcohol is used to a small degree here as compared to what it is in the West. One rarely sees a drunkard in the streets, though native wine is largely used, especially at evening meals. Still, wine-drinkers are not classed in the ranks of opium-smokers, and are not looked on, except in extreme cases, as similarly degraded, from their not being given to the habit like the others. Opium and wine are regarded as two different things, alike in their character and effects.

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese? How would they regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?—Everywhere the habit is looked on as degrading and injurious. It is universally condemned, and as we have just remarked it is not considered in the same light as alcohol, and is denounced as a far greater evil, perhaps in some measure from its far greater prevalence.

10. Can and do opium consumers break themselves of the opium habit?—If they are willing they can do so. If it is done gradually there is less inconvenience and trouble than if done at once, only the victims are generally afraid of dying from their giving up the habit unless an availing remedy is at hand. Many come to the hospitals to be cured, and after a time they are made well, but either the craving returns, or temptation comes in their way, or they suffer from sickness, and the habit is resumed. Others purchase medicine for the purpose, alike native and foreign, which in most instances contains morphia, and so the cure is worse than the disease. It is possible to break off the habit, but it requires such a power of will as is rarely possessed by the opium-smoker.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off what would be the effect on opium-smokers, and on the population of your neighbourhood? Would they resort to Chinese-grown opium, or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium, or would they abstain altogether?—If things go on in the ordinary way and no change takes place in the administration of Government on the subject, the prohibition of Indian opium would have no effect on the consumers and on the population at large, as the native opium would be more fully resorted to, which is the case to an increasing degree even now. It is hardly likely that alcohol would take the place of opium, certainly not were the drug within reach at all, and in that case also there is no likelihood of abstention.

12. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not, why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?—We have heard of a few cases of Europeans contracting the opium habit, but they were very exceptional. There is

something in the national constitution that seems to crave such a narcotic as opium, as alcohol is the demand in the West. The Chinese have taken to the one somehow rather than the other, as it appears to benefit them more readily.

13. How are opium-consumers led to use the drug? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria? or is it so regarded by the inhabitants of the part of China with which you are conversant?—The reasons that lead the Chinese are such as the following:—(1.) Sickness, chiefly dysentery, diarrhoea, and pain in the stomach. The native pharmacopœia is ill-provided with remedies for these and other complaints, and the drug is recommended by local practitioners and friends, and this is a great occasion of its use. (2.) It is commonly brought forward in the transaction of business, as wine and tobacco may be elsewhere, and so time and opportunity are allowed for consultation and making bargains. (3.) Bad houses, unhappily so prevalent in this neighbourhood, are largely the scene of dissipation, and of this vice in particular. (4.) We would add that as in the case of many houses at home, where little comfort and enjoyment are provided for working men, and so the public-house is commonly resorted to; in like manner there is little to interest and amuse in the social or domestic life of the Chinese, their current literature and ordinary companionship, and so the attraction of the opium den or divan becomes irresistible, and they are overcome by it. Again, the drug is said to be a prophylactic in the cases referred to, just as tobacco, garlic, &c., are allowed by many to be. Not that they are generally regarded in this light, yet it is declared to be a fact they operate in this way, as in such a place as Formosa, where the soldiers are largely exposed to malaria, and it seems these various drugs are found to be preventive when used only in this manner, while those who do not use them in many more instances succumb.

14. Do opium-consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?—We can truly say this is the case in almost every instance. It is universally acknowledged to be only an evil in ordinary experience from its effects on mind and body, in family and social life; only a good remedy is constantly asked for and tried in many ways, only the will of the opium-smoker seems to be paralysed, and it is rarely possible to stir it up in order to hear the trial of abandoning the habit and resist the temptations by which he is surrounded.

15. Is there among the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted any wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India?—This is the constant cry of the Chinese. The common people only think of England as having introduced it, and they blame us accordingly. They say to us, "Stop the importation and we shall cease to use it." Of course, it is easy to reply on the principle of supply and demand, but this does not change their views on the matter, and the accusation remains.

16. By what classes of persons and in what provinces or districts of China is Indian opium usually consumed, and how far does Chinese-grown opium compete with Indian opium in the provinces or districts in which the two kinds are readily obtainable?—Indian opium is chiefly used at or near the treaty ports, and less in places at a distance, though the two kinds are in current use at the ports in a single and mixed form. The native opium, however, is coming into more frequent use as a cheaper article, though not liked so well on the part of the habitual smoker.

17. What will be the probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the Indian opium (1) on the consumption of opium by the Chinese, (2) on the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China, (3) on the arrangements made by the Chinese Government for raising a revenue from opium?—In reply we say: (1.) The prohibition or restriction will make no great difference as things now are. (2.) If the cultivation is allowed, the prohibition in question will only increase the amount raised by the Chinese, as the drug is wanted and is far more productive and profitable than the ordinary cereals. This is an important consideration in answer to the question before us, and abundantly verified in many parts of China. (3.) We cannot answer the inquiry as to the arrangements about revenue. All depends upon a continuance or reversal of the present system, and we shall refer to it under section 20.

18. Can you give any estimate of the area now under poppy cultivation in the several provinces of China

and the average annual culture of opium?—This is impossible from our point of view. It is well known that the native growth is largely on the increase, partly owing to its pecuniary value to the cultivators as compared with the cereals, and partly from the soil in some places being more suited to it, as is the case in Shansi. Some time ago I was in the country, and saw the poppy being cultivated where rice used to be grown. I spoke to the farmer about it, and his reply was that hitherto the foreigners had been profiting from the opium trade, but now the Chinese were determined to cultivate it and obtain the benefit of it themselves.

19. What revenue does the Chinese Government derive from opium, and how does the taxation levied on Indian opium compare with that levied on opium produced in China?—This cannot be answered by the writer; the Indian tax can be easily known, so far as the Custom House returns are concerned, but the native growth is altogether uncertain in its amount, numbers, and variety of places, and the honesty alike of the cultivators, purchasers, and officials. There is, we believe, much smuggling carried on by the people interested in it, and overlooked on the part of the authorities both for their own advantage and from the unfaithfulness of their underlings.

20. Have you any remark to make in regard to opium-consumption among the people around you?—In regard to Shanghai as a great emporium of trade, it has drawn vast numbers of people from all parts of the country, yet while allowing for the low character of many of these, and the introduction and encouragement of other evils, especially in the foreign settlements, which were formerly unknown, and which would not be tolerated in the city and suburbs under native jurisdiction, the vice in question has been a most fruitful cause of the deterioration that has taken place in the character and social life of the inhabitants. Large divans have been opened in various places for opium-smoking, which particularly at night are crowded, and young men seem to form a great majority of the guests. These divans and their concomitants attract multitudes of the Chinese, and prove to be a moral ruin in manifold instances. There is nothing like them in any other part of the empire. What is to be done towards remedying the evils of the opium trade and the native-grown cultivation? We beg to suggest that an understanding should be come to between the foreign and the Chinese Governments that the matter should cease on both sides, excepting the requirement, it may be, on medicinal grounds. We see no objection to and no insuperable difficulty in this. We believe it to be possible for the highest authorities in China to issue commands to the local magistrates of various grades, which would in course of time be obeyed, and which in the present instance would be hailed by the vast majority of the people. At the outset there would be difficulties from the habits that have been formed by multitudes, but these at the best would be only temporary, and the affair of the revenue could be tidied over, and gladly so by the voice of the nation at large. Let such an agreement be made between the two governments that the one and the other shall prohibit or restrict the growth or traffic in opium in their respective departments, and that the strict observance of it shall be insisted on, and we do believe a new and better order of things will arise in China in relation to us and the peace and prosperity of the people. We hesitate not to say that were the evil that now so widely exists, and is ever increasing, withdrawn, there would be far greater readiness and ability on the part of the Chinese to adopt the elements of western civilisation and progress, that are now opposed alike on account of their penury and the prejudice they have been led to form in regard to us, which in no small measure has been caused by the opium trade.

I may add, in closing, that the prohibition of opium, either in the foreign trade or the native growth, like the abandonment of the habit, cannot be done all at once or in a short time. Were this attempted, it is a general opinion that it would cause most serious trouble in China from the long continuance and widespread influence of the habit. It would require perhaps 20 or 30 years to bring the matter to a final issue. In the meanwhile a common understanding can be come to and measures taken to terminate both the foreign trade and the native growth. Proclamations might be published far and wide, and so the people would be gradually prepared for the end in view. Were this to be the case, the writer is convinced it would raise us

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highly in the estimation of the Chinese, and tend to promote the best interests of all classes.

(Signed) WILLIAM MUIRHEAD,
London Missionary Society.

3. REPORT by Dr. ED. HENDERSON, a Medical Practitioner in Shanghai for 25 years. Has had opportunities of seeing numbers of Chinese in Native Hospitals.

Shanghai,
20th February 1894.

1. I believe that opium is largely consumed in the native city and foreign settlement of Shanghai.

2. I cannot state the proportion of adult males who consume the drug, but certainly not the majority. Few women consume it. No children.

3. I believe that opium smoked in moderation has no very special effect on the health of the consumer, physical or moral. Used immoderately it is, I believe, injurious, physically and morally. The opium smoked in Shanghai is a mixture of the Chinese and Indian drug.

4. Opium is smoked almost invariably.

5. Moderate smokers do not suffer injury, and the majority of those who use the drug use it moderately.

6. No. Incorrect. I cannot at the moment give specific examples, but I have at various times during the past 20 years made the acquaintance of middle-aged Chinamen, said to have been regular opium-smokers for many years, whose health and capacity for work as merchants did not seem to have suffered in any way.

7. The majority. Excessive opium-smoking appears to render men indolent and disinclined for physical exertion; the mental effect is not, perhaps, so apparent; the immoderate smoker has usually other vices.

8. The alcoholic habit is rarely encountered among the Chinese.

9. The moderate use of the drug does not seem to be at all generally condemned. Drunkenness is a rare vice among the Chinese, and no comparison could be fairly made between alcoholic excesses and the excessive use of opium by a Chinaman, unless he had resided in foreign countries.

10. I have known of many cases in which the immoderate use of opium has discontinued, at least for a time. I do not think the moderate consumer has any wish to discontinue the habit.

11. ———

12. No. Europeans prefer alcohol and tobacco.

13. I do not think opium can be regarded as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria; but I am informed that there are many among the Chinese who regard it as such.

14. Those who are slaves to the habit, and especially when the over-indulgence has entailed poverty, or, and loss of health, do so.

15. Not to my knowledge.

17. Interference with the Indian imports would probably stimulate the cultivation of the poppy, and lead to improvements in the manufacture of opium in China. The habit of opium-smoking has become so much a national one that restriction in the importation of Indian opium is not likely to have more than a temporary effect.

(Signed) EDWARD HENDERSON,
M.D., F.R.C.S., Edin.,
Surgeon H.B.M.'s Consulate, Shanghai.

4. REPORT by Dr. R. A. JAMIESON, a Medical Practitioner in Shanghai for 26 years, Consulting Surgeon to Imperial Maritime Customs, and Surgeon to St. Luke's Hospital for Chinese.

1. The word "commonly" implies so close an approach to precision in the estimate of the ratio of opium-consumers to the general population, that this question cannot safely be answered by a "Yes" or "No." The large number of opium-smoking establishments maintained in and about the settlements, the amount of imported drug retained in Shanghai for local consumption, and the certainly large but absolutely unknown quantity of native opium used attest that opium is "largely" or "widely" consumed by the Chinese in this district.

2. Failing a definition of the term "consumers," any answer to the first part of this question must be a mere guess. If it is intended to count all usual and occasional consumers who smoke a few pipes on the occasion of some festival such as a marriage, or when coming from the country they arrive in Shanghai to pass a few days in altogether unaccustomed dissipation, the answer would be that almost all adult males at least know the taste of opium. But if "consumers" be intended to denote "habitual consumers," the ratio is a very small one. Many years ago, I found that during an entire year the ratio of "opium-smokers" to the total number of applicants for indoor and outdoor treatment at a largely attended hospital for natives, was almost exactly one-fifteenth. The vast majority of those who acknowledged the habit showed no sign of any evil effect from it. The definition of the term "opium-smoker" which I gave my native assistant, who was charged with the inquiry, was "a man who smokes every day whenever he has the chance." Women rarely—exception made of asthmatic old women, all of whom who can afford it, I think, smoke; prostitutes in fashionable native brothels also excepted—and children, so far as I know, never smoke opium. I should perhaps mention that the nuns in Buddhist convents, about whose habits the more respectable Chinese have nothing but evil to say, are reported to be much addicted to opium-smoking.

3. Many of the most respectable and trustworthy Chinese of my acquaintance are moderate opium-smokers. The same must be said of many officials, bankers, and merchants, who accomplish an enormous amount of work involving much mental and bodily fatigue. In the exceptional cases wherein a condition of opium-craving, strictly comparable with chronic alcoholism, is established, it is true that all moral and social ties are loosened; any means of securing indulgence is seized regardless of consequences, and mental and physical health are alike destroyed. But, I believe, that in such cases we have to deal with individuals who are physically degenerate to start with. I have no experience of any opium-consuming race other than the Chinese. Opium-smokers themselves say that there is no qualitative difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium. The Indian drug possesses, they say, a more agreeable aroma, and "goes farther," quantity for quantity. But it is well-known that the prepared drug is largely a mixture of Indian and Chinese opium in varying proportions according to the honesty of the vendor.

4. The Chinese rarely, if ever, eat opium, except for the purpose of suicide. Opium-consumers have until lately smoked exclusively. Within the past few years, however, the so-called "opium habit curing powders," which are nothing but morphia, have created a taste for morphia consumption, which I learn is rapidly spreading on account of its comparative convenience and cleanliness, and also on account of the secrecy with which the habit may be indulged. Still more recently the hypodermic injection of morphia has been introduced, and this form of the habit is gaining ground with extraordinary rapidity. I am informed on excellent authority that the importation of hypodermic syringes from Europe, but especially from Japan, has already reached enormous proportions. It is, however, too soon to offer any opinion about the result of this growing modification of the habit; but it may safely be predicted that it will prove far more hurtful and far more general than opium-smoking has ever been.

5. In the absence of any statistics, reliable or unreliable, this question is quite unanswerable.

6 and 7. These questions are answered, so far as I can answer them, in my replies to Questions 2 and 3.

8. I consider that the two habits—alcohol consumption and opium consumption—are strictly comparable. As against the individuals who drink a couple of glasses of wine at a wedding or a birthday celebration, and do not again taste alcohol until a similar occasion presents itself, there are multitudes in China who at such feasts and at such alone smoke two or three pipes of opium. So the average moderate drinker who feels and is better for a little wine or beer with his meals is widely represented in China by the moderate smoker who finishes his meals with one or two pipes of opium, and takes no more at any other period of the day. Passing them side by side through all the gradations of excess, the two habits are found in their worst and most hopeless form in alcohol sots and opium sots, there being little or nothing to choose between the two groups.

9. In this part of China the habit of consuming opium is regarded exactly as the habit of consuming alcohol is regarded by reasonable Europeans. In the abstract it is not considered as either degrading or injurious; but if any non-smoker were asked the question he would, just as in the case of alcohol we should, certainly add as a rider to his reply, that excess is a fruitful source of disaster and disgrace. The Chinese, I may remark, are a singularly tolerant, practical, and non-censorious race. They concern themselves but little about what theoretically ought to happen, and wait patiently in each case for the rise of an abuse before they think of preventing or remedying it. The Chinese of this province are naturally so peaceable, that while they regard the opium habit in general with careless indulgence, they would be horrified by the uproar and quarrels which the alcohol habit brings in its train. I am informed, but so far as I am concerned this is mere hearsay, that in the Canton province any degree of indulgence in opium-smoking is condemned by public opinion among the respectable classes.

10. I have heard of such cases, but I have never seen one, and I do not believe that they occur except as the rarest and most extraordinary phenomena.

11. Practically, nothing could entirely cut off the Indian supply. Foreign drug would be smuggled into Shanghai at no matter what risk. It would, of course, become much dearer than it is at present, and unobtainable by the humbler and poorer class of smokers. These would smoke Chinese opium exclusively, and of this the supply which is already very large would become limited only by the demand. I am certain that consumers would not abstain, and I think it highly improbable that alcohol or any narcotic other than opium would to any appreciable extent displace the latter.

12. It is excessively rare for a European to contract the habit of opium-smoking. During 26 years of active medical practice among Europeans, only two instances have come to my knowledge. Many Macao Portuguese smoke opium, but they are Portuguese only by name and courtesy. It would be difficult to give all the possible reasons for the difference in habits between European and Asiatic races. Inherited taste is probably a factor; the far less elaborate preparation necessary for indulgence in alcohol; the fact that to swallow a drink occupies no time worth speaking of; the more sociable character of Europeans which makes them love noise and a crowd while intoxicating themselves, all these and many other facts equally obvious explain in whole or in part the insignificant temptation which opium-smoking presents to Europeans. Added to these is the fact that every European knows that if once he were recognised as an opium-smoker he would be socially lost, and all his chances in life would instantly disappear. On the other hand, the absence of a damnatory public opinion, the characteristic carelessness about time-expenditure, the natural quietness and peaceableness of the average Asiatic, probably also inherited taste and tendency make Asiatics far more liable than Europeans to contract the opium habit.

13. Usually, I think, by the natural and general craving for a narcotic of some kind, opium being in China the narcotic in most common use. Sometimes, in order to revive failing sexual power. Very often to relieve the pain of chronic rheumatism, and secure drowsiness, if not sleep. Never, I think, to enjoy

rapturous visions which exist only in European popular imagination. Out of scores of opium-smokers whom I have asked, whether smoking transported them to Paradise, I have never found one who seemed so much as to comprehend the question. Except as affording relief to the pain of rheumatism and to the dyspnoea of asthma or chronic bronchitis, I have not heard any Chinese attribute medicinal virtues to opium-smoking. All agree that in excess it induces absolute sexual impotence after a brief period of super-excitation. So far as I know opium-smoking is not a prophylactic against any disease.

14. Some profess to do so, but they will make no sacrifice worth speaking of to attain freedom.

15. Not the least in the world.

16. It is a matter of relative wealth and of distance from the coast. No doubt very wealthy smokers in all parts of the interior contrive to obtain Indian drug, just as the wealthier smoker on or near the coast seek to consume it exclusively. But as the distance from the ports increases the average consumer becomes more and more dependent on native opium. I am told that in the places where both Indian and Chinese drug are readily obtainable, nobody every asks for Chinese opium, although it is extensively used to replace or adulterate Indian.

17. (a) and (b). These questions are already answered, so far as I can answer them, in my reply to Question 11. (c). Regarding this I have no opinion to offer.

18, 19, 20. I have no information.

(Signed) R. A. JAMIESON, M.D., M.R.C.P.,
Consulting Surgeon to the Imperial Maritime
Customs in China, Surgeon to St. Luke's
Hospital for Chinese.

5. REPORT by Dr. BURGE, a Medical Practitioner in Shanghai for 20 years. Practice entirely among Foreign Shipping.

Shanghai, China,
February 20th, 1894.

1. Yes. In Shanghai opium dens very common.

2. My house boy informs me 50 per cent. of men, 25 per cent. of women, and no children smoke. From my own observation, I should say this per-centage is too heavy, but I have no special knowledge in the matter.

3. I should say it is morally, physically, and socially bad. My boy informs me that Indian opium produces less evil effect than Chinese-grown, especially the common Szechuan variety, which is very bad.

4. Chiefly, I may say, almost entirely smoke. Few eat, and none drink opium, except for suicidal purposes, for which opium is in common use.

5. (1) none; (2) comparatively few; (3) to the majority until they cannot do without it.

6. I think there cannot be moderation, the use tends to increase, and does increase, as a rule. My boy has smoked for 20 years, not to great excess, but is certainly enfeebled in mind and body by it.

7. My boy says 50 per cent. of males of all classes, and certainly renders them less efficient in their calling.

8. I should say the use of opium being more common has a greater evil effect. Opium-smoking probably leads to the drinking of alcohol in the form of rice-spirit (which, as it has very injurious effects on Europeans (sailors), who frequently drink it because it is cheap), it must therefore be highly injurious. This rice-spirit (sanshu) causes vomiting, diarrhoea and brain symptoms of a violent character amongst the sailors; it soon makes them "mad drunk" and quarrelsome.

9. Condemned as both degrading and injurious by Chinese. I should say they would look upon both as equally bad habits, but on drink as more degrading, as it incapacitates from work, whilst most opium-smokers are able to do some work.

10. Very few. They may be able to moderate it.

11. They would consume the Chinese opium without doubt, and as it is cheaper, would probably smoke

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more, to their greater detriment. They would still keep to opium, I believe, especially as it would be cheaper.

12. Extremely few I think, because it is considered so detrimental and debasing, and because the use of alcohol is the rule amongst Europeans. Asiatics have but very few comforts in their homes. They resort to it to dull their cares as Europeans resort to alcohol.

13. Through gambling, their most common vice, and the evil companionship that that entails, I think opium has but little prophylactic effect on fever or rheumatism; it may tend to ward off malaria slightly, and it is considered to do so by the Chinese.

14. I think not, but have no special information.

15. I certainly think not, especially amongst the opium-consumers, as they would smoke nothing else if they could afford it, its expense alone deters them.

16. By all classes, I should say, and, as far as I know, in all provinces and districts.

17.—(a.) That they would consume Chinese-grown. (b.) That it would rapidly increase the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium in China. (c.) They would probably increase the tax on Chinese opium to make up the deficiency.

18. No.

19. No information.

20. None excepting that if opium-smoking or eating could be prevented, it would undoubtedly be a very great blessing to the country.

I may remark I have lived 20 years in Shanghai, but have no very special information on the subject. The above answers are simply the opinion I have formed from general observation and information.

(Signed) FREDK. J. BURGE,
R.L.C.P., Lond.

6. Report by Mr. W. S. WETMORE, a Merchant in Shanghai and other parts of China, for over 40 years. Must have come in contact with great numbers of the better class of Chinese.

SIR, Shanghai, 19th February 1894.

IN conformity with your request, I have the honour to give the following replies to the questions regarding opium consumption in China, contained in the memorandum of the Royal Commission on Opium, which you have sent to me for that purpose.

I will premise that I have never made a special study of the use of opium and its effects on the people, and my answers will, therefore, be confined to such points as I am more or less familiar with from general observation.

1. I do not think that opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in this part of China. Most of the people here belong to the poor labouring classes, who could not afford to indulge in such a luxury, and an ordinary observer might traverse the streets of the towns and the paths of the country for years without having his attention drawn to any fact which would indicate the existence of such a habit among the people as the use of opium or any other drug or intoxicant.

2. I have never known or seen any women or children who were opium-smokers.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium.

6. I have known several inveterate opium-smokers, and from my observation believe that an excessive indulgence in this drug is very pernicious to both mind and body, while its habitual use in moderation appears to have no permanently prejudicial effect. Among the habitual, but moderate smokers, whom I know, is one who has held a position of responsibility on our native staff for more than 20 years, and whom I have known well for double that period. He is now 67 years old and his mental powers are unimpaired, while he is

physically as strong as could be expected of one of his age. Undoubtedly there can be moderation in the use of opium as well as in the use of alcohol.

7. Certainly a majority of labourers, merchants, and artisans in this part of China are not regular consumers of opium, and very few exhibit indications of its use.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the Chinese would resort to native-grown opium.

12. Opium-consumers are often led to use the drug very much in the same way that boys at home are led to use tobacco or intoxicating drinks, but it is more generally and freely indulged in to kill time, which must hang very heavily on the hands of people who have no social life in our acceptance of the term, and no rational means of occupying their leisure hours, such as are fortunately possessed by people of the western world; and this is particularly the case with the classes who have not to obtain their livelihood by manual labour, among whom, in fact, the habit is chiefly prevalent.

15. I have never heard the wish expressed by Chinese that England should not allow opium to be exported from India.

16. The native opium is chiefly consumed by the poorer classes, and the Indian by the well-to-do who can afford to pay for the more expensive drug.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. S. WETMORE.

7. REPORT by GENERAL W. MESNY. This is a gentleman who has long lived in intimate relationship with Chinese, and who even now wears Chinese dress and associates largely with Chinese. Has had greater opportunities of observing inner Chinese life than any other foreigner in China.

2 Tientsin Road, Shanghai,

DEAR SIR, 17th February, 1894.

IN answer to your note of the 14th instant, asking me to favour you with replies to questions in accompanying paper from the Royal Commission on Opium, I am sorry to say that, although I have lived for many years in Western China, where opium is very extensively cultivated, and have taken many notes on the subject of opium cultivation, local consumption, and exportation, I have not those notes to hand at present for reference. Therefore, I hope you will excuse me if you find the following notes unequal to what you may have been led to expect from me on the subject.

ANSWERS to QUESTIONS on the USE of OPIUM.

1. From 60 to 80 per cent. of the whole population of Western China, viz., Ssu Ch'uan, Yunnan, and Kuei-chou, smoke opium habitually, and the remaining portion of the population (with few exceptions) smoke opium occasionally. The same rule will answer for all the provincial capital cities of this vast empire. The proportion of smokers is much less in Northern China generally, excepting in the great commercial centres such as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Hankow, and other places, where the proportion of habitual smokers may be about 50 per cent. and occasional smokers about 10 to 15 per cent.

2. Women and children in Western China consume opium habitually, but I cannot say what per-centage in comparison with men. In the great official and commercial centres the number of women smokers may be about one woman for every two men. Few children smoke under 12 years of age in any but the three Western Provinces.

3. The excessive use of opium, whether foreign or native, tends to make people indolent and lazy, consequently poor, but it never brutalizes the *habitués* of the pipe like alcohol does drunkards. It is in fact the king of drugs, a cure for many ills, a balm for many wounds, and a preventative of many diseases. It is far preferable to alcohol as a stimulant because it does not excite the animal passions as alcohol does.

4. The consumption of opium is almost entirely done by smoking the prepared drug in jelly form toasted in a certain manner over a small lamp. Smokers sometimes take pills of prepared opium when they have no time to smoke. The Katchins spread opium jelly on palm leaves, toast these over a charcoal fire, and chew them as tobacco. I cannot distinguish a smoker from a chewer of opium. I have only known two men to take decoctions of opium. They did it by diluting the jelly with strong native whisky, and sipping the decoction did them more harm than would have been possible by smoking. They were both smokers and only took decoctions of the drug when they had no time to smoke.

5.—1. It is safe to say that one-half the users of opium do so without injury to themselves. 2. Forty per cent. suffer more or less severely of poverty brought on by their indolence owing to the use or abuse of the drug. 3. Ten per cent may be considered "sots." The opium sot is less degraded than the alcohol sot.

6. It is not correct to say there is not such a thing as moderation in the consumption. I speak from practical experience, having lived in China for 33 years, most of that time being entirely isolated from foreigners, and I am well acquainted with many men and some women who habitually use opium in moderation and are none the worse for it, excepting in the matter of laziness. I have known of but few cases of great injury caused by opium to anyone but the actual consumers, but some families are impoverished thereby. An opium-smoker will no doubt sell all his property as well as his wife and children in order to procure opium to satisfy his inordinate craving for the drug. But poor people in all parts of China will do the very same thing to obtain rice when they are hungry. I have actually seen such things done in Shanghai by men who had never smoked or otherwise used opium. It is customary to do so in order to save the lives of all concerned, if possible, by making the sacrifice.

7. The majority of labourers in South and Western China smoke opium in moderate quantities; some of them, however, to excess. Smokers, as a rule, cannot hold out as long as non-smokers without rest, but a smoke of opium revives them. This fact is probably due to the poverty of the smokers, who having spent so much in opium have little for food. It is also an undoubted fact that opium-smokers do not relish the frugal fare that suited them very well before they indulged in opium. They require luxuries which they cannot well afford to buy without depriving themselves of the means of procuring opium. The craving for opium at the customary hour is more difficult to resist than the pangs of hunger; therefore opium must be procured at any price before food. This is where the mischief comes in with the weak-minded smokers; the strong-minded one eats first, and spends the balance of his money in opium, his stomach being full of food, the body is being nourished and the craving for opium is controllable. The weak-minded smoker smokes first, and has not enough money left with which to buy suitable food.

8. The use or abuse of opium compares favourably with the use or abuse of alcohol in every respect everywhere.

9. The habitual use of opium was formerly looked upon as very degrading, but not now. The opium habit is regarded as less degraded than drunkenness.

10. Opium-smokers can and do break themselves of the habit. I have done so, and several others of my acquaintances have done the same. It is an act, however, which requires a good deal of determination; hence the reason so many fail to attain their object.

11. If the importation of foreign opium were to cease to-morrow everyone would resort to Chinese-grown opium, and the cultivation of the drug would increase because it pays better than any other known crop derivable from a given acreage with the same amount of trouble and expense.

12. I have known three Americans, one European besides myself, and a Bagdad Jewess who smoked opium habitually; one of the Americans was a slave to the habit, but he was of such a weak constitution that it is quite possible his life was prolonged by the use of opium.

13. In Western China opium is offered to a visitor the same as cigars are offered in the West, or rather more freely; thus the habit is gradually acquired without making any special effort to that end. Opium-smoking is frequently recommended as the safest,

cheapest, and most convenient cure for various diseases, especially for all kinds of bowel complaints and fevers. Opium-smoking is regarded in Western China as the best possible and sure shield against malaria. It is also used as a painkiller in cases of rheumatism and gout.

14. I have known many opium-smokers express a desire to cure themselves of the habit, but on being given an opportunity to do so under the very best conditions they have been unwilling to deny themselves the craving for the drug until they had conquered it.

15. There are, no doubt, many Chinese who would like to see the importation of opium cease altogether, because they believe that it is impoverishing China by taking away so much money to pay for it. Many years ago H. E. Chang Chih Tung asked my opinion regarding the importation of Indian opium. I presented him with a paper on the subject, whereupon he memorialised the throne, without mentioning my name I believe, and the result was the signing of the Opium Convention between England and China, and giving China a large increase of revenue.

16. Indian opium is mostly consumed by well-to-do people, officials, or merchants in the treaty ports, and in a few of the provincial capitals near the coast. The majority of smokers at Canton, Shanghai, and Hankow probably use a mixture of native and foreign opium, but in the rest of China very few of the natives use anything but Chinese-grown opium. The officials, who are of course strangers where they serve, preferably use foreign opium, but even these often mix the imported with the native-grown drug in such proportions as they believe will satisfy their requirements. I have heard many smokers of the foreign drug declare that they could not satisfy the craving for opium by smoking the pure native-grown drug.

17. The lack of Indian opium is sure to cause:—(a) An increased demand for native opium; (b) an increase in the production; and (c.) an increase of duty on all native-grown opium to make up for the deficiency caused by the non-arrival of foreign opium.

18. I believe it is safe to say that two-thirds of the arable dry land in Ssu Ch'uan, Kuei Chou, and Yun-nan is used for the cultivation of opium; about one-half of the suitable land in Kan Su, Shen Si, and Shan Si is used for the same purpose, and much less in other provinces. I believe that it is also safe to say that the three Western Provinces of China produce more opium than all the rest of the world put together. Opium is the only crop that pays.

19. I believe that native opium only pays about one half of the amount of duty levied on foreign opium per picul or cwt. I believe that one million of taels was formerly derived by the Provincial Government of Kuei Chou from native opium, as follows:—About 10 per cent. of the cost price was levied as a tax by the local magistrate as his private perquisite. About 10 per cent. more was levied by the Prefectural Octroi officials, and a similar amount was levied as likin or war tax. (The tael silver is about the equivalent of three rupees weight for weight.) In this manner I reckon that about three million taels worth of opium was annually exported from Kuei Chou chiefly to the neighbouring provinces. The duty has since been increased about 100 per cent., but I do not know with what effect on the produce or export.

20. It is my firm belief that neither the Chinese Government nor the Chinese people wish to do without opium-smoking. They are by no means thankful to the well-meaning but misguided people who have given England so much trouble in the matter. The Christian nations are more likely to become total abstainers from all intoxicating liquors than the Chinese are likely to become total abstainers from the use of opium. It is, no doubt, a great pity that the Chinese should be so addicted to opium. It is also a great pity that all the Christian nations should be so addicted to intoxicating drinks. Both would do well to become total abstainers if they can.

(Signed) WILLIAM MESNY,
Brevet Lieutenant-General, Chinese Army.

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8. REPORT by DR. EDKINS. This gentleman was engaged as a Missionary for about 30 years. He is now employed as a Translator in the Imperial Maritime Customs. He holds an eminent position as a Sinologue and has had much experience of Chinese life. He is, however, a book-scholar rather than a practical man.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?—Opium-smoking spreads rapidly year by year, each year there are more opium-smokers than in the former year. In Shanghai and its neighbourhood and in Peking and its neighbourhood natives assure me there is no doubt of this.

2. What is the probable proportion of male consumers? Of women? Of children?—In Shanghai, my informant says, 20 to 30 males in 100 smoke. Of women one in 100. Of children two or three in 100. There are more children than women who smoke because they do so by thoughtless and playful imitation with no prudent foresight to guide them. Of prostitutes in Shanghai 10 in 100 smoke. My second informant, a Pekinese, now residing in Shanghai, says, more smoke in Shanghai than in Peking. He believes that in Canton the proportion of smokers is from what he hears greater than in any other province. Of the Canton men resident in Shanghai, 10 in 100 is the proportion. More smoke in Shanghai than in the adjoining country. In Canton more poor men smoke than elsewhere, because a dry opium is manufactured which affords to a poor man a smoke for seven copper cash ($\frac{1}{10}$ th of a dollar).

3. What are the effects of opium on the consumer? Is there any difference in the effects of Indian and Chinese opium?—Smokers of races other than Chinese are very few. Only the Coreans smoke in the proportion of 10 in 100 as seen at Shanghai. Their looks betray smokers whether Chinese or Corean. My Pekinese informant says that as a rule all artisans and day labourers suffer in efficiency at their trade or their remunerative employment. Good work such as needs care in doing it is very reluctantly entrusted to an opium-smoker. If he contracts the habit he loses custom. He adds that all smokers, except those who are rigidly moderate in their indulgence, lose a healthy appearance in the face. In the worst cases victims assume a worn and haggard look. Indian opium as prepared by Cantonese manipulators is far more dangerously powerful in its effects on the bodily constitution than Chinese opium. By the Canton method of boiling 100 ounces Indian opium become 50, and it is the most fascinating and at the same time mischievous in its effects of any kind of opium.

4. Do consumers smoke or eat opium? What number of them drink a decoction of opium? What is the difference in the effects in each case?—Smokers to the number of 30 in 100 must sleep after smoking. Among the 30, says the Shanghai informant, five take raw opium or opium ash by swallowing it. The effects of eating opium are much worse than the effects of smoking it. It causes black features, black teeth, and a dry mouth. Opium prepared in the Shanghai way by Shanghai men is much less deleterious in its effects than that prepared by Cantonese. 3, 4. My Peking informant distinguishes between sound sleepers and those who rest for a brief interval after smoking. Such smokers have what is called the Tengyin "lamp craving," and he regards those who must sleep as only one or two in 100 smokers. Smokers who have the tengyin may be seen to look at the lamp and doze for a few minutes with their eyes open and presenting a glazed appearance. If the lamp is removed or suddenly extinguished they wake immediately.

5.—(i.) How many smoke without injury to themselves? (ii.) How many with slight injury? (iii.) How many suffer great injury?—The Shanghai informant says: (i.) In 100 smokers those who have abundance of good food may, if they are moderate in their use of opium, continue for many years to live without injury. But only five or six in 100 are so fortunate. (ii.) "Slight injury" is, in the case of many smokers, seen in their waste of time, loss of money, and in liability to increase the amount smoked. If they lack money they smoke

less. If they have money they smoke more. Fifteen in 100 are of this character. (iii.) Worst class. Persons who are so unfortunate are likely to fall through poverty into the habit of eating opium or opium ash. Then they suffer most severely. Ten smokers in 100 are of this class. Thirty or 40 in 100 smoke once in two or three days. The daily craving has not arrived in their case. They smoke when friends call. This witness says 20 men in 100 never smoke. The Peking witness says Class i. numbers 10 in 100; Class iii., he says, numbers two or three in 10. In Shanghai and Peking the numbers of the classes are much the same.

6. Is there moderation in opium-smoking? Describe one or two cases of consumers who have not suffered injury. Are there many cases of smokers who suffer great injury?—The Shanghai witness says, five or six in 100 are moderate smokers. He has known some who have smoked, for years moderately. Such men eat well, sleep early, get up early, and are moderate in their habits. They smoke one-tenth or two-tenths of an ounce daily, and still no harm comes to them. If they are prudent and in affluent circumstances this is possible. He has known 14 or 15 smokers in 100 who, whether rich or poor, were imprudent and became objects of scorn through yielding to excess in smoking. He has known two or three opium sots in Shanghai who died early and miserably through the habit of opium-smoking. My Peking informant knows a coal mine owner, 60 years of age when he saw him first, who has smoked opium for 30 years. He is very healthy and yet takes opium by smoking every day twice. He smokes after his meals. He smokes lying on his right side and then on his left. He has never taken too much. He has kept rigidly to the quantity each day and has been strong and well all the time. Of such cases there are only one in 10,000; some men at first when they begin to smoke grow fat and stronger in body. It was so with him. In other cases the amount of opium is increased from some pain, some fancy, or some slight temptation. Almost all smokers err in this way. As to opium sots who ruin themselves ultimately, he says there are two or three in 10. He holds to this firmly. In his opinion the country is now honey-combed everywhere by this destructive habit, and there is really no great difference between one place and another; opium sots who come to ruin are found everywhere. The coal owner was able to do so well simply because he kept to a strict limit in the amount of opium smoked by him daily.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, merchants, or artisans where you reside consume opium? What is the effect on the efficiency of those who give way to the opium habit?—About 20 or 30 in 100 smoke, says my Peking informant, and as many in Shanghai. China is getting to be, in regard to this habit, much the same everywhere. In the north all these classes suffer in efficiency. Those who smoke opium are dismissed as not being fit for responsible work. If a man is an opium-smoker he cannot be trusted. At present, in Central China, the rule is relaxed. More license is allowed. Yet it is always worse for the smoker than for the non-smoker.

8. How does the effect of the use or abuse of opium compare with that of the use or abuse of alcohol in your part of China?—It is much worse. The bad effects of alcohol have never in China been regarded as to so large an extent deleterious as the results of the opium habit. Drunkenness is somewhat rare in China.

9. In China does general opinion condemn the opium habit as degrading and injurious?—The use of alcohol does not destroy a man's respectability till he suffers through over indulgence. No respectable person becomes intoxicated. Public opinion is against excess. A native club in Tientsin which prohibits opium and alcohol is very popular there. It is called Tsai li. One-half of the people of Tientsin are thought to belong to it. It also eschews smoking tobacco. In South Peking members of this association are very numerous. More persons than ever belong to it. Yet in the Tartar city of Peking there are scarcely any. Fifteen years ago there were official proclamations warning the people against it as a dangerous political society. Lately the Government has not proscribed them.

10. Do opium-smokers break off the habit?—My Shanghai informant broke it off. For five or six years he smoked mild opium (native) and had the craving.

When he came to Shanghai he smoked Indian opium as prepared by the Cantonese. After this he had no taste for the native prepared opium. Those who have the craving for the opium prepared in the Canton way prefer opium to food. When he rose at 7 or 8 o'clock he first smoked and afterwards had a meal. When under the influence he would not speak with anyone who came to converse till after the smoking bout was finished. He passed through much misery. At night he could not sleep well. Many small troubles resulted. He was unwilling to rise in the morning. He had no animation, no vivacity. Opium must precede luncheon. He passed five years of "heavy craving." Then he was in Jardine and Matheson's firm, in the employment of Mr. Donald Spence, who was the first when British Consul at Tchang to send to the British Foreign Office statistics of the enormous yield of native opium in the province of Szchwen. My informant was with him in Jardine and Matheson's service for three or four years. Then he was in the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company for two years. He inquired seriously for a cure. Several recipes quite failed. At last he tried that of Lintsé sū, the Canton Viceroy who destroyed the British and other opium in 1839, and precipitated a war. This cure was successful by the suitability of the drugs used to secure all the internal organs from suffering when the daily indulgence was abandoned, *i.e.*, the kidneys, the bowels, the lachrymal glands, the liver, all continued to act normally. He has been free from the habit for three years. The Tsai li association of Tientsin obtains one-fifth of its members by the desire of candidates to throw off the opium habit. A mixture called Ch'a kao is used. It is said to be green grass, reduced to a pulp and made into a cake. It is drunk as tea (ch'a) and hence the name. The water used is dew. It is dried in the sun till black in colour. Then it is boiled in water and filtered through a cloth. The founder of this association with its triple boycott of opium, alcohol, and tobacco was a mysterious stranger who is buried near Tientsin and taught his disciples the use of a watchword Kwan shi yin pu sa, the Chinese translation of the Sanserit Avalo keteshwara, the Goddess Kanon of the Japanese. He taught that it is of all things important to abstain from opium and alcohol. The Neophytes wear white, with a white sash. They like to be without a cap on the head. They spend the New Year's Night at their founder's grave. My Peking informant thinks that only one smoker in 100 breaks off the habit. Of the cured he thinks half do so by the aid of the foreign medical missionary and half by native cure. He insists that opium is very much worse than alcohol in its effects.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off what would be the effect?—Both the Shanghai and Pekinese informant believe it to be within the power of the Chinese Government to stop the habit of opium-smoking in about 10 years. The Chinese Minister in London, Sie ta jen, told me the same thing in the autumn of 1892, when I saw him in Portland Place. It does not seem possible, but the Chinese believe that it is possible for the Emperor to stop the habit. As to the substitution of other narcotics to take the place of opium, my informants agree that alcohol and tobacco with other articles all fail as substitutes for opium. This inability to remove the opium craving characterising all other narcotics increases the difficulty felt in throwing off the habit.

12. In Shanghai do Europeans contract the opium habit? If not, why not? Why are Asiatics more liable to fall into this habit?—In Shanghai cases are rare. One of my informants knows of two Portuguese who frequent an opium shop. The other has known of two Americans of a low grade in life who had contracted the habit. The Chinese here think the reason why Europeans do not smoke opium is that they are energetic and disposed to activity. It is indolence that leads men to opium-smoking. The example has not been set to Englishmen, for example, as it has been by the Cantonese to their countrymen. The bold and the dangerous has a charm for the Canton people. This, argues my informant, is seen in the history of lotteries. The Canton people run tremendous risks of loss in lotteries for the sake of a possible gain. Through the spread of the lottery epidemic in China of late years a license to issue lottery tickets on the risk of the success of individuals in obtaining the doctor's degree in Peking is sold for an annual sum of Taels 60,000 by the present Viceroy. This is permitted by the Emperor on the ground that if the tickets

were not sold at Canton they would be sold at Macao. This money is supplied to the support of the army. The negotiators of the lottery and the buyers of tickets are mainly Cantonese. As later the Canton people boldly risk money in lotteries, so at an earlier period they were the first to teach the whole country the habit of opium-smoking dangerous as it is. I think myself that the higher tone of European society and the self-respect and love of regular occupation felt by the inhabitants of Christian countries will always prevent them from contracting a love of opium-smoking. Improvidence, moral weakness, and the absence of a healthy fear of the censures of society, renders Asiatics liable to contract the opium habit. The extension of Christianity will elevate the tone of Chinese society and give the people moral strength. At this juncture there is pressing need for the help of the Government to remove temptations to opium-smoking by prohibiting laws and modes of action adapted to check and extinguish the evil.

13. What leads smokers to commence the habit? Is opium regarded as a prophylactic against fever, malaria, or rheumatism?—Many smokers say they began to smoke to relieve pain, but more do so for amusement, either from curiosity or from imitation, as also from politeness in entertaining friends. A fit of indigestion may be relieved by a smoke, and this may be the beginning of a lifelong habit.

14. Do opium-smokers usually desire to get free of the opium habit?—Very many do and try various proposed cures without success. They are under the influence of hereditary moral weakness, and this is aided by the force of the example of a multitude of opium-smokers around them. This renders their efforts to free themselves fruitless and disappointing. The force of the craving and the intolerable discomfort felt in various bodily organs alarm them and compel them to cease from the effort after freedom.

15. Do the Chinese in that part of the country with which you are acquainted feel any wish that England should not allow the Indian export to continue?—My Peking informant said that in the north Christians feel this wish strongly. Others do not think about it. No one talks on political subjects. The matter is not brought up in conversation. My Shanghai informant says that hereabouts the feeling is general that the stoppage of opium import from India would be an immense benefit. The Christians feel so, but not they only. All feel it in his opinion.

16. By whom and in what parts of China is Indian opium consumed? How far do the native and the Indian article compete with each other in parts where both are procurable?—My Peking informant says there is no great competition. The Canton dealer deals only in Indian drug. Those who like a fine rich flavour prefer the Indian. Near the ports open to foreign trade and south of the Yang-tsz-kiang the Indian drug is used, north of the same river and in Western China the drug used is native. At Soochow and Kiahing, two large prefectures near Shanghai, Indian opium is preferred. It is convenient to buy. Where Chinese opium is near at hand and cheap the buyer prefers it. In the competition which occurs the Indian cannot prevail. Smokers of native opium are twice as numerous as smokers of the Indian article. Rich persons prefer Indian opium because it is prepared in the Canton way. In the Canton method 100 ounces of drug are in firing reduced to 50 ounces. If opium is prepared in the Shanghai method it is reduced at the most to 60 ounces.

17. What will be the probable consequences of the prohibition of the Indian drug?—(1.) The smoker of Indian drug will at first use the native drug. A large diminution in the amount consumed will take place. Possibly the Emperor of China will fix five years as a limit at first. Possibly the limit may be 10 years. The want of Indian drug in the market will be viewed as a severe restriction. (2.) The Emperor, it is nearly certain, will add to the duty on opium. At present the duty is at some centres of collection 50 taels per picul (133 lbs.). Then it will probably be 120 or 130 taels.

17, 18. What arrangements will the Chinese Government make in regard to revenue as a consequence of the cessation of the import of Indian opium? What is the area now devoted to the production of native opium?—In the Decennial Reports of the Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai, 1893, Mr. A. E. von Rothorn gives the statistics of 19 counties on the right and left bank of the Yang-tsz river between

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Chung Ching and Wanbien, which are about 150 miles apart. In these 19 counties 37,400 piculs are produced each year, which is nearly a half of the entire Indian export of opium to China. On this quantity of native opium Taels 400,000 of silver are levied locally or nearly 11 taels per picul. In 1859 the Peking Government fixed the duty on native opium at Taels 30 per picul. And it has been since raised to Taels 50. There seems to be no good reason to doubt that the entire native production in different parts of China reaches 400,000 piculs and it may be a much larger quantity. One fertile county may produce 2,000 piculs or nearly so. Ten thousand piculs then may be manufactured in a tract of country where there are five county towns distant from each other about 30 miles.

19. What revenue does the Chinese Government derive from opium, and how does the taxation levied on Indian opium compare with that levied on the native drug?—The levy on Indian opium is Taels 110 per picul (133 lbs.). That on native opium amounts to about Taels 50 per picul. In many cases less is exacted, for instance, Taels 35.

20. Have you any other remark to make on the subject?—(a.) Last year the habit of mixing the native and foreign drug had so much increased at Shanghai that the output at Süchow, in the north part of the province, was doubled. It is customary now for the opium shops to mix six-tenths of Chinese drug with four-tenths Indian drug. (b.) My informant feels sure that opium-smoking might be gradually stamped out by the Government in about 10 years. After the withdrawal of the Indian drug an immense change will take place in China. Patriotic and vigorous viceroys will enter on this noble enterprise, and every friend to mankind will wish them success. But so mighty is the evil and so widespread the corruption existing everywhere in the public service that the foreign onlooker cannot but doubt if they can conquer the foe by political measures alone.

(Signed) J. EDKINS, D.D.,
Shanghai.

9. REPORT by CAPTAIN J. P. McEVEN.—This gentleman is Captain Superintendent of the Municipal Police of Shanghai, and has been so for 11 years. Previously to that he was Assistant Harbour Master at Hong Kong. He has had exceptional opportunities of observing the class of Chinese who habitually frequent the public opium shops, as well as the criminal and degraded classes generally.

1. If by commonly consumed is meant that the majority of the population are opium-smokers, opium is not commonly consumed in Shanghai.

2. During the 11 years 1883-1893 58,318 males and 624 females have been brought under the notice of the police for various offences, making a total of both sexes of 58,942; out of this number 12,502 males and 51 females were opium-smokers, and it is noteworthy that this proportion holds good for each year of the period. Children do not smoke.

3. The same may be said of the moderate and immoderate use of opium as of alcoholic products. The Indian opium being, it is said, five times stronger than the China drug, the same effect can only be produced by using five times the quantity of the latter.

4. Smoking entirely.

5.—(i.) The larger proportion of those who smoke are moderate smokers without apparent injury; (ii.) probably a small proportion with slight injury; (iii.) with a very small proportion of this class ("opium sots").

6. It would be as correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of alcohol. There are numerous instances in Shanghai of consumers who have smoked opium for years without apparent injury. A, 25 years of age, has been a regular opium-smoker for 30 years; is employed as accountant and writer; he attends office from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., with an interval of an hour and a half for tiffin. He is a very intelligent man with an excellent memory. He has children.

B, 43 years of age, has been an opium-smoker for about 20 years; was formerly the accountant of a large tea hong, is now manager of a line of steam launches; is a smart man of business and enjoys good health. He has children. These cases could be multiplied if time admitted.

7. The same proportion would probably hold good as in Answer 2.

8. From a police point of view the opium-smokers are a very quiet class of people, but those of the population who are given to habits of intemperance (drinking wines, spirits, &c., to excess) become noisy and turbulent, and make themselves a nuisance generally; fortunately these cases are exceptionally few among the Chinese.

9. The abuse is, but the use in moderation is not. Drunkenness among the Chinese is so very rare that it can scarcely be taken into account, but the habitual opium-smoker, as a citizen, is most certainly to be preferred to the habitual drunkard.

10. This, in my opinion, stands on all fours with the use and abuse of alcohol.

11. It is impossible to answer this question with any degree of accuracy. They would probably resort to some other substitute, but certainly not to alcohol.

12. No. For the same reason that they do not do so in England.

13. By being brought into contact socially with those who smoke, that is, custom, as in the case of wines and spirits in Europe, or tobacco.

14. Only when used in excess, and even not then when the smoker is well to do.

15. Not to my knowledge.

16. I am unable to give any information on this point.

17. I am unable to give any information on this point.

18. I am unable to give any information on this point.

19. I am unable to give any information on this point.

20. No. Except that these answers refer to the so-called English and American settlements of Shanghai, and to smoking alone.

J. P. McEVEN,
Captain Superintendent of Police.

23rd February 1894.

10. REPORT by CONSUL-GENERAL HANNEN.—This Report represents the views of Mr. Hannen and Mr. Jamieson, H.M. Consul at Shanghai. Mr. Hannen has lived in Shanghai for about 28 years with certain intervals of absence. His opportunities of observation have been those of the average foreigner living in the midst of a large Chinese population. Mr. Jamieson has lived in China continuously for 30 years. He has served as Consul in several of the Ports besides Shanghai, and has had ample opportunities of seeing and observing all classes of Chinese, officials included.

1. It is generally understood that opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in and around Shanghai, but it is done in such a manner and has so little visible or observable effect that I should be unable to say that this was so from my own personal observation.

2. There is practically only one race of Chinese in this neighbourhood. I should conjecture from my own observation and general report that at most one in ten of the adult males are consumers. It is reported that some women amongst the well-to-do classes consume opium, but amongst servants I have never known or heard of an instance. Children do not consume opium. Generally a man does not take seriously to opium before he is at least 30 years old.

3. The moderate use of opium does not have any appreciable effect morally, physically, or socially, so far as my observation goes. Its excessive use up to a certain point is injurious because a man's faculties

need the stimulus of the opium before they are in a normal state; until he has had his pipe an opium-smoker is stupid. I imagine that if opium is used to great excess it may affect the consumer in all these ways, but no case of such excessive use has ever come under my personal observation.

4. Consumers smoke opium; the use in any other form is practically unknown in this neighbourhood.

5. I know of no reliable statistics from which it would be possible to answer this accurately. As a rough guess I should say that about 80 per cent. used it without apparent injury, about 19 per cent. with slight injury, and 1 per cent. at most become opium sots. I personally have never met one.

6. There certainly can be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. The late comprador of this Consulate-General was an habitual smoker. He was always an excellent man of business and carried out his work in a perfectly satisfactory manner for some 40 years. He died last year at an advanced age (nearly 70) of bronchitis. A writer employed in this Consulate was a heavy smoker, but continued to do his work for a great number of years without apparent injury to his physical condition. It was, however, remarked of this man that he was always much keener after his smoke than before. His mind was dull and lethargic until he had had his forenoon pipe.

7. The majority of the labourers and artisans are not consumers of opium. I do not know as to the majority of the merchants, but a very considerable proportion of them do. Those who consume opium are certainly not reported to be injured by it.

8. As a rule the Chinese in this neighbourhood do not use alcohol. If by any chance a Chinese takes alcohol to excess he becomes quarrelsome and exhibits the same symptoms as men of other races under the influence of liquor, but it is a very rare thing for any Chinese to drink alcohol to excess.

9. The habit of consuming opium is condemned as extravagant rather than degrading or injurious. The smoking of opium in the opium shops is condemned as demoralising, but this is rather from the nature of those shops than from the smoking of opium itself. Many of these shops are considered disreputable places the frequenting of which would be demoralising quite apart from the fact that opium was smoked there.

10. Opium-smokers do not as a rule break themselves of the habit. Men have been known to reduce their consumption of opium from an excessive to a moderate use, but whether they can and do give it up entirely I cannot say.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, the Chinese in this neighbourhood who are consumers of opium would resort to Chinese-grown opium; they would not I think resort to alcohol, and they would certainly not abstain altogether. If the Indian supply were suddenly cut off the natural result would be to enhance largely the cost of all opium, native and foreign, and for a time the poorer would not be able to obtain opium at a price which they could afford. It is a question for a medical man whether those who were deprived of their habitual dose would suffer in health, but the consumers themselves, or at any rate those who have become confirmed smokers, are under the impression that the sudden total abstinence would endanger their lives.

12. People of European race do not contract the opium habit. I have never known or even heard of a case occurring in Shanghai. To sleep and have happy dreams is a Chinaman's beau ideal of earthly bliss. The opium pipe realises this.

13. ———

14. Those opium consumers who use it to excess do desire to get free of the habit. Others do not think anything about it.

15. There is not among the Chinese in this part of China any wish that England should forbid opium to be exported from India. The non-smokers are utterly indifferent on the subject, and the smokers naturally would object.

16. Indian opium is smoked principally by the well-to-do classes. It is of course more used in the open ports than in the interior, but even here in Shanghai a considerable amount of native grown-opium is consumed, generally mixed with Indian.

17.—(a). The effect of prohibiting the export of Indian opium on the consumption of opium by the Chinese will be inappreciable. The supply of the native drug will be stimulated, and after a time the same amount will be consumed as at present. For a time the price will be so enhanced as to deprive the poorer classes of the power to indulge their craving, but the majority of the smokers being well-to-do persons, will only be affected inasmuch as they will be obliged to consume the native drug, which is considered less palatable, and more deleterious.

(b). It is generally understood that the quantity of native-grown opium is from three to four times greater than that imported. A very moderate extension of the area now under cultivation would, therefore, suffice to produce the additional supply required. Probably two or three years would be all the time required to effect the necessary adjustment, after which prices and consumption would go on as before.

(c). The prohibition of the export of Indian opium would cause the loss of about one-third of the total amount of duties collected by the Foreign Customs Service for the Chinese Government, or about eight million Haikuan taels, say, 1,600,000*l.* It would be practically impossible for the Chinese Government to raise the whole of this amount by taxes on the native drug. There are no means of ascertaining how much the Chinese Government derives from taxes on native-grown opium, but the amount cannot be very large. If the taxes upon it were increased, a great incentive to smuggling would exist, and as already it is computed that 33 per cent. of the opium made in Szuchuan escapes taxation, the amount, if the tax were increased, would probably be 50 per cent. It may be assumed that the same would be true of all opium produced in China. In order to raise the same amount of revenue at the same rate of taxation a very much larger consumption of opium would be required. The revenue from Indian opium is collected with ease and certainty by the Imperial Maritime Customs, that on native opium is collected at the native likin and barrier stations, which are mostly on the inland waterways, with much trouble and expense. Smuggling is easy, and, moreover, there is no check on the honesty of the native officials, who, in effect, return what they please. There is no method of levying it on the grower, and even if there were there would be no check against speculation any more than under the present system. It is not in the least contemplated by the Chinese that the production and consumption of opium would be prohibited by the Government, if Indian opium were not imported, but if it were the loss to the Chinese Government would be, as stated before, about one-third of the total Customs receipts, or say seven to eight millions of Haikuan taels per annum.

19. The revenue accruing to the Chinese Government from Indian opium for 1893, was Haikuan taels 7,127,000 (equivalent to 1,425,000*l.*), and the amount collected by the Maritime Customs on native-grown opium was Haikuan Taels, 119,500 (23,900*l.*). No return is made of duties collected by native officials. The rate at which duty is levied on native-grown opium when passing through the Maritime Customs is one-half of the amount fixed for Indian opium.

20. I first arrived in China in February 1868, and have resided in Shanghai since then at various times for about 14 years. Up to 1881 I was practising at the bar, and since then, when in Shanghai, have been acting as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and latterly as Consul-General. None of these positions placed me in intimate relations with the Chinese, but they have enabled me to observe them in many ways which have placed me in a position to form an intelligent opinion upon the consumption of opium. I would call attention to this fact that, during the whole of my 14 years' residence, I have only seen with my own eyes the visible effects of the consumption of opium on three occasions. Once at Foochow, an interpreter was incapable of doing his work because, I was told, he had not had his morning pipe. He was a man of about 35 and bore no outward sign of the injurious effects of opium beyond his stupidity on this particular morning. Once in the streets of Shanghai I saw an opium-smoker carried to his home from an opium shop, in a state of stupefaction, and once I had reason to suspect a servant of my own to be under the influence of the drug. I wish to point out that these are the only actual instances of opium affecting the natives who have come under my observation in the course of 14 years' residence spread over a period of 26. The inference to be drawn is, of course, for the

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Commissioners, but it is only right to point out that, however unobservant a man may be, he must necessarily observe the demeanour of his own and his friends' servants, of the native population moving about the streets, and of the natives in the country where he travels. The streets of Shanghai are crowded, and the native population in the foreign settlements is 190,000, and yet, unless a man goes into the opium shops, he may live here for half his lifetime and never see any signs that the Chinese use opium. With regard to Question 15 as to the wish of the Chinese in this neighbourhood that England should not allow opium to be exported from India, I think it right to point out that the Chinese, like many Oriental races when brought face to face with an interlocutor, will, if possible, express the opinion which they think the person to whom they are speaking expects and approves of. Thus they would be inclined not to communicate to an official of Her Majesty's Government any wish, even if they entertained it, that the Government should prohibit what it now allows. On the other hand, they know well the general opinion of the missionaries, and would be apt to express to them a wish which they think the missionaries approve of. Under these circumstances it seems fair to point out that the Chinese press, so far as I know, have never expressed any wish, or indication that a wish existed, for the prohibition of the export of Indian opium or its importation here; and I may observe, that whatever may be the habit of Chinese, when conversing with a foreigner, the Chinese Press has never been chary of expressing its opinion, however unpalatable it may be to foreigners.

I would add in conclusion that according to a return made up by the Inspector-General of Customs in 1881, foreign opium was there consumed in China by one-third of 1 per cent. of the total population. Granting that the then native product equalled the foreign import in quantity (which, as far as was known, was not actually the case), it was computed that the total number of opium-smokers in China amounted to 2,000,000, or two-thirds of 1 per cent. of the population. In making this calculation it was assumed that the average consumption of an individual smoker was three mace daily, and on the supposition, even that the quantity of native opium produced were ten times that of the foreign opium imported (then roughly estimated at 10,000,000 cattiees per annum), the total would yet not suffice for the consumption of even 4 per cent. of the population.

For specific answers to Questions 18 and 19, I have the honour to refer the Commission to the accompanying pamphlet on native opium which contains the latest reliable information obtainable in regard to that article.

(Signed) NICHOLAS J. HANNEN,
Consul-General and Chief Justice,
23rd February 1894. Shanghai.

Shanghai,
2nd March 1894.

SIR,
In continuation of my despatch of 23rd ult. I have the honour to transmit herewith further replies received in answer to the questions regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China, furnished by medical men, merchants, and others, who are specially conversant with the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NICHOLAS J. HANNEN,
The Secretary, Consul-General,
Royal Commission on Opium,
Calcutta.

11. REPORT by DR. W. J. MILLES, a medical practitioner in Shanghai for 12 years. He has been for the greater part of that time in charge of the Shantung Road Hospital for Chinese, and as such has had opportunities of seeing and treating medically large numbers of native patients.

1. Yes.

2. I am unable to say what proportion of adult males are consumers. Women rarely and children never, except medicinally.

3. My observations on the effects of opium are derived chiefly from patients treated at the Chinese Hospital, Shanghai. The moderate use of opium does not produce evil effects, moral, physical, or social. The moderate consumers undergo operations of surgery as successfully as the non-consumers, and are not more liable to contract disease. The well-to-do classes can take opium in larger quantities and with less danger than the lower classes, for the habitual opium-consumer in the poorer classes is frequently underfed.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium.

5. The large proportion who use opium do so with little or no injury.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be moderation in the consumption of opium. I know of several cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm.

7. I should say a minority consume opium.

8. Alcohol is rarely used, and therefore a comparison cannot be formed.

9. Yes.

10. Seldom. Patients who voluntarily come into the hospital for the purpose of breaking themselves of the habit usually relapse after leaving.

11. They would resort to Chinese-grown opium.

12. No.

13. Frequently to obtain relief consequent on an illness. Opium within my knowledge is not a prophylactic against fever or malaria, though it is so commonly regarded by the Chinese.

14. Yes.

17. The consumption would probably remain the same, as there would be increase in the cultivation of the poppy in China.

(Signed) W. JENNINGS MILLES,
Shanghai, China, M.D., F.R.C.S. Eng.
24th February 1894.

12. REPORT by Mr. JAMES MCKIE, Assistant to Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co.—Being in charge of their Piece-goods Department he has had unusual opportunities of seeing the better class of Chinese Merchants. Experience of about 15 years.

1-5. I do not possess sufficient knowledge to make my opinion on these questions of any reliable importance.

6. It is absolutely incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have been salesman for the largest importing firm in China for 13 years, and constantly coming in contact with the most influential native traders as I have done during that period, I have seen numerous instances of bright, intelligent men who have smoked opium regularly without harm to themselves or their business capabilities. Indeed, I will go further and say that some of the most prosperous men are those who smoke moderately.

7. I should say that about one-fourth of the traders with whom I come into contact smoke opium. At one time one of our dealers smoked to such excess, and his habits became so irregular, that we had to notify him that unless he could confine himself to moderation in the vice we should have to discontinue receiving him, a consideration which had the desired effect, for the same man now smokes once a day only, although it is a most trying effort to decrease the extent to which the habit has been acquired.

8. It is impossible to say, because there is practically no use made of alcohol, and therefore no abuse.

9. The habit of smoking opium is, in the general opinion of the Chinese, regarded much in the same light as drinking is among Europeans.

10. I have known one instance of a man breaking himself from opium-smoking, but such cases are unusual, the habit being more readily acquired than shaken off.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off consumers would use all the more Chinese-grown opium,

and the probabilities are that the greater attention thus diverted to native poppy would tend to develop and improve it.

12. Europeans do not contract the habit of smoking opium.

13. Cannot offer an opinion.

14. Have known cases where the opium-consumer wished to free himself from the habit, but I should not say that such desire is general.

15. Absolutely nothing of the kind has ever been expressed by natives to my knowledge.

16. Indian opium is smoked by the higher classes, and native opium by the poor or coolie classes.

17.—(a.) The consumption of opium will remain the same. (b.) The cultivation and improvement of the poppy in China, also an increase in the area of its cultivation, would certainly result. (c.) Entirely problematic.

18-20 I leave unanswered as I am without necessary data to reply thereto.

(Signed) JAMES MCKIE.

Shanghai,
February 26th, 1894.

13. REPORT by Mr. ROBERT FRANCIS.—A merchant of over 40 years' experience. Has lived in several parts of China and had the usual opportunities of observing and studying this question.

1. Yes.

2. Of males aged 15 and upwards 40 per cent., of women 1 to 2 per cent., of children, nil.

4. Opium is smoked in 99 cases out of 100. In this form it is least hurtful.

5. Probably 80 per cent. use opium without apparent injury, 20 per cent. use it to excess, and with more or less injury.

6. I think it would not be correct to say so. I cannot give descriptions or examples of the two classes of consumers, but have heard of many instances of both.

7. The habit is diffused among all classes. The effect is not usually noticeable in their efficiency.

9. The general opinion of the Chinese as regards opium-smoking is unfavourable.

10. Perhaps 5 to 10 per cent. do so.

11. The consumers would probably resort to Chinese-grown opium.

12. This is a question for medical men.

13. Opium is regarded by the Chinese as a valuable medicine in the case of the disorders mentioned.

14. Many do so.

15. A native would say yes, because he would think it the proper thing to say. I doubt the actual existence of any such wish.

16. Indian opium is consumed mostly at the open ports, and Chinese-grown is more used at the coast and great rivers are left behind.

17. a. Nil. b. A great increase. c. Increased taxation in the native drug.

(Signed) R. FRANCIS.

Shanghai,
February 26th, 1894.

14. REPORT by Dr. LALCACA.—This gentleman is Indian* by birth and has been a medical practitioner in Shanghai for some 8 or 10 years. Has had only the ordinary opportunities of observing Chinese.

1. Yes.

2. Men. I should say from 50 to 70 per cent. Women, from 15 to 25 per cent. chiefly amongst the better class. Children, no.

3. When taken in moderation it has no bad moral effect. As far as social effect goes, it is often used to

show hospitality in treating friends, and the man distinctly gains in reputation, provided he is in a position to afford it, without detriment to himself or family. Physical effects, a decided advantage. He is much more fit for continued exertion without feeling exhaustion, and he can even sustain himself without food for a considerable length of time, which would have been impossible otherwise. The enormous amount of work some of the labourers and coolies go through without straining their system is entirely owing to the moderate use of this drug. In this low valley of the Yang-tsze abdominal complaints are most common, and a man using opium is almost in every case free from diseases of the abdominal organs, chiefly diarrhoea and dysentery. Even dyspepsia is less amongst opium-consumers. In India and China it is used as an aphrodisiac. Western science does not bear this out, but I am quite convinced of its effects that way. It is also used by the Chinese for toothache and headache, besides a long series of abdominal diseases, also as a sedative and soporific. In cases where it is used in excess, and such cases are rare, naturally the constitution suffers, the abdominal organs being all out of order, and the person is a wreck.

3.—(b.) The Chinese and Asiatics generally being of a more lethargic temperament, slow and dreamy habits are naturally less susceptible to the effect of opium than the European races of highly strung nervous temperament and active habits of working and thinking. (c.) I think the Indian opium is far superior than the Chinese-grown article; although the former may have a greater per-centage of morphia it generally contains a less quantity of other deleterious alkaloids in combination. The Chinese prefer the Indian opium and pay higher prices.

4. In China it is chiefly smoked (something like "chandool" in India); opium taken immoderately in solid or liquid form does more harm to the stomach and bowels and more liable to upset digestion. The effect of smoking it is stronger on the nervous system and generally quicker.

5. Out of 100 men who take opium, I should say about 75 to 80 per cent. take it without injury and with some food, from 20 to 23 per cent. with slight injury, and from 1 to 2 per cent. with great injury.

6. No, majority of opium-eaters do take it in moderation, although there are many who do exceed the bounds. I have a considerable number of Chinese as my patients, both of the rich and poorer classes, and I know dozens of them who are confirmed opium-eaters. They cannot do without the drug, but I am convinced that it is not doing to a great majority of them the least harm, and is doing good to a considerable number of them. I have known one case of pulmonary consumption and another of chronic Bright's disease in whom the quantity of opium taken as by habit was doing harm and hastened their end, also a case of anæmia and dropsy where the habit was doing a great amount of mischief. The medicines could hardly have any effect on that patient. She finally reduced the quantity of opium to a very great extent, and got over her complaint.

7. Yes. As a rule beneficial, all of them can go through much more work whether mechanical or mental when using this drug moderately; some of the skilled artists and specialists would not be able to bring their fine instincts into play without it, a goldsmith or a jeweller as a rule will not be able to give a correct estimate of the value of any article of jewellery unless he has steadied and soothed himself with the drug.

8. Alcohol is ever so much more injurious than opium, when taken habitually in excess. There is less drunkenness and subsequent misery in China as well as in India and other Asiatic countries, because alcohol is so much less used and opium used more. In fact opium in majority of cases is substituted for alcohol. A certain number of people do use alcohol, but cases of drunkards are extremely rare. A London gin shop does infinitely more harm than an opium den in China, taken in whatever light. One used to alcohol as a rule stands much greater danger of being tempted to increase the quantity to a more harmful extent than an opium-smoker. A drunkard goes on lowering himself physically, socially, and much more so morally than an opium-eater.

9. With the exception of the lower middle classes, all the other classes take it openly and do not at all

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* Parsi.

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consider it degrading. The Chinese consider it decidedly beneficial. A poor man taking opium who cannot afford it well, I mean to the detriment of his family and himself, is of course considered low in the estimation of his people and friends. A person taking alcohol immoderately and getting boisterous, except at festive occasions, would be considered a bad lot. An opium eater when over indulging in the drug as a rule sleeps out the debauch and no further notice is taken of him.

10. I know of several cases where a man has given up the habit because it interfered with his vocation or in some cases where he is strongly advised to do so on account of his health. In a vast majority of cases there is no necessity for their doing so.

11. They would in a large majority take the Chinese article in a small way perhaps to alcohol or other narcotics, certainly they would not abstain; on the whole it would do much more harm than good to stop the Indian opium.

12. Very rare instances of Europeans having taken to opium habit, a very small number go in for the more fashionable and more pernicious habit of using morphia hypodermically. This is getting introduced amongst the better classes of Chinese who come in contact with foreign shops at the treaty ports. There is also a great sale of anti-opium pills, chiefly containing morphia. I have heard it said that some of the missionaries introduced some of these so-called anti-opium pills. The latter part of this question is answered in the third.

13. In exchanging social amenities and hospitality. Taking it for relieving pain in some of the above-named diseases, opium is a decided prophylactic against fever, malaria, and the vast number of abdominal complaints. It is regarded so by the Chinese also.

14. No, unless in a small number of cases where it does them harm physically, or interferes with their avocations.

15. It would be considered unnecessary and harmful interference.

16. —.

17.—(a.) Answered in No. 11. (b.) —. (c.) —.

18. —.

19. —.

20. Being an Asiatic myself and having also lived in India for several years I feel confident in giving my opinion that both in India and China the opium habit is beneficial to the people on the whole, and its evils are much more exaggerated and only live in the morbid imagination of some of the anti-opium people, who are very often misled into this delusion by the thought that they do not succeed in spreading the Christian propaganda more in this country and show brilliant results of their doings to those in England and America who spend such an amount of money in sending out and supporting these men here with the idea of improving the heathens, when there is a much greater amount of misery among their own people, in their own countries. I am glad to see that there are some very clear minded missionaries, and especially the medical men, who have come to the same conclusions, when judging it without a previous bias. No man has a larger experience, and no one is considered a greater authority on this important subject as the talented editor of the only medical journal in China—I mean Percy Mathews, Esq., M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.S. Besides coming in contact with a vast number of Chinese, he is in touch with all the medical missionaries in China. I am inclined to think his opinion on this subject is the same as mine. I am in favour of the chemists being prohibited from selling anti-opium pills when containing morphia, and the alkaloid morphia without a physician's prescription, as there is a great deal of danger in both those. The prohibition or restriction of Indian opium will only be resented by the Chinese as mischievous interference, and only lead them to take more of the inferior native article as well as go in for other excesses.

(Signed) CAWAS LALCACA, M.D.,
L.R.C.P. (Lond.).

15. REPORT by Messrs. JARDINE, MATHESON, & Co.—The oldest established firm of merchants in Shanghai. They are not now directly interested in the opium trade, but act as agents or warehousemen, as occasion arises.

1. Yes.

2. In Shanghai about 20 per cent. of the males and 5 per cent. of the females. Most unusual among children. The females in China are said to be about 15 per cent. more in number than the males, so taking the population of Shanghai as 600,000 made up as follows:—

252,000 men,
288,000 women,
60,000 children, i.e., say under 15 years,
600,000

the opium-smokers are 50,400 men and 14,400 women, and it must be borne in mind that Shanghai being as it were the "pleasure" city of the north of China, far more opium is consumed there than in any other city in the north.

3. Opium has no noticeable effect on moderate consumers. If taken in excess it makes the smoker stupid and unfit for work. Its effects are the same on natives of all the different parts of China and on all classes of Chinese. Indian opium, if taken in excess, is less injurious than Chinese.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke. Among the poorer classes a very small per-centage chew. Medicinally, small decoctions of opium are sometimes given. The effect of the drug is the same in whatever form it is taken.

5. In Shanghai out of a population of 600,000 about 64,800 are opium-smokers, and of these 75 per cent. smoke without any injury, 22 per cent. smoke with slight injury, 3 per cent. smoke with great injury.

6. No, most incorrect. Many consumers take opium in moderate quantities for many years without any harm whatever. We have business relations with several Chinese who are habitual smokers and find them very sharp shrewd men, their intellects in no way clouded by the use of the drug. Cases of great injury have never come under our notice.

7. No, not the majority of the labourers in Shanghai, but 20 per cent. or less of the males as stated in answer No. 2. In moderation the smoking does not affect their efficiency in their calling.

8. The excessive use of alcohol is much more injurious in its effects than the excessive use of opium. In China comparatively little alcohol is consumed, and the crimes traceable to opium are few.

9. No, not if taken in moderation. Heavy drinking is looked upon in a much worse light than excessive opium-smoking.

10. They can, but as the large majority are only moderate consumers the necessity of having on account of injurious effects to break themselves of the habit very seldom arises.

11. If Indian opium ceased to be imported into China the native opium would most certainly be used and its production would increase. The larger consumption would, doubtless, be accompanied also by improvement in quality. Very few, if any, of the opium-smokers would on not being able to obtain Indian opium take to alcohol instead, although some might take to morphia. This last, however, is only obtainable in very limited quantities, and only at the treaty ports and Hong Kong, at which last place the use of it has, owing to the cost of opium, become so common that a local ordinance has recently been passed regulating sales.

12 and 13. No. Opium-smoking is very distasteful to all Europeans living in China. Many Chinese, we believe, first smoke opium as a guard against the malarial fever common in the east.

14. No.

15. No.

16. In all the provinces south of the Yang tze Indian opium has the preference amongst all classes. Where

both Indian and Chinese opium are obtainable the consumption is 70 per cent. of the former and 50 per cent. of the latter, the smaller cost of the native drug being its only attraction.

17.—(a) and (b.) If Indian opium were prohibited entirely the consumption of opium would necessarily decrease for a time owing to want of supplies. The cultivation of the poppy in China would at once increase and the Chinese drug very rapidly take the place of the Indian, and thus bring the consumption up to what it was before the importation of Indian opium was stopped. The prohibition of Indian opium would mean a loss of revenue to the Chinese Government as the duty and likin on it are much heavier than on Chinese opium. The Chinese would, however, most certainly recoup their revenue by raising the likin on the native article, and thus continue to collect the same amount of dues as they now do.

18 and 19. We cannot reply with any accuracy to these.

20. No.

JARDINE, MATHESON, & Co.

Shanghai,
2nd March 1894.

16. REPORT by Messrs. D. SASSOON, SONS, & Co.—This firm is the oldest established house in the opium trade. They are large importers themselves, and sell also on commission.

1. Yes.

2. Amongst the Chinese in this part of the country we estimate that about 40 per cent. of the males are smokers; less than 15 per cent. of the females; and the habit is unknown amongst children.

3. *Moral.*—The social contact between foreigners and Chinese is so slight that it becomes rather difficult to answer such a question; but amongst the Chinese merchants and others, with whom we have dealings, we cannot distinguish between the character, moral or otherwise, of those who smoke opium, or those who do not. *Physical.*—None. But to casual observers, or those who are biased against opium, it is very easy to confound the emaciation caused by recurrent fever, for which the sufferers take opium as a preventive, for what the observer supposes to be the effects of opium-smoking. *Social.*—The well-to-do Chinaman asks his friends to join him in a pipe, as a European might ask him to take a cup of tea or a glass of wine. The lower classes go to a public opium divan as a European of a similar class would go to a public-house or café, not solely for the sake of indulging in his pipe but also as a place where he can meet his friends and gossip over the events of the day. We can find no difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. Practically speaking opium is only smoked in this part of the country, but should a smoker be unable to take a pipe at his usual hour, in consequence of pressure of business or other causes, he may take in place of it a small pill of the drug, and that is the only form in which we know opium-eating to be practised.

5.—(i.) 75 per cent. (ii.) 23 per cent. This does not in any way imply injury to health, but certain physical inconveniences. The heavy smoker is less active, and is liable to delay keeping an appointment rather than forego his accustomed pipe. (iii.) 2 per cent.

6. It is in no way correct to say that there cannot be moderation in the consumption of opium, and, as we have said in reply to the previous question, fully 75 per cent. are moderate smokers, and suffer no injury or inconvenience. We daily come into contact with many of all ages who have been in the habit of smoking opium ever since they became adults, amongst them several members of our Chinese staff. Our Chinese bookkeeper is a man of about 58 years of age, and has been an opium-smoker ever since he was 30 years of age; he is most accurate and reliable in his work, and apparently suffers no inconvenience from the habit, as he is always at his post. We could give numerous similar examples from the members of our Chinese staff, and merchants with whom we are personally acquainted, shrewd, clear-headed business men.

7. Certainly not the majority of either class; as regards the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling, we can only refer to our reply to the previous question. We do not come sufficiently into contact with the other classes to be able to offer a decided opinion, but as far as we do know the same remark applies to them also. The labourers we have always looked upon as a particularly hardy and hard-working class.

8. There is so little alcohol consumed by the inhabitants of China that it is impossible to make the comparison desired.

9. The consumption of opium in moderation is no more considered degrading or injurious in the general opinion of the Chinese than the consumption of stimulants in the same way is amongst ourselves.

10. Yes. Even in very extreme cases when done gradually.

11. Only one reply is possible to this question. Chinese opium, which has already partially displaced the imported Indian drug, would entirely replace it.

12. No Europeans in this part of China use opium. Asiatics indulge in opium as Europeans do in wine, beer, or spirits.

13. This part of China being an alluvial plain very little raised above the sea level, the inhabitants are much subject to fever, rheumatism, and malaria. Opium being undoubtedly looked upon as a prophylactic in such cases, the habit originates with a considerable proportion of the smokers in consequence of having made use of the drug to alleviate one of these complaints.

14. Only when a man, hitherto comparatively well-to-do, finds himself with straitened means, and then as the habit is a somewhat expensive one he naturally desires to get rid of it, being unable to indulge as before.

15. It is a matter of perfect indifference, excepting to those who would regret being unable to obtain the more highly esteemed drug which is grown in India.

16. Indian opium is consumed throughout the country by the well-to-do classes, and where the two kinds come into competition it is merely a matter of cost.

17.—(a.) None whatever. (b.) A large increase. (c.) We are unable to give any information on this point.

18. It is impossible, in the absence of statistics, to give anything approaching an accurate estimate. It would, however, undoubtedly be correct to say that the out-turn of Chinese opium in a year in which the crop has been an average one, is very considerably larger than the out-turn of Indian opium in a similar year.

19. From foreign opium about 7,000,000 Haikwan taels annually. We are unable to form any estimate of the revenue derived from Chinese opium. The taxation on Indian opium is very heavy as compared with that on Chinese opium. Furthermore, it is collected by the Imperial Maritime Customs (conducted entirely by foreigners), in such an efficient manner so as to render any evasion or smuggling impossible. The bulk of the likin on native opium is, on the other hand, collected by the Chinese Government themselves, and it is well known that the system adopted by them is faulty and unreliable in the extreme, consequently, in addition to the irregularity in its collection, a considerable amount of smuggling also takes place.

20. We have no further remarks to make on the subject, having fully stated our ideas in the preceding answers.

(Signed) DAVID SASSOON, SONS, & Co.

Shanghai,
28th February 1894.

17. REPORT by Messrs. E. D. SASSOON & Co. This firm shares with the preceding the bulk of the opium business. The present managers in both firms are natives of India, who have not had very great experience in China.

Shanghai,

28th February 1894.

SIN,

In reply to your note of the 14th inst., we have much pleasure to give you replies to the questions

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asked in the circular which you have forwarded to us regarding the consumption of opium in China.

1. Opium is commonly consumed in Shanghai and the neighbourhood.

2. About 80 per cent. of the adult males; about 5 per cent. of the adult females; children do not smoke.

3. Broadly speaking the effect of opium on moderate smokers is not injurious either morally, physically, or socially. Indian opium and unadulterated native opium do little if any harm, except when used in immoderate quantities. It is safe to say that over 90 per cent. of the native opium is either of inferior quality or adulterated, and it is this description of opium that does physical harm to the consumers.

4. Almost all consumers of opium smoke it.

5.—(i.) Without injury, 90 per cent. (ii.) With slight injury, 9 per cent. (iii.) With great injury, 1 per cent. roughly.

6. It would be quite incorrect to say that there is no such thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. From the previous answer it will be seen that a very large percentage of smokers use the drug in moderation. As an instance of not only its harmlessness, but its beneficial effect when used in moderation, we might point out the case of our comprador, or head cashier. He has, moreover, charge of all the goods that we deal in, and all the money passes through his hands. He is 47 years old, and has been in our service for 27 years, and has been a smoker for 15. He has suffered a great deal from asthma and spitting of blood, and since he acquired the habit of smoking he has enjoyed good health. He attributes his cure solely to the use of opium. He uses four mace of opium daily—the same quantity he used for the last 10 to 12 years. He admits that there is a desire to increase the quantity, but has no difficulty in checking it. He attends his work most regularly, is very active, capable, and level-headed, and we have no hesitation in saying that there are very few compradores associated with foreigners who can be compared with him as a shrewd and reliable man of business.

7. We have known several Chinese merchants who have been smokers for 10 to 20 years without any injury either physically or mentally. In our daily intercourse with them we have invariably found them clear-headed, quick, and ready to understand and transact business. Amongst these people we have not come across one who can be called an "opium sot" or one who was incapacitated by an immoderate use of opium. On inquiry we have generally found that they took to smoking on account of some sickness such as diarrhoea, rheumatism, asthma, &c.

8. The Chinese condemn an excessive use of opium as much as they condemn an excessive use of alcohol.

9. The Chinese as a nation do not regard the habit of smoking opium as degrading or injurious. They look upon it in the same way as foreigners do upon alcohol—a moderate use being beneficial and an immoderate use harmful.

10. Certainly they can.

11. If the supply of the Indian opium were cut off, the Chinese would most certainly resort to the opium grown in this country. Persia would also grow opium on an extensive scale, and would be able to export to China in much larger quantities than she does now.

12. We have never heard of Europeans in China contracting the habit of using opium, because their conditions of life are altogether different.

13. With regard to the Asiatics the opium is regarded generally as valuable prophylactic against various kinds of fever and other ailments. With the labouring class it is largely used because it enables them to undergo great physical labour and innumerable hardships, and we have no doubt it would be a great deprivation to all classes of Chinese if the supply is cut off.

14. Very few do.

15. We do not think the Chinese as a body wish that England should prohibit the growth of opium.

16. The Indian opium is principally consumed in the northern and southern provinces and along the east coasts, and when it meets with Chinese opium the competition is very keen between the two, on account of comparative cheapness of the native production.

17. The probable consequences of the prohibition of the export of the Indian opium will be: (a.) The Chinese

will continue consuming just as much opium as they do now or as they may require hereafter. (b.) The cultivation of poppy and production of opium will be on an increased scale in China. (c.) The Chinese Government will probably be more strict in the collection of duties on native opium, in order to compensate them for the loss of present revenue from the Indian opium.

18. It is very difficult to give anything like an accurate estimate of the area under poppy cultivation in the several provinces in China, but we do not think we are over the mark if we take the total production as ten times as much as the importation of foreign opium. Subjoined are the extracts taken from the Digest of Summary of Replies sent to the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs in 1887. It is the most reliable document we can refer to, and will doubtless be found very useful. Native Opium, 1887, p. 48.

1. Consumption at the Treaty Ports.

Native opium is used at all the Treaty ports. At Ichang and Wenchow it is used almost exclusively; at Newchwang, Tientsin, and Chefoo it is used chiefly (reported proportion of smokers of native and foreign drug, 10 to 1 and 10 to 3); at Hankow it is used largely; at Shanghai and Niampo, to a considerable extent; at the other ports, to a less, and at some of these to a small extent only. At Tientsin, Ichang, and Takow it is used only pure; at Chefoo, pure and mixed with Malwa; at Canton and Pakhoi, pure and mixed; and at Hankow, Wuhu, Chiukiang, Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, Tamsui, Amoy, Swatow, and Kiungchow always mixed. Native opium is mixed with all the varieties of the foreign drug; at some ports with one, at others with several, varieties.

2. Production.

The growth of native opium has assumed large proportions during recent years. Every province produces it, the only large areas where it is not grown being the islands of Formosa and Hainan. Of the exporting provinces the following are the more important:—

1. *Szechwan*.—Mr. Bredon (Hankow) estimates the export at at least 10,000 piculs; but this figure, examined in the light of other reports, is probably below the mark. The total production seems enormous. In 1872 Baron von Richthofen estimated it from personal observation at a minimum of 60,000 piculs, and more probably 100,000 piculs. In 1878 Mr. Baber wrote, "We were astounded at the extent of the poppy cultivation"; and Mr. Bredon (Hankow) states in his report: Seven-tenths of the adult male population of Szechwan smoke. The production has been estimated as high as 150,000 piculs.

2. *Yunnan* comes next in order of importance. Yunnan opium was formerly known at nearly all the Treaty ports; now its use on the coast seems to have fallen off. Mr. Barber, in 1872, wrote: "With the consciousness that I am under estimating, I estimate that the poppy fields constitute a third of the whole cultivation of Yunnan." Taking into account that it supplies Annam, Burma, and possibly to some extent Tibet, besides the neighbouring provinces, Kwangsi and Kweichow, the estimate that "the total production of Yunnan cannot be far behind that of Szechwan" is probably correct.

3. *Chekiang* opium is used at Shanghai, Chinkiang, and Hankow, in Formosa and the northern districts of Fuhkien. It seems to be grown all over the province where the ground is suitable, even in the vegetable gardens and rice fields around large cities (Ningpo Report).

4. *Honan* opium is becoming very popular. It is considered as good as Patna, and its production is increasing rapidly (Hankow Report). It is used in Chihli and Shantung and the Yang-tze provinces.

5. *Manchuria* (Chihli, Shantung, and Shansi).—The reports all testify to the extensive production and use of native drug. The Newchwang Report says: Manchurian opium is extensively cultivated throughout the province; it is considered so superior that there is no demand for other native opium. The production of this province is estimated at 8,000 piculs, of which 5,000 at least are consumed locally, and the remainder smuggled into Shansi. Ninety per cent. of the home smokers use native drug. Native opium meets with more appreciation, because it can be smoked seven or eight times, while foreign drug can be smoked three times at most (Foochow reports so likewise). It is for this reason that smokers object to native drug being

mixed with foreign; it spoils the ashes. The Tientsin report says: Native opium is consumed at Tientsin and all through the province. It is consumed pure, i.e., not mixed with foreign drug. For every chest of foreign opium imported at least nine chests of native opium are consumed. The opium-grown is chiefly consumed in the immediate vicinity of the place where produced. Of the large quantity grown only a small quantity finds its way here. There are seven consumers of native drug for every three consumers of foreign drug at Tientsin. All informants assert that the production of opium in the northern provinces is very large. That consumed at Tientsin is chiefly grown in the province, but Yunnan, Szechwan, Honan, Shansi, Shantung, and Kwangtung contribute likewise. The Chefoo Report says:—Opium is extensively cultivated in this province (Shantung). Since the publication of these reports there can be no doubt the cultivation of poppy in China has enormously increased, as during the last seven years all the restrictions have been gradually relaxed, and it is safe to say that at the present moment the cultivators are not interfered with in any way by the officials.

19. The Chinese Customs collected a revenue of about Haikwan taels 7,500,000 from the foreign opium last year. From the native-grown opium the revenue derived by the Chinese Government must be very small, as the mode adopted for collecting it is very loose and inefficient. The duty and likin on native opium are nominally half that of the foreign opium, but it is well known that only an insignificant portion of the total production contributes to the Imperial Exchequer.

We are, &c.
(Signed) E. D. SASSOON & Co.

20. *REPORT by Rev. TIMOTHY RICHARD.—This gentleman has had very exceptional opportunities of observing the effects of opium-smoking. He has lived in China for some 20 years, the greater part of that time in the interior. He has been concerned in the distribution of relief in the famines of 1878 and 1880-81, and was thus brought into close contact with the better class of Chinese, especially in the provinces of Shantung and Shansi.

NICHOLAS J. HANNEN,
Consul-General.

1. Opium consumption is not common in the province of Shantung, but very general in the province of Shansi.

2. The proportion of adult males smoking opium in Shantung would perhaps be not more than 5 per cent. 15 years ago. In Shansi generally there are about 50 per cent., but 80 per cent. in cities. In cities, perhaps one-fifth of the smokers are women. A few children smoke.

3. The effect of opium depends on the quantity taken. In small quantities its evil effects are not very apparent, but in excessive quantities, in many respects, its effects are—morally, physically, and socially—like those of excessive drink.

4. Consumers generally smoke the opium. The natives often say that drinking opium decoction is worse than smoking.

5. The proportion of those who use opium among the well-to-do (a) without apparent injury may be 50 per cent.; (b) with slight injury 40 per cent.; (c) with great injury 10 per cent. But to the poor the opium habit once confirmed is an immense injury at every stage; they cannot afford it, yet it must be taken daily, for it cannot be broken off without death or great agony. This compels the poor to neglect the other necessaries of life, neglect their families and everything else, unless they succeed in earning enough money to cover the cost of their opium luxury in addition to the usual necessaries of life. It is in such cases that the chief tragedy of the opium lies.

6. I have known men who have taken opium for 30 years without any apparent harm, and I have known men who after a few years' use of it are complete wrecks.

7. About half the artisans and merchants smoke opium in Shansi, but only a small proportion in Shantung. The effect on their calling is to do their work better when they are at it, but they require more rest than other people to restore their spent energy. Examples without number can be given by any one thoroughly conversant with the subject.

8. Alcohol is a more violent stimulant, and the craving is only occasionally overpowering, while the opium habit once confirmed compels daily use of it.

9. The habit of consuming opium was once universally considered exceedingly degrading and injurious. That opinion is somewhat modified now, but even now it is considered injurious and is classed among the vices which the people warn their friends against. Opium impoverishes more than alcohol as it compels its daily use.

10. Opium-consumers frequently cut off the habit when not long formed, but many who have smoked much for years have died by suddenly breaking it off.

11. The effect of stopping Indian supply of opium would be an increased use of the native drug. The Indian opium even now is used mainly on the sea-coast and along the lower parts of the Yang-tze; the native produced opium is almost exclusively used in the west where opium-smoking is most general, and it is native opium that is mostly used in the north. The Customs' Decennial Reports (1882-91) give in the case of Chung-king an inkling, but only an inkling, of the great fact that the native consumption of opium far exceeds many times that of the foreign opium.

12. Europeans very seldom contract the habit. Constitutional and national habit seems to be the reason, just as the Chinese, as a nation, care little comparatively about drink.

13. Many begin the use of opium to alleviate pain. Most contract the habit through social intercourse. In Shansi the poverty of the people is such that they try to live on very coarse food, much of it being only fit for beasts. This causes indigestion, and opium is taken to relieve pain at first, and then the habit is often formed for life. It is not regarded by the natives as a prophylactic generally, though I have met one Chinaman who believed it was so in his case.

14. The poor who smoke opium are universally anxious to get rid of the habit when they cannot afford the money; many of the well-to-do when enchained by it are also anxious to get rid of the habit, and others who have no children want to get rid of it as they believe that the habit prevents them from having children.

15. The wish that England should not allow India to export opium to China was real once; it is now more of an echo of the past than much hope of practical good at present. The remedy is, so far as China is concerned, no longer in England's power, since the arrangement made by Marquis Tseng. Besides, the evil is far too gigantic to be dealt with by sudden and summary measures even if the Chinese Government were anxious to do so. Still, if the Chinese desired to stop the use of opium the problem would be far easier of solution if foreign opium were forbidden altogether.

16. The poorer classes use the native opium as it is cheaper, and the better-off classes near the ports use the foreign drug. The Indian is mainly used in the south of China, and in the lower parts of the Yang-tze-kiang. By far the largest quantity consumed is produced in China itself. (See Question 11.) The northern and western provinces where opium is most in use, besides supplying their own opium, export it to the maritime provinces as well.

17. If Indian opium were stopped there would probably be (a) no decrease in the consumption of opium by the Chinese; (b) a corresponding increase in the cultivation of the native opium; (c) no change by the Chinese Government about revenue except to adopt any plan to increase the revenue from the native opium.

18. —

19. —

* Enclosures 18 and 19 appear to have been lost or misplaced.
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20. Both the anti-opium and the pro-opium parties have been in the habit of making extreme statements that are contradicted by abundance of facts easily attainable. These extreme statements are not mis-statements but misinterpretations of facts, or presentations of only one part of the facts, or generalisations from too limited a number of facts.

(Signed) TIMOTHY RICHARD,
English Baptist Mission, Shanghai.

March 23rd, 1894.

CHINKIANG.

(M. 28.)

H.M. Consulate,
Chinkiang,
February 26, 1894.

SIR,

IN accordance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have circulated the accompanying paper of questions by the Royal Commission on Opium, among those persons at this port whose experience has, in my opinion, rendered them competent to give trustworthy evidence on the subject, from different points of view.

I have now the honour to forward you the answers I have received from—

- (1.) The Rev. Geo. Andrew, a member of the China Inland Mission, for some years resident in the Province of Kuei Chou;
- (2.) Dr. G. A. Cox, of the China Inland Mission, for some years resident in the Province of Shan Si;
- (3.) Mr. T. W. Duff, formerly a very large importer of opium, no longer a resident in China;
- (4.) The Rev. W. J. Hunnex, a British subject, of the Southern Baptist Mission, U.S.A., at this port;
- (5.) Dr. J. A. Lynch, practising in Chinkiang, medical officer to this consulate and to the Imperial Maritime Customs;
- (6.) Mr. E. Starkey, a merchant of this port, and formerly an importer of opium; and
- (7.) Mr. T. Weatherston, mercantile and shipping agent.

I also enclose my own answers to the questions asked.

I have, &c.

The Secretary,
Royal Commission on Opium,
India.

W. R. CARLES,
Consul.

Rev. G. ANDREW, from CHINKIANG.

Enclosure 1.

The following replies refer to some portions of Kuei-cheo province:—

1. Yes.
2. Adult males, 60 per cent.; adult females, 40 per cent.
3. Moral, disastrous; physical, deteriorating; social, impoverishing.
4. Chiefly smoke. Eating, compared with smoking, is far worse in its effects, and is resorted to when the smoker becomes too poor to purchase the quantity required for smoking, or cannot gain access to his pipe.
5. A question hard to answer. The rich suffer the least, as they can always procure nourishing food. With the poor this is different. The opium-smoking labourer must have his opium, whether he has food to eat or not, consequently, when he is ill, or work is scarce, and money too, he runs down hill pretty fast.
6. There are some who do not smoke to the extent others do, yet however small the amount now consumed, it must be increased year by year.
7. An opium-smoking labourer or artisan has very little, if any, "staying power," if the opium is not forthcoming.
8. There is not much drinking of spirits to excess among the Chinese in Kuei-cheo.
9. Yes.
10. Very few, I fear.
11. Indian opium is not consumed in Kuei-cheo.
13. Two reasons: (a.) Relief of pain; or (b.) as a pastime.
14. Yes.
15. A native book circulated in Kuei-cheo declared that the "foreign devils" had brought opium to China to ruin the people.

GEO. ANDREW.

Enclosure 2.

GEORGE ARTHUR COX, L.R.C.P. & S. Ed., China
Inland Mission (at present stationed at Chinkiang),
seventh year in China.

1. It is very commonly consumed.
2. In the province of Shansi fully nine out of ten adults smoke opium. Fewer women smoke, and the proportion of children is small.
3. *Morally and Socially.*—The individual becomes indolent, careless in his business, loses self-respect, and indulges freely in sensual appetites. As the craving for the drug increases he disregards family ties, and even sells his wife and children to obtain the drug. *Physically.*—The appetite gradually fails, the fat and muscles are wasted, the various movements of the body are sluggish. The digestion is so impaired that assimilation of food is very poor. The nervous system becomes affected, and the progenerative function is destroyed.
4. They chiefly smoke opium. I should say it would be difficult to distinguish between the effects of each, unless that it is generally more difficult for those who eat opium to break off the habit. I have not come across any who drink a decoction.
- 5.—(i.) I should say none smoke it without sustaining injury. (ii.) Roughly speaking, 20 per cent. with slight injury. (iii.) Roughly speaking, 80 per cent. with great injury.
6. There cannot be moderation on the part of the Chinese in smoking opium. Nearly all the opium smokers I have met are those that have received a great deal of injury through the habit. Example.—Man about 55 years old, named Men-teh-huei, admitted into Tai-yuen-fu (Shansi) Opium Refuge with a craving of 4½ ounces of native opium in a day. He had been smoking for 30 years. He was very emaciated, digestion much impaired, suffering from severe cramps, spermatorrhœa, sleeplessness, and chronic bronchitis. He had scores of other similar cases, but not having the case-book cannot refer to them in detail.
7. The majority of patients I have met with are from the labouring class, and from those who are apprenticed to a trade. The effect of the opium habit is to make them neglect their work, and become indolent in their habits. Hence their employers are dissatisfied, and would be glad to have them break off the habit.
8. I have not met, among the Chinese, many cases on whom the use or abuse of alcohol proved injurious. I can only remember three or four cases in whom the abuse of alcohol produced congestion of the liver.
9. The opium habit is very generally condemned by the Chinese as degrading and injurious. They would regard the opium habit as far more injurious than the abuse of alcohol.
10. I have met with only two or three cases in which they broke themselves of the habit.
11. They would most probably resort to the Chinese-grown opium. They would not take to alcohol. Other narcotics are not generally known among the Chinese.
12. Very few Europeans contract the opium habit. Probably because they are of a more active temperament, and a stimulant is more of a temptation than a narcotic.
13. They are led to the habit: 1st. For the sake of keeping company with friends. 2nd. For the relief of pain, such as that of colic, rheumatism, toothache, &c. 3rd. From the force of example. I have not known opium to act as a prophylactic against any disease; nor is it regarded as such by the Chinese. They use it more as a relief from pain and weariness.
14. Yes. They themselves wish to get free.
15. Yes. A great majority have a strong desire to stop the importation of foreign opium.
16. —.
- 17.—(a.) In the ports there will be less opium consumed. (b.) The cultivation of the poppy in China may be increased.
20. The craving for opium has got such a hold on all those who have begun to smoke it habitually that it is (humanly speaking) impossible to break off the habit effectually. Hundreds break off for a time at the opium

refuges, but in a few months return to it. The well-to-do classes, who are able to take good nourishing food, can go on smoking for 10 or 15 years without much apparent injury. I say apparent, but really their constitutions are gradually undermined, they get prematurely aged, and they have very few children, and these are very sickly. Hence the outlook on the next generation of this class of opium-smokers is very mournful. Whereas the effect of this most degrading vice on the labouring and poor classes is still more melancholy. In Shansi nearly the whole of this class smoke opium, and are consequently very poor. They sell or pawn nearly all their property, and even clothes, wife, and children. While travelling through the country one is beset with requests to help them break off the habit, because they have not enough money to purchase food even. This state of affairs can only be realised by moving among the people and seeing it for oneself.

Mr. THOMAS W. DUFF.

Enclosure 3.

Has been connected with commerce of this country for 33 years, and for most of that period living in contact with the people.

1. Yes.
2. 75 per cent. when they can afford or need it. No, No.
3. About the same as tobacco would affect the morals of people in other countries. Beneficial to a very large class who live in alluvial plains or afloat in canal life amid malaria.

Socially it is almost the only pleasure not having a boisterous nature nor any desire for open-air exercise.

Do not grasp the meaning of different races in this country, all being of the Mongol type, excepting those Europeans spread all over China, which number all told about 3,000, of all nationalities, and which includes the Legations consular staff and the British troops at Hong Kong and the missionaries of the interior thrown in. All these being fed on a more solid food and many having the alcohol habit, could not take opium if they desired, that is to say, to find any pleasure or relief from it.

Yes, Indian opium is better in quality than Chinese, but the latter has much improved of late years. It formerly caused throat irritation but this fault is not so much complained of now. Since the Indian has been so heavily weighted with likin tax, against the native which evades or pays less, they are beginning to accustom themselves to the latter, and when once the taste is acquired they no longer prefer the dearer article unless very rich and able to afford it.

4. They smoke only in China.
5. Without injury, 95 per cent; slight injury, 3 per cent; opium sores, one in every 2,000 or less.
6. It is not correct to say there cannot be moderation. Have known very many thousands of sharp clear-headed business men and officials in general intercourse who have had the habit. The great increase of population during the past 30 years and since the Taiping rebellion, when these provinces were almost laid bare, alone is sufficient to prove that opium has not deprived this race of its vitality.

My own staff of native clerks, who have been with me or in my connexion for the past 20 years, and who all smoke occasionally, are now none the worse for it. Chinese sometimes taken ill with fever or other diseases take to opium as a relief, who may have never smoked opium before. Such cases as seen by foreign missionary or other are thereby deceived by appearances not always attributable to opium in the beginning. I have known of and been deceived by such cases myself. Cases of great injury done by opium might occasionally be found in opium-smoking houses, let for the purpose or convenience of opium smokers, similarly with what one would expect and sometimes do see in the tavern of a low neighbourhood in London or other large towns at home. Apart from these, in all my experience of 33 years I only know of very few cases indeed where opium was taken as an abuse to the constitution.

7. Yes, when they have enough money or require it for comfort or medicine. Beneficial in moderation. For

boatmen and others living in malaria it is indispensable while working hard and in the absence of better food and other stimulant.

8. In China the use and abuse of either opium or alcohol is moderation itself, both being needed as stimulant or aid to constitution in different districts where quality of food and climate differs. Being in demand and so largely required it must have some beneficial effect. An inveterate opium-smoker cannot indulge in alcohol nor can those who take alcohol use opium.

9. I should say not. The opium couch and pipes being necessary and fashionable articles of furniture in every household, from the highest mandarin official to the ordinary merchant. In ordinary conversation by a native to a foreigner inquiring, and who has not the habit, it would be regarded as a politeness to even speak an untruth on the subject. He would describe it as a bad habit, much the same way that an ordinary tobacco smoker at home might say to his abstaining acquaintance that it was a bad habit, and so on. The Chinese in conversation always like to be in accord with your views, it is mere deference to the wishes of an inquirer, whether he be consul, missionary, or merchant, and it is in these statements where so many of us are deceived. As opium causes men to reflect and think, while alcohol makes them turbulent and quarrelsome, it is quite certain they would prefer the former when needed at all.

10. The ordinary opium-smoker has no difficulty in breaking off the habit. It is only those who are bound to it by abuse who cannot suddenly abstain. This class is a very small one compared with moderate smokers.

11. It would have no effect on consumers, except that they would be shut off from the supply of a superior article, and which they cannot produce in their own country at present. It would have the same effect as stopping a brand of good wine or Havannah tobacco at home. They would resort to native-grown, of course, which is always improving in quality, and, like the population which it supplies, has increased in enormous proportions of late years. Alcohol, in this part of China, would never become the favourite stimulant owing to climate and food.

12. No. The habits of the European, both in food and dwelling, whether he be missionary, official, or merchant, is so different to the Chinese that he does not need or care for opium (even if one tries to smoke, as I have done, it has no particular effect). He has not to toil with his body, nor does he live under the same conditions. He has more stimulating food, wheat flour and quantities of meat and solid material, generally stimulated with his wine or beer, is better housed than the native, whose food consists of rice, cabbage, and other vegetable matter, barely seasoned with the luxury of very dear and very dirty salt, rarely any meat, whose life is passed away on ground floors of brick, in damp, undrained dwellings, drinking dirty boiled, unfiltered water taken from the surrounding canals or stagnant green pools, which are, in fact, the main sewers of the surface-drained towns and highly-manured and human excremented fields. Such watery food and surroundings need a soothing stimulant, and opium does the work, while alcohol would madden the brain. It is a help to them in their fevers, and is a comfort and aid to them in rheumatism, and even necessary in the malarious plains of this district. In mountainous countries, and in the north of China where more solid food is taken, alcohol takes precedence as a stimulant. I speak of the native population, and not the requirements of the numerous native visitors to Peking and its neighbourhood.

13. The foregoing explains this question.

14. Only when they cannot afford it, or abuse it.

15. I have never heard the name of England in its connexion, as the ordinary native knows quite well the difference between Turkish, Persian, or Indian opium, and would never under any circumstances call it English, nor would they imagine that England had anything to do with bringing it here. It is called amongst natives, and advertised on their shop-boards, as foreign medicines. All better-class Chinese know that opium has come from India to China for several hundred years. They have no wish for England to interfere one way or the other. American and other missionaries seem to make it their chief stock-in-trade against England, but

APP. XXVI. the people, if they hear this and know better, never have repeated it to me or those I know.

16. The better class of people, as it is much dearer than the native. It is only in the neighbourhood of the Treaty ports where foreign or Indian opium can be found in any quantity excepting that which gradually finds its way to some of the large capitals like Peking, Nankin, Canton, &c. Indian opium is now never seen in many of the large provinces of China, which now cultivate the poppy so largely as to be able to supply many of the others who do not. In all China the native-grown is as 30 native to one foreign imported. I have seen Chinese opium at Singapore, and it is now regularly supplied to the Chinese of the Straits Settlements.

17. No difference, except they will use native instead of foreign. Increase of poppy cultivation. Detrimental to Imperial authorities at Peking, but favourable to provincial authorities under the separate Viceroy, who form semi-independent Governments under the Empire in their respective districts.

18. I cannot; but since I saw the poppy cultivation in the neighbourhood of Peking in 1870 it has largely increased all over the country, correspondingly with the enormous increase of population.

19. I cannot say. Indian drug H. Tls. 110 per pound, native 30 per pound; the latter of which some escapes taxation altogether.

20. No.

Chinkingiang, China,
February 20th, 1894.

THOS. W. DUFF.

Rev. W. HUNNEX.

Enclosure 4.

1. Opium is commonly consumed in this part of China by the Chinese.

2. I do not know the proportion of adult males who are consumers; as a conjecture, I should say, perhaps 40 per cent. The per-centage of women who are consumers is, I judge, very much smaller. I have not met with any cases of children who were consumers of opium.

3. The effects of opium, as far as my observation goes, are:—1. Moral: It appears to be utterly destructive of the moral attributes. 2. Physical: It gradually deprives a man of his physical powers, and leaves him helpless and a wreck. 3. Social: It degrades him in the eyes of his relatives, friends, and neighbours, and renders him unfit to perform his social duties.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium; it is, however, frequently eaten by those who wish to commit suicide. It is common, I believe, among the beggars to drink a decoction of opium, as it costs less to procure than it would in any other form. I suppose that the effect is about the same relatively in whatever form it is taken.

5. I think that it is injurious even when taken in small quantities, and the invariable tendency is to gradually increase the quantity taken.

6. I have known cases where opium has been consumed in small quantities for some little time, the only apparent result being a lassitude and increasing unwillingness to engage in the usual occupation. It is not long, however, before other and more serious effects are seen.

7. As far as I can judge, all classes of society are addicted to the use of opium. I am of opinion that the lowest per-centage of opium consumers would be found amongst the merchants and better class tradesmen. By general consent, the fact that a man smokes opium, disqualifies him from making the best use of his ability and power in any position that he may be called upon to occupy. It is always something that tells against him. Household servants and others who consume opium sooner or later become unable to do their work, and are discharged in consequence.

9. I have conversed with hundreds of Chinese about opium, and I have never met with one who looked upon its consumption as otherwise than degrading and injurious, and even the confirmed opium-smokers themselves would, I believe, almost without exception, concur in this opinion. My opinion is that the Chinese regard the opium habit as far more degrading and injurious than the alcohol habit.

10. I have never met with a man who, after having smoked opium for some time, was able, unaided, to

break off the habit. I have met with many who have expressed their inability to do so.

12. I know of no Europeans who have contracted the opium habit in this part of China. I suspect that one at least of the reasons is that it is looked upon as such a low and degrading vice that few are tempted to have anything to do with it. There may be several reasons why Asiatics are more liable to contract the opium habit than Europeans, but I have found little to aid me in forming an opinion on the subject.

13. I suppose that the vast majority of opium-consumers have been led to contract the habit through the invitation and example of friends and neighbours, or through having been brought into contact with opium-smokers in their business transactions. The opium dens to be found everywhere must also prove to be a source of great temptation to many. It is worthy of notice that the opium den and the immoral house are sometimes one and the same place. I have never, as far as my knowledge goes, found opium to be a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria; and I have not found any Chinese who so regarded it.

14. The great majority of opium-smokers with whom I have conversed on the subject have expressed their desire to get free of the habit. It is probable, however, that in some cases, the desire was not a sincere one. In many cases, I judge that they were discouraged because of their repeated failures to free themselves from the habit.

15. Those who smoke opium, in many cases I suspect, care but little whence it comes. I have, however, over and over again heard the Chinese express their surprise and indignation that Great Britain should allow opium to be exported from India into China. The thing is condemned unsparingly by all the Chinese who are cognisant of the fact.

20. Opium is an unmitigated evil, and a great curse to the Chinese people.

W. J. HUNNEX,
Chinkingiang, China.

Southern Baptist Mission, U.S.A.
(15 years in China).

Dr. M. LYNCH.

Enclosure 5.

1. Yes.

2. More than half of the adult male population take opium. The habit is general among singing girls and prostitutes; but outside these classes the number of women given to opium-smoking is extremely small.

3. Opium degrades by sapping the will power. Confirmed smokers grow sluggish, careless, and untrustworthy. Their energy and ambition seem to melt away. Their great pre-occupation is the pipe. There is no baseness to which the opium sot will not descend, and no sacrifice he will not make, to appease his intolerable craving.

For a poor man—and nearly all the Chinese are poor—opium is a very costly luxury. It is easy to understand, therefore, what is actually the case, that a smoker very seldom improves his lot in life, and often reduces his family to want.

There is no difference, except one of degree, between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium. The Chinese is cruder than the Indian drug; and being freely adulterated, is very much weaker, and consequently less injurious.

Immoderate opium-smoking enfeebles the system, and lessens the power of resisting disease.

4. Opium is always smoked, and never taken in any other form.

5. This question I am not sure of my competence to answer. I should say that of opium-consumers one in four, at least, shows appreciable signs of ill effects, and 8 or 9 per cent. are "opium sots."

6. Here again I am somewhat doubtful. I have occasionally heard of men who had taken opium for years without exceeding a small dose, and without suffering from it in any way. But I have never met with such a case myself. If I am to trust my own rather limited experience, I should say there is no such thing as long-continued moderation in the use of opium.

8. It is idle to compare opium and alcohol in China, where the alcohol habit is non-existent.

9. Condemnation of the opium habit is passionate and universal. As regards alcohol, it is true that the strictest of Chinamen will occasionally get tipsy at a feast. But this is a very different thing from being a drunkard, and excites no reprobation whatever.

10. I have never known of an opium-smoker who broke himself of the habit. Large numbers are "cured" in foreign hospitals; but nearly all of them, certainly 90 per cent. and over, relapse.

13. Very often through social temptations, a pipe of opium being offered as a glass of wine is with us; still oftener through its use in cases of illness. I am aware of no evidence of the slightest value to show that opium has any prophylactic virtue against malaria or rheumatism. During the cold stage of an ague-fit, a pipe is comforting; and this is the only foundation I have been able to discover for the belief, which is widely prevalent here, in the power of opium to cure and to prevent malarial fevers. It is worth mentioning that there is no opium-smoker who will not eagerly accept a dose of quinine when he is feverish, and that the consumption of quinine is increasing every year.

20. The Chinese unanimously assert that suicides have become enormously more frequent of late years, owing to the facility of obtaining opium.

(Signed) J. A. LYNCH, M.D.

Mr. E. STARKEY (Merchant).

Enclosure 6.

1. Yes.

2. Chinese only, men 50 per cent., women 5 per cent., children none. Foreigners do not smoke opium.

3. Effects on confirmed smokers and "sots" unspeakably degrading. They become cruel, heartless, and lose all discrimination between right and wrong. Among the poor it is of common occurrence to sell lands, houses, wife, children, &c., to procure opium. They cannot be trusted in anything. Moderate smokers do not at first appear to suffer much, but after 10 or 15 years deteriorate quickly. Confirmed smokers seldom have families, "sots" never. Indian opium, being stronger, is probably more hurtful than Chinese. Indian opium pure is only smoked by well-to-do people. Poorer classes smoke a mixture of Indian and native, or the former adulterated with sesamum seed powder, or Chinese opium pure or adulterated as above. Very poor people are frequently driven to smoke the residue escaped from the opium pipe. This is said to be deadly in its effects, producing lung complaints, dysentery, &c. Consumption of opium has greatly increased during the last 12 or 14 years, when the Chinese drug was first introduced here, the price of the latter bringing it within the reach of all classes.

4. Opium smoked only, not eaten, &c.

5. (i.) 10 per cent. (ii.) 35 and 40 per cent. (iii.) 5 per cent.

About 60 per cent. of public women and singing-girls smoke immoderately.

6. There are many smokers in moderation, but usually after 10 years or so indulgence; they suffer in health and require increased doses. Cases of great injury caused by immoderate indulgence seen every day. I have seen hundreds of Chinese of every class irremediably injured physically and morally by opium.

7.—(1.) Labourers (*i.e.* coolies) and boatmen 20 per cent. habitual smokers. (2.) Artisans, viz., masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., 20–30 per cent. (3.) Shopkeepers and merchants, clerks, &c., 10 per cent. All suffer in strength and energy. Smokers frequently discharged as being unreliable and deprived, &c.

Note.—Well-nourished individuals suffer less from habitual smoking than poorer people.

8. No comparison can be drawn between the effects of opium and alcohol. Opium-smokers are not violent street brawlers, or dangerous in any way, and are not willful law breakers, but are, in my opinion, infinitely more deprived and lost to shame than alcohol "sots." Their lives are all mean ones; the moral sense appears to be lost completely.

9. Opium-smoking in anything but great moderation is condemned and despised socially, though this con-

tempt is seldom expressed outwardly. There are frequently heard complaints that the opium habit is fatal to the prosperity of the country, and England is blamed for introducing the drug. There is no injurious alcohol drinking in this district.

10. Rarely after five or six years' indulgence. I do not know of a single case after two or three years.

11. All would take to Chinese opium, which, if carefully prepared by boiling and filtering and kept underground in jars for two or three years, is said to resemble and equal the Indian drug. It has about the same effect when thus kept. New crude Chinese opium is only smoked by the poor. It is cheap, and is said not to be so injurious as Indian. The sudden stoppage of Indian opium would probably lead to great mortality among habitual smokers, who would not take to Chinese opium.

12. I do not know of any European opium-smokers; they would probably be deterred by shame from indulgence, as this is looked upon as a purely Chinese vice. Opium is suited to the Asiatic indolent nature. In a badly governed or oppressed country it tends to make the burden of life easier to bear, and the Chinese standard of morals being very low they do not look upon the opium habit with such shame as western people.

13. Generally through example of others, who describe the pleasant effects of a pipe, and the habit grows quickly. Chinese doctors are responsible for a great deal of smoking among the poorer and ignorant classes. They recommend it for fever and ague, malaria, colic, dysentery, &c., and the people are easily duped. I do not know its effect in these diseases. Probably it alleviates at first, but I have heard from numbers that the dose must always be increased to produce an effect, and eventually they cannot do without it. It is said that confirmed opium-smokers never recover from a serious illness. Burden coolies, who smoke habitually, can only work in spells, as they must have their pipe, and do not recover from their lethargy for hours.

14. Confirmed smokers would give anything to get free from the habit, and I know of many who have made determined efforts to throw it off, but none, as far as I have ascertained, have succeeded, they always relapse.

15. Chinese are wont to blame England for introducing opium, and compare Americans and other nations favourably with us in consequence; but they are now so used to it that they would not seriously wish the import stopped. Chinese opium is grown in yearly increasing quantities.

16. Indian opium, being dearer, is consumed by the better classes, pure or slightly mixed with Chinese. The poor smoke principally Chinese drug but prefer Indian.

17.—(a.) At first a slightly decreased consumption among the better classes, who are accustomed to Indian, and to a lesser extent among the middle and lower classes. Eventually all would smoke Chinese drug. (b.) A rapidly increased growth of the poppy to supply demand, and loss of revenue to the Chinese Government, who (c.) would put a heavier tax upon the native growth, but this would fall far short of the revenue now obtained from Indian opium. In the north of this province in some large districts about 25 per cent. of the land is grown with the poppy. There is none grown here, and the local government would not favour its cultivation.

19. I do not know.

Conclusion.

20.—(1.) Confirmed opium-smokers are thieves, cruel, dishonest, untruthful, cowards, brutally lascivious, and debased. (2.) The offspring of opium-smoking parents are notoriously puny and short-lived. (3.) The waste of time in smoking opium is enormous, and a poor man who smokes never becomes prosperous. (4.) The opium habit is undermining society in this province, the moral standard of non-smokers is affected by it, and the people are surely deteriorating. (5.) The Chinese soldiery and the Tartars are all opium-smokers if not checked. The officers in every camp indulge in the pipe. (6.) As long as the smoking of opium in China is tolerated the people will remain inert, and will thus never be a danger to other nations in Asia. I have been 27 years in China, 20 years of which I have been much among

APP. XXVI.

the people of all classes. I speak Chinese. Opium is frequently taken as a poison, and suicide in this district has greatly increased since the drug has been introduced.

Chingkiang,
February 20th, 1894.

E. STARKEY.

Mr. T. WEATHERSTON (Merchant).

Enclosure 7.

1. Yes.
2. Eighty per cent. A few. No.
3. Morally, it has the effect of deadening rather than creating evil passions. Physically, if taken to any excess, it is weakening and enervating, but taken in small quantities it has, I think, a refreshing effect, and is a boon to the hardworking classes of this country who have so few pleasures or means of recreation. Indian opium being better in quality, &c. is less hurtful than that grown in China.
4. —
- 5.—(i.) 75 per cent. (ii.) 24 per cent. (iii.) 1 per cent.
6. Quite incorrect. Yes, some of my staff, who are good business men, and smoke opium every day. One case, my daughter Amah's husband, who did no work, but at the end of each month took his wife's earnings, and spent most of it on opium, and looked a miserable wreck.
7. Yes; imperceptible.
8. Very favourably.
9. No, only when taken to excess. Very favourably, because when under its influence the Chinese are quiet and inoffensive.
10. Very occasionally.
11. It would have the effect of increasing the production of opium in China, and if still insufficient would cause the Chinese to take to drinking native alcohol.
12. No, spirits and wines taking the place of opium.
13. Cannot say.
14. Cannot say.
15. Never heard the wish expressed.
16. Do not know.

(Signed) T. WEATHERSTON,
Mercantile and Shipping Agent.

With 20 years' residence on the Yang-tsze, and constant intercourse with Chinese of different classes.

Chingkiang, T. W.
February 26, 1894.

Consul CARLÈS.

Enclosure 8.

1. Opium-smoking is general in all parts of China with which I am acquainted.
2. I should judge that half the adult males, Manchu or Chinese, in this province smoke opium. Among women the habit is uncommon. Cases have been quoted to me of children smoking.
3. My opportunities of personal observation of the effects of opium on its consumers have been limited, for the intercourse between Chinese and Europeans is so restricted that I have never known anything of the domestic life even of persons with whom I am in constant contact. It is only by hearsay therefore, or by observation of men's outward lives, that I can speak of opium-smoking and its effect. To ask a man whether he smokes opium is an impertinence which I consider unlikely to produce a truthful reply. So far as I have seen the effect of opium-smoking is prejudicial morally, physically, and socially, but in widely different degrees according to the class of the consumer. Physically and morally the poorest classes suffer most, for the cost of the opium necessarily entails a corresponding diminution of their proper food, and a man who is ill-fed suffers far more physically than a man who takes his pipes after a heavy meal. Further, the need of food and clothing, for which no money is otherwise forthcoming, leads to theft, peculation, and general dishonesty. The injurious effect socially appears to be diminishing. While opium-smoking was forbidden by

law, and offences against the law were punished, smoking was only indulged in more or less clandestinely, thereby entailing association with low characters, and a certain loss of self and general respect. At the present day opium-smoking is so common that I understand among the well-to-do classes a pipe of opium is offered to a visitor almost as readily as a pipe of tobacco. Among officials there are some of the highest rank who no longer make a secret of the habit, though liable to loss of office if denounced. An "opium sot" necessarily ruins his health, and entails misery on his family, if he is a poor man. In any case he must fail to fulfil any of the duties of a citizen towards his state. The habit of opium-smoking entails a certain subservience to it, which prevents a man being his own master even when the quantity is not sufficient to injure his health. Those, however, who smoke, but not habitually (and I believe their number to be very large), do not suffer in any way. I have never heard of any difference in the effect physically on Chinese, Manchu, or Mangol. But Chinese in some provinces appear to suffer much less than in others. In Sze Chuen, for instance, constant smokers are reputed to be little affected by the habit. Any difference in the effect of Indian and Chinese opium is said to be met by larger doses of the latter.

4. Smoking may be said to be the almost universal form of taking opium.

5. As far as I can learn, about 50 per cent. of smokers suffer no injury; 40 per cent. of smokers suffer slight injury; 10 per cent. of smokers suffer great injury.

6. Moderation in opium is very general. Men who smoke moderately are generally regarded as non-smokers. I have no personal knowledge of any "opium sot."

7. The official class and the retinue of officials have the reputation of being more addicted to opium than any other class, except, perhaps, the families of men who have made their fortunes in trade. On the official, literary, and mercantile classes the effect is that their hours of work have to be accommodated to their hours of smoking. Porters and other hard-working men seem often to derive an extra store of energy from a pipe or two on which to work for extra hours. On a journey which lasted 42 days, and in which an average of 25 miles per day (including rests), was made in difficult country, seven muleteers who accompanied me ate opium every day without any other inconvenience than a two hours' rest at noon. The opium which they consumed was a decoction which they said was commonly taken in Shan Tung, but which I have never come across since.

8. The effect of opium on Chinese is absolutely different to that of alcohol, even morally. Heavy drinking is not necessarily regarded with disapprobation. Constant drunkenness is exceedingly rare. In any comparison with alcohol I think that sight should not be lost of the fact that crimes of violence are as unlikely to arise out of the opium habit as they are a natural result of drink.

9. The Chinese undoubtedly condemn the use of opium as degrading and injurious, but no stigma now attaches to those who partake of it with moderation. Indeed they are hardly counted as opium-smokers.

10. Opium-smokers do break themselves of the habit, but relapses are frequent.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, it is improbable that the measure would have any effect on opium-consumers in China. Attempts have been made to imitate Indian opium with native drug, and the increased demand for opium of the kind would stimulate its preparation.

12. Few Europeans contract the opium habit. The active habits of European life are thoroughly opposed to it, while the sedentary life of the Chinese encourages it.

13. Reluctance to refuse hospitality when offered is often the reason that leads men to smoke. But opium is often suggested as a cure for pain or lack of sleep, or recommended by a native doctor. Opium has the reputation of curing rheumatism, dysentery, and malarial fever.

14. Large opium-smokers frequently profess to be anxious to get rid of the habit, but their sincerity is frequently questionable.

15. At the present day, the growth of native opium is so thoroughly established that the Chinese, who are

opposed to opium, entertain scarcely any hope of seeing the habit eradicated, whether Indian opium is imported or not. There are, however, I believe, not a few who would welcome the news of its importation being prohibited, as the first indispensable step towards reform.

16. Indian opium is chiefly consumed by the richer classes. The proportion of Indian to Chinese opium consumed diminishes with the distance from a Treaty port. In this neighbourhood the consumption of native opium is estimated to be certainly more than three times that of Indian opium.

17.—(a.) The prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium is not likely to diminish the consumption of opium by the Chinese. (b.) It would probably increase the cultivation of native opium, and (c.) lead the Chinese Government to take measures for the more stringent taxation of native opium.

18. Any estimate of the area now under poppy and of the average annual out-turn of opium in China must be framed on mere guesswork, on account of the large area under consideration. Official native statistics, if available, would intentionally be misleading. The annual production of opium in the north of this province has been estimated at 10,000 chests.

19. The revenue derived by the Chinese Government from native opium is insignificant compared with the cost of collection and the amount of irregular levies to which growers, dealers, and carriers have to submit. The duty on native-grown opium consumed in the province is 30 taels. If exported to another province it is nominally liable to another similar duty. It is understood by all parties concerned that the duty is not to be levied in full, thus four chests would be charged as three.

20. Circumstances have so changed in the last quarter of a century owing to the increased growth of native opium and the increased revenue derived by the Chinese Government from Indian opium, that public opinion has been greatly affected as regards the benefit or expediency of checking the importation of Indian opium. It is to the interest not only of opium-growers and opium dealers, but also of a large army of revenue officers, and of officials, great and small, who derive their income from it, that the trade should exist, and the strenuous efforts made in this province and in Shan Si by the Governors, some 10 years since, to stop its cultivation and extirpate opium-smoking gave hardly any result. History has shown that strong Emperor's decrees were similarly ineffectual. I know of no reason to lead me to expect greater results in the present day.

(Signed) W. R. CARLES,
H.M. Consulate, Chinkiang, Consul.
February 24, 1894.

MACAO.*

H.B.M. Vice-Consulate, Macao, China,
March 1, 1894.

SIR,
I HAVE the honour to enclose my replies to the paper of questions. I regret being unable to forward at the same time the answers of those persons to whom I gave a copy of the interrogatories, but I will not fail to send them as soon as they are returned to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BENCRAFT JOLY,
Vice-Consul.

1. Yes, very commonly.
2. About 2-3. I do not know of any women or children.
3. The effects depend upon the quantity consumed, for excess in opium-smoking or eating is as injurious as any excess even in the most harmless necessities of life. No evil effects seem, however, to be felt by persons who can afford to take a due proportion of food and who are wise enough to keep within the bounds of moderation.

4. Consumers smoke and eat opium. I am not aware of any decoction; nor can I distinguish between the effects of each mode of consumption.

5. I cannot tell what the proportion is of those who use opium without injury, with slight injury, and with great injury; but as far as my experience goes of nearly 14 years in China the proportion of those who consume with great injury is small. Indeed I have seldom seen any opium sots. Of course they could be discovered if one were to hunt in the byways and opium dens.

6. There is such a thing as moderation. Many persons have, I understand, their pipe, just as an Englishman has his cigar or his pipe, and then attend to their daily duties with ease and diligence and ability. Yes, I know of several persons who have taken opium for years without harm. In fact, I know of one man who has steadily taken his opium, of course in moderation, and who is now nearly 80 and in the full possession of all his senses.

7. I cannot say who are in the majority. The poorer classes seem to suffer most, as they deny themselves food to satisfy their craving for opium.

8. The use and abuse of opium in China compares most favourably with the use and abuse of alcohol in England, where I have seen far more scandalous scenes from drink than any that I have seen in China from the effects of opium.

9. Not that I know of. They would regard alcohol as a greater source of trouble and rowdyism.

10. With difficulty for the habit of smoking opium takes as firm a hold over a man as tobacco; but I have known several cases where men have broken themselves of the habit.

11. Were the supply of opium from India cut off the consumers would take entirely to native-grown opium, and do just as well without Indian opium as they did before its introduction, previous to the so-called opium war. Some would probably take to alcohol, but none would abstain from opium altogether.

12. Europeans do not contract the opium habit in any numbers. Why they do not I cannot exactly say. I presume, however, that it is because they prefer their alcohol and tobacco.

13. The use of the drug is taken up just as foreigners take up tobacco. I think it is a splendid tonic for the poor hard-worked coolie. The Chinese view opium as being to a great extent beneficial.

14. Some of them do after a time.

15. None that I know of. Nor have I heard England ever blamed for the introduction of opium. The Chinese know better that it is not the English or Indians who introduced the drug into China. It must have been brought by the Arab traders, who did business with the Chinese long before the arrival of foreigners. Hence the term "opium war" is a misnomer.

16. By the wealthier class and old consumers; and mostly in the south. In the north, native-grown opium has entirely superseded the Indian drug.

17. The consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium would probably be:—

- (a.) The increase in the consumption of native opium.
- (b.) The increase of the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium.
- (c.) The increase in the collection of revenue on native-grown opium by the Chinese Government as a source of revenue.

18. I cannot give any estimate, but the poppy is mostly cultivated in the North and West of China; and in very large quantities too.

19. Foreign opium pays taels 110 (a tael = 4s.) per 100 catties (a catty = 1½ lbs.). The taxation on native opium is comparatively much lighter than on foreign.

20. None.

H. BENCRAFT JOLY.

* Other papers from Macao will be found on page 303.

APP. XXVI.

HANKOW (Supplementary).*

Her Majesty's Consulate, Hankow,
March 21, 1894.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith replies to the Royal Opium Commission's inquiries which I have received from the Reverend Griffith John, D.D., and from the Reverend S. C. Partridge. These replies arrived too late to be forwarded in my despatch of the 6th instant.

I have, &c.

FELHAM WARREN,
Consul.

REV. GRIFFITH JOHN, D.D.

1. Yes. I have lived in the province of Hupeh, Central China, since 1861, and have travelled extensively in several other provinces. From personal observation I can state confidently that opium is commonly consumed in the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kiang-si, Sze-chwan, and Shen-si. My answers will have special reference to the province of Hupeh.

2. Of the adult males in the province of Hupeh, from 20 to 25 per cent. are consumers; of the adult females about 4 per cent. The great opium-producing provinces, such as Yunnan, Sze-chwan, and Kwei-chow, show a much higher per-centage. When travelling in Sze-chwan in 1868 I came to the conclusion that 70 per cent. of the adult male population took opium, and 30 per cent. of the female. The men and the women, old and young, seemed to me to be playing with the poison; and my impression was that it only required a few years more for opium-smoking to become as common as tobacco-smoking in Western China.

3.—(a.) *Moral Effects.*—The moral effects of opium are of the most pernicious kind. It tends to paralyse the moral nature and prostrate the will. It bedims the moral vision, blunts the moral sentiments, and extinguishes every virtue. The Chinese themselves say that an opium-smoker is ever devising some mischief, and that no confidence can be safely reposed in him. Whilst in affluent circumstances the danger is not so great; but the moment penury sets in, he becomes an object of aversion and suspicion to all around him. There is nothing too mean for him to attempt. He will lie, cheat, and steal without the faintest sense of shame or wrong. In order to satisfy his craving he will sell or let out his wife, starve his children, and sell the clothes off the backs of his aged parents. Not only is the moral sense weakened in the opium victims, but they are led by the habit into associations where they are directly tempted to the most profligate vices. The opium dens are for the most part sinks of iniquity; and opium-smoking is generally associated with debauchery, gambling, and other gross vices.

(b.) *The Physical Effects.*—Opium undermines the constitution, impairs the health, and shortens the life of the smoker. A man of strong constitution, active habits, and well supplied with generous food, may indulge himself in it moderately for some years without apparently sustaining very great physical injury. But the moderate use of it is almost impossible to a man who can indulge in it immoderately. The appetite becomes more intense and insatiable every day. The smallest use leads to an intemperate use, and gradually it so weakens the system that it becomes an easy prey to diseases of all kinds. As soon as the means of gratification are exhausted, or the supply of the necessaries of life is diminished, death appears. A strenuous attempt to break off the habit induces an incurable opium diarrhoea, which often proves fatal. In the case of excessive use "the victim is wretched, nerveless, and imbecile; he has insupportable languor throughout the whole frame, gnawing at the stomach, pulling at the shoulders, and failing of the spirits; vitality is gradually destroyed, and the result is premature death." Opium affects the population by producing impotence and sterility. The Chinese say that about one-half of the regular opium-smokers are childless, and that the children of the other half are few, feeble, and sickly. They also affirm that the family of the opium-smoker will be extinct in the third generation.

(c.) *The Social Effects.*—Impoverishment often leading to crime, family feuds, and beggary. Untrustworthiness leading to the loss of place and confidence. Lazy habits, leading to slothfulness in business, and financial embarrassments. Socially, when a man falls

into the opium-smoking habit, he falls also in the esteem of the virtuous among his neighbours.

(d.) The effects are the same on all the Chinese with whom I have had to do.

(e.) The Indian drug is much stronger than that produced in China, and a much smaller quantity is required to satisfy the craving. The latter is compared to a wood fire, the former to a fire of coal. It is also more expensive, and beyond the reach of the poorer classes. The old wealthy smokers cling to the foreign article.

4. They chiefly smoke; but eating is also practised to a limited extent. The former satisfies the craving more effectually, and is, according to the Chinese taste, the pleasanter mode of consumption. I have never met with a case in which opium was taken as a decoction. I cannot distinguish between the effects of these different forms on the Chinese.

5. It is impossible to give a categorical answer to these questions. I do not believe that anyone can take it habitually without injury. Men of strong constitution, with the means of procuring nutritious food, may indulge for a time without apparent injury. But it is only for a time. All are injured more or less, and the evil effects in every case will make themselves seen and felt sooner or later. In the case of those who are constitutionally weak, and those who have not the means of procuring the accustomed and necessary supply of food, the injury in most cases is rapid and signal. The natives say that from 70 to 80 per cent. of those who smoke habitually acquire the "yin" (craving), and everyone who acquires the "yin" is looked upon as more or less of an "opium sot." Speaking generally, it takes, in the case of those who play with the pipe, from one to two years to contract the craving.

6. If by moderation is meant the ability to stop at pleasure, to throw aside the habit without any undue strain on the part of the opium habitué, then it is correct to say that moderation in the consumption of opium does not exist, or if it does exist at all, it is so rare that it would be misleading to take the fact into calculation. Even the so-called moderate opium-smoker is a slave to his stimulant; without it he is weak, worthless, and wretched. So dependent is he on his artificial strength that he can do nothing without his daily allowance, however small the quantity may be. What might be called the moderate use of opium ought not to be compared with the moderate use of alcohol, but with its habitually excessive use. Moreover, the habitual opium-smoker is never satisfied with less than the intoxicating effects of the drug. He smokes with the view of making himself opium intoxicated, and his cravings are never fully appeased till he gets intoxicated. I know of no cases of consumers who have taken to opium for years without harm to themselves; but I do know of many cases where the drug has worked unspeakable injury to the individual, physically, morally, and socially.

7. In Hupeh the majority do not smoke. See answer to 1st question. Probably 40 per cent. of the officials, 60 per cent. of the yamen runners, and 50 per cent. of the police constables, do smoke. As to tradesmen, artisans, boatmen, coolies, and farmers, the average per-centage is from 20 to 25. The general effect of the opium habit on all classes is to mar their efficiency in their calling. It induces idleness, dishonesty, and general unreliableness. I never employ an opium-smoker as a servant, and in travelling I never employ an opium-smoking coolie, or hire the boat of an opium-smoking boatman, if I can possibly help it. I have seen it stated that opium is helpful to the hard-working coolie in the valley of the Yang-tze, and that without it he cannot do his work efficiently. This can only be true of the opium habitué to whom the artificial stimulant is of course essential. With regard to the coolie class in general it is absolutely false. The non-opium-smoking coolie is far stronger and far more active and reliable than his unfortunate brother.

8. The Chinese have had their alcoholic stimulants for thousands of years, and spirit-drinking is quite general among them. But spirit-drinking is not a national vice in China, whilst opium-smoking is emphatically so. A drunken man is seldom seen in the streets. During the 38 years I have lived in China I have not seen 20 men actually overcome by drinking. But the opium-smoker is everywhere, and the opium vice is everywhere. In China the effects of drink are not marked; the injury from its use is not

* For the rest of the Hankow papers, see page 290.

serious. The evil effects of opium are universally seen and felt.

9. It is universally condemned by the Chinese as degrading and injurious, and they regard the opium habit as immeasurably worse than the alcohol habit. They smile at the attempt to institute a comparison between the two. They say that the two cannot be compared in their effects on the individual, the family, and the nation. I have never yet met a Chinaman, whether a smoker or a non-smoker, whether rich or poor, whether an official or a non-official, who would attempt to defend the practice of opium-smoking as an innocent luxury. They will defend other luxuries, though expensive, on the ground of their harmlessness, but never will they lift a finger or utter a word in defence of this. Even the keepers of opium dens will admit that the practice is wholly bad, and their own conduct immoral. There can be no doubt that the national conscience of the Chinese has pitched upon this one article as the one object of its reprobation, whether as an article of commerce or an article of consumption; and it does so because they can see in it only a poison which threatens their very existence. One native author writes:—"Were it only injurious to property, the baneful influence of opium would be of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration, for on the people lies the very foundation of the empire." "The Supreme Ruler," says another, "must have a meaning in causing opium-smoking. He must intend to destroy the nation. There is no other way of accounting for the love of the Chinese for opium. They know its baneful effects perfectly well, but still are exceedingly fond of smoking it. He must purpose our national destruction." Another writes:—"In comparison with arsenic, I pronounce opium ten times the greater poison. It exhausts the animal spirits, impedes the regular performance of business, wastes the flesh and blood, dissipates every kind of property, renders the person ill-favoured, promotes obscenity, attacks the vitals, and destroys life." I might go on and quote indefinitely from the popular literature of the Chinese, and from official proclamations, in order to show that the opium habit is utterly condemned by the general opinion of the nation. I may add that opium-smokers are not admitted into the Christian Church in China, and that they are excluded, not by the anti-opium attitude of the missionary merely, but also by the strong anti-opium convictions of the converts themselves.

10. Yes, but not many. Some do succeed in breaking themselves of the habit without medical assistance. But this is very rarely the case. Many come to our hospitals with the view of breaking it off, and are cured for a time. The permanently cured, however, are exceedingly few. By far the majority of cases fall back within a year or two. The more I have to do with opium-smokers, the weaker does my faith become in the possibility of effecting a permanent cure. They lack the will power essential to withstand temptation.

11. The opium-consumers in that case would resort to the Chinese-grown opium, that is unless the growth of the native article were effectually stopped by the Chinese Government. They would certainly not take to alcohol. I know of no narcotic which they might take as a substitute.

12. Very rarely. During my long residence in China I have met with only two cases. The phlegmatic temperament and indolent habits of the Asiatic make him more liable to contract the habit.

13. The causes are many. The following may be regarded as among the chief:—(1.) The love of pleasure and vice. The opium dens are moral sinks, and opium-smoking is associated with gambling and gross sensual indulgence. (2.) Cure of disease or pain. Chinese physicians often prescribe the use of the opium pipe for alleviating distress and pain. (3.) It is supposed to facilitate business transactions, and the striking of bargains. (4.) Indolence, and the want of occupation. I have never heard the Chinese say that opium is a prophylactic against fever, and I do not think that they regard it as such. It is used however to relieve the aches and pains of rheumatism and malaria.

14. When the smoker commences the use of opium it is felt to be a pleasant stimulant. He enjoys the artificial strength and tone derived from it. During the early stage, if possessed of the means of procuring the drug, he shows, generally speaking, no desire to get free of the habit. When, however, the craving is contracted, and he becomes conscious of his misery as

a slave to the habit, he does usually wish to be free, and would abandon the vice if he could do so without pain and effort. Unfortunately by this time the will-power is gone, and deliverance, in by far the majority of cases, has become impossible.

15. There is decidedly a wish that the foreign importation should be discontinued. The people generally look upon the opium vice as having been introduced by foreigners, without distinguishing between one nation and another, and they look upon its introduction as an immoral and hostile act. One native author writes:—"It is not only that they (the foreigners) abstract so many millions of our money, but the direful appearances seem to indicate a wish on their part to utterly root out and extirpate us as a people." The anti-foreign literature of Hunan is full of the severest denunciations against us as the originators of the opium vice in China. I am convinced that the relation between the two countries can never be what it ought to be whilst the traffic lasts, and that the moral effect of its abandonment by England on the Chinese mind would be very powerful and highly favourable. The Chinese as a people would begin to see us in a new light, and feel towards us as they have never done hitherto.

16-19. Others are better able to reply to these four questions than I am. But consult the Imperial Maritime Customs Reports. I would only observe that it is very difficult to say what the Chinese Government or people might do in the event of the prohibition of the export of Indian opium. Much would depend on the action of the Government. 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 Government might make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the attempt might eventuate in a diminution of the evil, if not in its complete suppression. On this point, however, I have my serious doubts. I cannot close my eyes to the fact that opium-smoking has become so common, and that the habit has got such a firm hold upon its victims, that, in my most calm and solemn moments, I can see no hopes of the speedy deliverance of China from the vice, even if the last particle of the Indian article had found its way into the country. The evil is now one of enormous magnitude, and the venality of the officials is as deep-rooted as ever; and I therefore fear that no legislative measures on the part of the Central Government, however honestly adopted, would put an end to opium-smoking, and consequently to opium-growing in China itself. This, however, is only my opinion; others think differently, and they may be right. But whether the Chinese Government would and could put down the native growth or not, the path of England, as a great Christian nation, seems to me to be perfectly clear. It is for us to wash our hands clean of a trade which is unworthy of ourselves and hurtful to the people of China.

20. I should like to call attention to the evil of opium as an agent used by the Chinese to destroy their own lives. In former days the Chinese popular methods of committing suicide were hanging, strangling, and drowning. Now it is opium-poisoning, a far easier and more convenient way. I am satisfied, from all I hear and see, that suicide is much more common in China now than it used to be, and that this is to be ascribed to the advantages of the new method as compared with the old. The old was clumsy, painful, and uncertain in its operation. The new is gentle, painless, and effective. A little scolding on the part of a parent will make the child take opium; a slight quarrel between husband and wife will make the wife take opium; a few sharp words about cash between an employer and an employé will make the employé take opium. In a fit of passion, or when deeply moved by a spirit of revenge, they think no more of swallowing half-ounce of raw opium than they do of gulping a cup of tea. There can be no doubt that opium facilitates suicides in China to an enormous extent. I shudder at the thought of the thousands of victims who must be falling week after week, even in this particular way, into the pitiless jaws of this all-devouring demon. Opium in China is an awful curse, and that in more ways than one.

GRIFFITH JOHN,
London Mission, Hankow.

20th March 1894.

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Rev. S. C. PARTRIDGE.

1. Yes.
2. Ordinary adult males, about 50 per cent. Men in yamens as high as 90 per cent. Women about 10 per cent. Children 0.
3. Indian opium is 800 brass-cash an ounce, Chinese opium 250. Indian opium is more powerful, the *habitué* comes more quickly under its influence, and the satisfaction is greater. As to moral and social effects, whenever the opium habit is indulged in with the consequent weakening of the will-power, there is necessarily more or less moral deterioration, though when moderately under the influence of opium the patient is not unsocial.
4. About 90 per cent. are smokers, 9 per cent. eat the drug, and about 1 per cent. drink a decoction.
5. (i.) 20 per cent. (ii.) 50 per cent. (iii.) 30 per cent.
6. The consumers of Indian opium, probably because they are of the wealthier classes, can indulge for a certain time in the habit with comparative impunity, but after two or three years the habit begins to undermine the general health. The lower classes, who mostly use Chinese opium, use the ashes of opium (that has already been consumed) with fresh opium, and this mixture seems to be the most harmful preparation of all. Some are able constantly to use opium for long periods, say from 20 to 30 years, but the health is always affected.
7. Probably 70 per cent. The habit always makes them less efficient.
8. The opium habit is the more pernicious.
9. Yes. They would regard it as above (No. 8).
10. They may for a time discontinue its use, but eventually the habit becomes permanent. There may be a few rare incidents in which a moral reformation (in addition to physical treatment) brings about a recovery, but very rare indeed.
11. Those who were accustomed to use Indian opium only would use the Chinese drug.
12. _____
13. More than one-half for pleasure, the remainder for the relief or cure of disease. The Chinese think it is a prophylactic against diseases of the chest, e.g., bronchitis; of the stomach, e.g., dyspepsia, gastritis, and also against rheumatism. They do not use it as a preventative against malaria.
14. Yes, but as in the case of the Anglo-Saxon and other races, the will-power is so weakened that they are powerless to break off the habit.
15. The mandarins may wish so, not on moral grounds at all, but simply that a confining of the people to native opium would mean an enormous increase of revenue to "local" and "transit" officials, that in the case of Indian opium goes direct to Peking. The people are ignorant of, and indifferent to, the entire subject.
16. The use of it is practically universal, and the *habitué* always prefers the Indian opium if he has money enough to pay for it.
- 17.—(a.) There would probably be fewer *habitués*, and consequently less opium consumed, for a time. (b.) The cultivation of the plant in China would be extended. (c.) The revenue to the Chinese Government would be increased.

18. _____

19. _____

20. _____

SIDNEY C. PARTRIDGE,
American Church Mission.

7th March 1894.

NEWCHWANG.

H.B.M. Consulate, Newchwang,
February 27, 1894.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a number of papers giving answers to the questions of the Royal Commission on Opium. I hope that they may be of service to the Commission. I can testify to the experience and competence of the writers.

The papers are for the most part furnished by missionaries. But missionaries in China, speaking the language, constantly moving about, and always in close

contact with the people, are able to give far more trustworthy opinions on such a subject than any other class of persons can, though many of them, of course, have strong prejudices concerning it.

I have, &c.

T. L. BULLOCK,
Consul.

Consul BULLOCK.

1. Yes.

2. In the Treaty ports more than half the merchants are smokers; artisans less so; many coolies, porters, and such, if earning high wages, smoke. Perhaps in these places 40 per cent. of the adult males smoke. There is much smoking also in other great trading places, and along great lines of route, where many people are gathered together, earning good wages and away from their homes. In the agricultural districts throughout China the proportion is much less, except in the vicinity of the opium-producing localities, where smoking is again more general.

I will say, as a conjecture, that throughout China between 20 and 30 per cent. of adult males smoke. Women, except prostitutes, not to any extent, though more do so in this part of China than elsewhere. Children not at all.

Excepting the Manchus, in the interior north of this place, there are no distinctions of race among the Chinese. There are aboriginal tribes in parts of South and West China, but they are never spoken of or looked upon as Chinese.

3. From my own personal observation I can only say that the effects of opium-smoking are paleness, thinness, languidness, want of energy, and a general appearance of ill-health. But having given a good deal of attention to the subject during my 25 years' service in different parts of the country, I feel justified in adding the following remarks. Morally it is the smokers of the poorer classes who suffer most. If their income be not large enough to supply the quantity of drug required, they cannot be trusted not to steal. They are unquestionably more likely to steal than other Chinese. Whatever harm the poor may suffer physically from the action of the drug, it is less than the effects of the impoverishment caused by its cost. Let the smoker be a strong man, and use so little that the direct effects do not harm him, still he suffers from not having enough money to spend on food and clothing, and his wife and children are in a still worse state. He is just like the frequenter of the public-house in England. The Chinese, so far as I know, are unanimous in agreeing that there is some loss of physical power occasioned by opium-smoking. European writers sometimes note that they have seen opium-smoking chair-bearers and boat-trackers sustain great fatigue and work as well as the other men with them. But the Chinese firmly believe both that such men are less strong than they would otherwise have been, and that they are wearing themselves out more quickly. Ask a Chinese which would win in a fight, a regiment of men allowed to smoke or one of similar men who were prevented from doing so, and he will laugh at the simplicity of the question.

The Manchus, who form a minority of the population in the provinces north of this port, are greater smokers than the surrounding Chinese, and are more apathetic and less energetic. I cannot say how far these characteristics are the result or the cause of their smoking.

Indian opium is, I believe, stronger than Chinese, and so *per se* more hurtful. But it is so much adulterated in general use that there is little distinction to be drawn between the two. This adulteration may account for the common belief that opium is not now so injurious as it used to be.

4. Opium is always smoked in China.

5. As a conjecture—

(i.) 5 per cent.

(ii.) 90 per cent.

(iii.) 5 per cent.

Of course, if one takes the smokers in China at a given moment, the proportion of uninjured would be very much greater than I have given. But when these uninjured smokers have continued the practice for years nearly all of them will have sunk into Class (ii.). A really moderate smoker will probably not show ill-effects for at least 10 years. It must be noted that many in Class (ii.) will die earlier than they otherwise

would have done, by succumbing to some disease which they would, if not smokers, have recovered from, or, if the Chinese opinion be correct, by growing old prematurely.

6. There can be moderation, but it is difficult to preserve, more so than with alcohol.

I have heard of cases of "no harm for many years," but know none personally. Nor have I ever had to do with a real "sot." Such a man must necessarily be dismissed from a foreigner's service before he comes to that point. I have known plenty of cases which were apparently ones of slight injury, and some rather grave ones. Of course, not being a medical man, I can only note the want of health and the fact of smoking. I cannot say positively the former results from the latter. In a few cases, certainly, men take to smoking because of their ailments.

7. See answer to Question 1. The intellect does not appear to be injured by opium-smoking, and so the man of sedentary occupation fails in proportion as his calling requires constant attention and supervision, but he may get on very well if he has only to think and give orders. Thus a large merchant with a competent staff will do better than a shopkeeper or artisan.

8. The use of alcohol is so moderate, and its abuse so extremely rare among the Chinese, that no comparison can be drawn.

9. Opium-smoking is condemned in Chinese opinion as degrading because injurious. The public voice cries out against it as a great evil to the nation.

10. Yes; perhaps 10 per cent.

11. If Indian opium were cut off, smokers, present and future, would have recourse to Chinese opium. They most certainly would not take to alcohol. It is almost equally inconceivable that they would abstain in any numbers or that they would adopt any other narcotic.

12. Europeans who contract the opium habit in China are perhaps one per 1,000 adult males, and then not badly. Europeans simply have no taste for the practice; besides which, they are aware that if they adopt it they will be objects of contempt even to the least particular of their acquaintances.

13. Chinese generally learn to smoke opium in imitation of, or at the invitation of, friends who practise it. If they frequent gambling houses or brothels, they are very likely to be led into the habit there. A small minority begin in the hopes of benefiting some ailment which troubles them. Opium-smoking is not commonly regarded by the Chinese as a prophylactic against the diseases mentioned. It is held, and doubtless rightly, to be efficacious in the case of previous non-smokers as a cure for diarrhoea complaints.

14. They very often wish in an aimless way to be free from the habit, but seldom have the strength of mind really to try.

15. No; or at any rate not generally speaking. Twenty-five years ago the wish was very strong and common, because it was believed that if Indian opium were kept out, home production could be prevented. Now the cultivation and use of opium have become so extended that the impossibility of stopping them is recognised. There is, on the part of statesmen and thinkers, a dislike of seeing the money for opium going to India; but that I believe is balanced by their knowledge of the ease with which the revenue from foreign opium is collected.

16. Indian opium is smoked by the richer classes, and is very largely used for mixing. It is in general consumption in the provinces on or near the coast from Shanghai southwards. These form the part of China furthest removed from the great producing districts. Elsewhere it is the luxury of the rich. One may say that the use of the one or the other is partly a matter of price and partly of habit. Those who begin with Indian and are accustomed to the taste will stick to it if they can afford it. So-called foreign opium, as smoked by the poor in the south-east (Shanghai to Canton), is mixed with a good deal of native. But those who begin with native, even if price be not an object, as a rule do not care to change.

17.—(a.) Nil. (b.) Equivalent increase in Chinese production. (c.) The Chinese opium revenue would inevitably suffer very greatly. The Government is willing enough to tax native opium, but cannot succeed in doing so beyond a very slight extent. The duties are kept small, in order to diminish the temptation to

smuggle, but all is of no avail. Grown in small patches and carried in small parcels, it cannot be brought under the cognisance of the officials, who have to contend, in addition, with the dishonesty of their own clerks, examiners, and watchers.

18. What is the out-turn of native opium? The general opinion seems to be that a moderate opium-smoker (not a beginner) consumes 3 mace of prepared drug a day. (1 mace is $\frac{1}{10}$ tael; 1 tael is $\frac{1}{16}$ of a catty; 3 catties = 4 lbs. av.) But the cost of 3 mace of the drug (say \$0.10 to \$0.20, according to quality) would absorb nearly the whole wages of many Chinese. Therefore, as smoking is by no means confined to the wealthier minority, such an amount is impossible as an average. I hesitate whether to select $1\frac{1}{2}$ mace or 1 mace. I will take the latter, remembering that with adulteration the actual quantity bought will be a good deal larger. As 30 per cent. of weight is lost in preparing, 1 mace prepared = 1.43 mace crude. $1.43 \text{ mace} \times 365 = 521.95 \text{ mace} = 52.195 \text{ taels} = 3.26 \text{ catties per smoker per annum}$. Population of China, say, 300,000,000; adult males, say, one-fifth = 60,000,000; smokers (*vide* Answer 2), say 20 per cent. = 12,000,000; annual consumption = 12,000,000 \times 3.26 catties = 39,120,000 catties; add another million catties for women; total, 40,120,000 catties. Deduct foreign opium (Indian and Persian), say 7,200,000 catties. Balance, native opium, 32,920,000 catties = lbs. av. 43,892,000. I do not think the out-turn can be less than this. It may be much more.

19. This question cannot be answered, because the taxation on native opium is not known. The amount varies in different provinces, and returns are not published. It is much lighter than that on foreign opium (*see* Answer 17 (c.)). Native opium pays much more than the Government receives from it. From foreign opium I estimate the Government to receive Rs. 7,800,000, less the cost of collection. Foreign opium probably pays something more to local authorities in the shape of saloon fees, licenses, and so on.

T. L. BULLOCK,

Consul.

Newchwang,
21st February 1894.

Mr. TURLEY.

Newchwang, North China,
February 22, 1884.

1. Opium is very commonly used throughout Manchuria by Chinese, Manchus, and Mongols, probably more by the Manchus than Chinese, as the proportion of those who lead idle lives is greater amongst the Manchus. The proportion amongst the Mongols is much smaller, and amongst the tent Mongol but few seem to take opium.

It is strictly prohibited in Corea, but where the Chinese come in contact with Coreans, the habit becomes more widespread amongst Coreans.

2. The proportion of opium-consumers amongst the Coreans and Mongols is very small at present, though the habit of taking opium is spreading stealthily, and it is feared, rapidly, especially amongst the Coreans. Amongst the adult male Manchus in Kirin Province, I should say that at least 30 per cent. smoke opium. In Shing King Province probably 25 per cent. Amongst the Chinese in Manchuria generally, probably 20 per cent. smoke opium.

Women do smoke in considerable numbers, probably in less proportion than the men.

Children not known to smoke, rare exceptions only.

3. Effects of opium:—

Moral.—The tendency is to stifle the good qualities in a man, makes him unmanly, low, cunning, artful, indolent, encourages lewdness and adultery, and other immoral actions.

Physical.—In the majority of consumers it makes them prematurely old, susceptible to disease, by sapping the vital powers, offsprings are often weak and sickly.

Social.—By not a few when they commence to use opium, it is taken with companions in same "hail-

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fellow-well-met" idea as English boys learn to smoke cheap cigars.

It, however, after a few years' use, tends to make a man selfish, irritable, unfit for managing important affairs, or even domestic duties.

Indian opium is but little used in Manchuria, and is a luxury indulged in by Cantonese merchants and other wealthy men. Hence unable to state whether the effects are the same as native opium.

4. Probably in Manchuria 95 per cent. of the consumers of opium smoke, 5 per cent. of them eat concoctions made up in pills by native quacks or European medicine shops. These have almost all been smokers, but by the use of pills are attempting to break from the use of opium. By many the eating of these pills is considered even worse than smoking opium. It is more respectable to eat than to smoke in native minds. Poor worn-out smokers drink a decoction made from the ashes of smoked opium, the most hurtful of all forms, especially as these wretches often drag out a miserable existence on this and take but little food.

5.—(i.) From my general observations I should say that 50 per cent. of the consumers may continue to use it for three years without the craving becoming overpowering, and hence not visible injury.

Twenty per cent. before three years will show signs of injury.

Thirty per cent. decided injury.

After three years the proportion who suffer is greater.

(ii.) After 10 years, probably 60 per cent. are unfit for the duties of life, and at least 40 per cent. of these are downright sots.

6. Those who can continue to take it moderately for more than five years cannot exceed 20 per cent.; more than 20 years not 5 per cent. I have met recently with a case of a man in wealthy circumstances who had taken opium for many years, and not exceeded what is considered moderate for a man who can obtain good food. He told me, however, that he dare not discontinue it, as he does, and would suffer from chronic stomach disorders.

I am familiar with many cases where men in important positions have lost their posts, or allowed their business to go to ruin through themselves taking opium, then in despair they go from bad to worse, die at an early age, and leave scattered and ruined families.

7. Labourers engaged in hard manual work cannot continue to take opium, if they do they soon fall out and sink into some other low line of life, where a continuous strain is required. Native employers prefer men of the heterodox Buddhist sects, who are pledged abstainers from opium, alcohol, &c.

Merchants do smoke to a large extent, and when the habit becomes strong often retire behind the scenes, and are not foremost in their hong.

Artisans, those employed in hard manual work, such as blacksmiths, do not smoke; if they do they generally sink out of the work.

Those engaged in lighter occupations sedentary seem to smoke largely. These may continue the habit for years and remain at their calling, doing gradually less and less work.

8. Alcohol is used in Manchuria, but with rare exceptions the people do not abuse it. They seem able to discontinue it at pleasure.

9. The habit of opium-smoking is looked on as degrading and injurious. (Of eating as less degrading because it is not made so public.) Taking opium in any form is regarded as injurious—

(i.) As it injures the body, and thus dishonours the ancestors, no Confucianist should use it.

(ii.) All the religious sects, semi-political or otherwise, rigorously condemn the use of opium. With these opium is the greatest curse. Alcohol stands second, tobacco third.

(iii.) Native Christians themselves strictly prohibit opium as a dangerous drug in the hands of unskilled physicians. They condemn it because of the train of wretchedness that almost invariably follows its use.

Opium is worse than alcohol in Chinese minds because they cannot as a rule control its use.

10. Opium consumers cannot as a rule break off the consumption even in the earlier stages.

11. If there were no Indian opium imported the difference in Manchuria would not be perceptible.

12. Not aware of Europeans taking to opium and continuing its use. Some take laudanum and morphia with results similar to opium-smoking—injurious.

13. Five per cent. commence opium to become "social"; 70 per cent. commence opium to cure stomach disorders, dysentery, &c.; 20 per cent. as a panacea for all ills, physical and mental; 5 per cent. as a panacea for all troubles of the mind and worries.

It certainly does cure dysentery and diarrhoea, but once begun it must be continued, whenever left off the opium dysentery comes on. Hence this powerful drug is dangerous in the hands of those who know not its proper use, are ignorant of the proper science of medicine, and cannot substitute less powerful drugs when breaking it off.

14. Ninety per cent. of consumers desire to break off the habit but fear the consequences.

15. There is now, to my knowledge, no desire that England should cease to send opium. They, the Chinese, would thereby lose a weapon which they now continually use against western nations generally, and English in particular. One idea they have thoroughly, and this is fostered and exaggerated by the anti-foreign element, i.e., that England forced opium on China as a subterfuge to undermine the race and possess eventually the land.

16. Indian opium almost nil, a luxury only in Manchuria.

17. (a.) (b.) Consumption of opium will continue to increase, whether there is Indian or not.

Remark:—The Chinese and other Asiatics, should never have been allowed to use opium, wherever there was or is any power to prevent it. They are like children playing with fire or edge tools. They cannot control themselves in the use of it. It should only be used as a medicine, and by properly educated medical men.

(Signed) R. T. TURLEY
(British subject).

Agent, British and Foreign Bible Society, Eastern Mongolia, Manchuria and Corea. Residence in Manchuria dates from November 1886. Constantly travelling and moving amongst the people.

Mr. W. DES TROIX.

1. Yes.

2. Cantonese 1 per cent., Shanghai 40 per cent., Amoy 50 per cent., Tientsin and Newchwang 70 per cent. each. Northern women 30 per cent., chiefly prostitutes. Children, no.

3. Nothing particular.

4. Smoke only, as a rule, but on very rare occasions a decoction, weak, is taken.

5.—(i.) A pipe or two a day is said to act beneficially, and is very usual. (ii.) Four pipes or so makes a smoker disinclined for work. (iii.) "Opium sots" are wealthy men, and cannot feed well. Cannot give proportions.

6. No; there are many cases of moderation. Yes; compradores, &c., who live to a good age and remain well and hearty. Moderate smoking is said to clear their brains, and these men are certainly as acute as any men one need meet. Know no cases of great injury in this class.

7. Coolies smoke and appear refreshed after a pipe or so. This also applies to artisans and merchants.

8. The abuse of opium and alcohol is much deprecated by respectable Chinese, and a dissolute man, from over indulgence in either, is stunned.

9. The abuse is, not the use. Opium and alcohol are good servants but bad masters.

10. Yes. Moderate smokers.

11. Take to Chinese opium or morphia.

12. No; prefer whiskey and cigars. Pleasure in using it.

13.—(a.) Much as western men take to cigars. (b.) Yes. (c.) Yes.

14. No; when they renounce opium they take to narcotics.

15. No. Indian being better is much preferred to native-grown.

16. All. Poor use Chinese when they cannot afford Indian. Indian is used to improve the flavour of Chinese by those who cannot afford pure Indian.

17.—(a.) Increased consumption of Chinese grown. (b.) Increased production of Chinese grown; a piece of land cultivated for opium returns three times as much value as it does for cereals. (c.) Unable to say.

18. No, but it is large and increasing.

19. *Vide* Customs returns.

20. One day, some years ago, I saw a peddler—a skeleton of a man—come into a chemist's shop in Shanghai; put down his pack and take a morphia powder with relish, shoulder his pack, and continue his journey. I was told that he and others had renounced opium-smoking, but was a constant visitor to this shop (foreign). I was also shown a case—about the size of a wine case—full of morphia, kept for these callers who had renounced smoking. I was also told the stock would have to be soon replenished.

After a residence of over 25 years in China, during which period I have resided in Shanghai, Kinkiang, Hankow, Amoy, Tientsin, Newchwai, and Hong Kong, for mercantile pursuits, I have formed the opinion, from general observation, that the use of opium by natives is no more hurtful to them than the use of spirits and tobacco is to the western man or woman.

(Signed) W. DES TROIX,
Newchang, Agent for the firm of
23rd February 1894. Butterfield & Swire.

MR. DE BURGH DALY.

These answers have reference to my knowledge of the subject when in charge of the Church Missionary Society's Hospital in Ningpo from 1886 to 1893, during which time I was also Medical Officer to H.B.M. Consulate and Imperial Maritime Customs, &c.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?—Yes.

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers?—Of Chinese adult males, 30 per cent. Do Chinese women consume opium to any extent?—No, except the prostitute class. Do children?—No.

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers?—Amongst moderate smokers:—(a.) No moral effects. (b.) No physical effects, if sufficient food is taken. (c.) No social effects. Amongst excessive consumers of opium:—(a.) In nearly all such the moral sense is blunted. Amongst the rich and middle classes no further mischief results. But below these there is a class, numbering thousands, who cannot afford to buy the pure drug, or sufficient to satisfy their craving, who, therefore, are compelled to buy a vile adulterated drug, spending nearly all their money on it, and consequently deprive themselves and their families of necessary food and clothing. They steadily lose all trace of any thought of duty towards themselves and others, and drag down with them in their fall their wives and children. They will pawn and sell their clothes and household belongings, and in the worst cases, which are exceptional, they will prostitute their wives and sell their children to procure the necessary money to purchase the drug. (b.) *Physical effects.*—General loss of health and energy, with the diseases resulting from a chronic condition of impoverished blood—more especially where the supply of opium means insufficient food and clothing. The general opinion, which I have not had the means of verifying, is that excessive consumers of opium have very few

children. (c.) *Social effects.*—The duties of citizenship, clan membership, and parentage are neglected, and there is a certain amount of indirect crime, which I have referred to above; but the absence of direct and violent crime makes the results of the abuse of opium infinitely preferable to those of the abuse of alcohol. Is there any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium?—None, where both are pure.

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke or do they eat opium, or do they drink a decoction of opium?—They chiefly smoke. Though owing to the misguided but would-be benevolent actions of missionaries, the habit of injecting morphia and eating morphia pills has become very prevalent in some districts. The missionaries introduced this practice with the idea of curing opium-smokers, but now, alas! many natives prefer it to smoking. It is only fair to add that at the Shanghai Missionary Conference of 1890, by the unanimous advice of their medical colleagues, all missionaries were urged to give up the practice of distributing pills. If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?—Without doubt, the injection hypodermically of morphia, or the eating of opium in any form is more injurious to health than smoking opium.

5. What are the proportions of those who use opium?—(i.) Without injury, 20 per cent. of consumers. (ii.) With slight injury, 40 per cent. of consumers. (iii.) With great injury ("opium sets"), 40 per cent. of consumers.

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium?—No. It is incorrect to say so. Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves?—Yes. I have known servants in foreign employment, clerks in the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, and men employed in ordinary business, who have done so, but I would put them all on a lower scale than the clever non-smoking native. If you know any, or many, cases of great injury give examples?—I have treated in hospital many scores of opium-smokers, who, through excessive use of the drug combined with insufficient nourishment, have been seriously injured in health. They generally come into hospital in a miserable and degraded condition, thin and wretched, with little or no appetite, the alimentary system out of order, &c. Immediately and completely the supply of opium was cut off without any ill-effects, except great discomfort and craving. They left the hospital in good condition, fat and healthy and in good spirits, once more in a fit state to earn "rice" for themselves and their families.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, of the part of China with which you are conversant consume opium?—No. A very small proportion of the agricultural labourers do, a large proportion of ordinary coolies do so, and a very large majority of chair coolies do so, a fairly large per-centage of merchants and artisans also do so. If so what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling?—Their efficiency in their calling very soon becomes dependent on their supply of opium. In the case of burden coolies, but more especially chair coolies, there is no doubt that a little opium occasionally enables them to get through an extraordinary amount of work, but I believe they would be better and stronger men, and able to endure as much work, if they never had commenced the habit. Employés in merchants' houses and artisans, often through the abuse of opium, get into disgrace and trouble with their masters, and I think all native and foreign employers look with a watchful and suspicious eye on an opium-smoker.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among the races of that part of China with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races, in regard to the effect on consumers?—There is absolutely no abuse of alcohol worth mentioning in Ningpo. The use is moderate. In the course of my duties and pleasure I have been through the city of Ningpo at all hours of the day and night, my hospital being in the city, and I have never seen a drunken Chinaman. The use of opium without abuse is distinctly rarer and more difficult than the use of alcohol without abuse in England.

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading, or injurious, by the general opinion of the Chinese?—No. How would they regard the opium

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habit as compared with the alcohol habit?—They would infinitely prefer the former—the opium habit.

10. Can and do opium-consumers break themselves of the opium habit?—Yes. I have known many cases, who certainly for several years, and up to the present time, as far as I know, abstain, who had been opium "sots" before.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium-consumers and on the population of your neighbourhood?—Their opium would cost them less and they would take more. The population would in course of time be diminished. Would they resort to the Chinese-grown opium?—Undoubtedly, yes. Or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium?—No, unless the native opium was cut off, which is most unlikely. Or would they abstain altogether?—Certainly not.

12. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers?—No. If not, why not?—Because they prefer alcohol, which is English, and the use, but not abuse, of which is not only health but sociable and fashionable. And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?—In the first place opium is cheaper, and a person can become intoxicated with opium much more cheaply than he can with alcohol. In the second place, the European is active, keen, and very often ready to fight or have a row—alcohol. The Asiatic is of a more sluggish and peaceable disposition—opium.

13. How are opium-consumers led to use the drug?—The majority from example and persuasion. Others as a remedy against painful and other diseases, such as bowel and lung troubles and fevers. Others take it for good fellowship sake occasionally, and end in liking it. Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria?—Not within my knowledge. Or is it so regarded commonly by the inhabitants of the part of China with which you are conversant?—Against malarial fevers—yes.

14. Do opium-consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?—When not able to afford it, and while still trembling on the balance midway between use and abuse, yes—otherwise, no.

15. Is there among the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted any wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India?—No.

16. By what classes of persons and in what provinces or districts of China is Indian opium usually consumed, and how far does Chinese-grown opium compete with Indian opium in the provinces or districts in which the two kinds are readily obtainable?—Consular Trade Reports. Imperial Maritime Customs publications will show this.

17. What will be the probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium—(a.) on the consumption of opium by the Chinese?—In all probability none; if any, possibly an increase, owing to the cheapness of the native drug. (b.) On the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China?—A large increase, thus lessening the amount of food raised.

18 and 19. I am not in a position to give any useful answer.

20. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium consumption among the people around you?—Only that in the opinion of nearly all foreign residents in China, outside the missionary body, who are in a position to form an opinion on the subject, the evils of opium-smoking have been greatly exaggerated by missionaries, especially the young and inexperienced ones, who are led, in their enthusiasm, by the evil results they see, to the conclusion that there can be no such thing as moderation or good in the consumption of opium. It further appears to English residents, that it would be as impossible to stop the use of opium in China as it would the use of alcohol in England; and further that the evils resulting from the abuse of alcohol at home are infinitely worse than those of opium in China.

(Signed) C. C. DE BURGH DALY,
M.B., B.Ch. Univ. Dublin,
Medical Officer H.B.M. Consulate
and I.M. Customs.

Rev. J. MACINTYRE.

1. Yes. And I speak for the Province of Shantung, over the length and breadth of which I have travelled on foot, as also for the district of "Manchuria," known as Fêng Fien, where I have lived and travelled for the last 18 years.

2. My native acquaintances are unwilling to draw any distinction between the races, Manchu and Chinese, in this respect. I am inclined to believe that Manchu women, from their possession of and their naturally active habits, are less liable to the habit than Chinese women. Where I travel it is a common feature to see Manchu women working in the fields like women in certain districts of Europe. The proportion of smokers is greatest in cities. I would reckon that more smoke in Shantung than in Manchuria, because of the more settled state of life. Some say 1 in every 300 of the population smoke (in Fêng Fien). Some even limit the smokers to 1 in 1,000. It depends very much on locality. There are places in our "backwoods" (in the Far East, along the middle reaches of the Jalao River) where one only hears of an occasional case. And, again, the city in which I live is reckoned a perfect opium den (Pai Chêng). From the seaport, Newchwang, into the Interior, along the main line of route, the practice is now tolerated in every inn where I am acquainted. Sometimes it would seem as if "everybody of any consequence smokes." Women are not so much addicted as the men. One hears of it in "fashionable circles" amongst concubines. In the case of the middle classes it would seem as if women were frequently led into the use of the drug by sickness. As a missionary, I have had many such cases to deal with, and have several painful cases on hand at this present. Again, in a district where I administered famine relief, and where therefore I came into very close contact with the poor, I learned as a fact that the women (to whom most of the work of collecting the juice and preparing it now falls) were becoming generally addicted to the opium pipe. I can only vouch for two cases of "children" addicted to opium. One is 12 years, Chinese style, and the other 13 years. This latter has been smoking for three years.

3. I maintain that the common belief among the Chinese is (and this I give as an experience of 20 years) that a man in the power of the opium habit is injured morally. They say he loses his "conscience." They say there is no depth of selfishness into which he may not plunge. "He will sell wife and child," "he will sell his mother," are phrases one hears. From time to time I have known cases of such barter for the drug. These, of course, are just such cases as we might see in Great Britain if some of our inveterate drunkards could venture the length. But the fact remains that it is opium always and drink never which is credited with these horrors in China. But it is to be borne in mind that a man who uses opium in moderation is not so destroyed, nor yet he who has ample means of gratification. People will then say, an opium-smoker is "selfish beyond all men," and abominably out of temper when his "time is come," but not the opportunity of relieving his craving (if he be a hard smoker). Such men are spoken of very much as some tobacco smokers are spoken of amongst ourselves, especially by ladies, in Great Britain. Distinguished statesmen, able magistrates, men high in the ranks in the teaching profession, would only be spoken of as injured morally when they are in the degrading stages of the habit, when their indulgence and its results run them into all manner of mean makeshifts to escape public duties. Then also you will hear the remark made in connexion with honoured names, "his conscience is gone, he is in the power of the opium habit." As to the physical results, it is a mere matter of use and quantity. Undoubtedly the tendency is to undermine the frame, if the use be prolonged, and if the quantity, as is most commonly the case, increased with the use. I am speaking of the common use, and not of the case where it is taken as medicine. There is no mistaking the sallow complexion, the dry teeth, of a fairly good smoker, i.e., of a man who has used it with considerable caution from youth till past middle age. It is a frequent remark made to us Westerns, "One sees it on you that you do not smoke," and the explanation is invariably the same—our purer complexion and our physical activity. Socially, I would not say opium entails the degradation which unhappily alcohol is beginning to entail in Great Britain. But we always hear of it wherever a marriage is to be contracted. There are many, of course, who look upon opium-smoking families as on "the down

grade," and therefore avoid matrimonial alliances with them. As to the effects respectively of Indian and Chinese grown opium, there is a perfect consensus of opinion in Manchuria, so far as my experience goes. The native does not produce the same "craving" as the foreign. This may be taken, I fancy, as undisputed.

4. There is only one way in vogue, the pipe. When people want to poison themselves they resort to a pellet of the raw material, or the decoction, and this goes on all the year round wherever there is a family quarrel. But the pipe will always hold its own as the means of taking opium with enjoyment.

P.S.—I know of any amount of opium-eating, but it is always associated, in my mind, with the attempts to renounce the use of the opium pipe, and, indeed, the opium habit. Opium-smokers who dare not be seen smoking have thus frequent recourse to what is known more commonly as "opium medicine," and can always be used openly on the pretence of "reformation."

5.—(i.) The general reply is, none. But this means that none comply absolutely with the conditions of safety, his perpetual self-control, and absolute refusal to increase the quantity. "All in the end receive hurt" more or less is the reply of a very trustworthy informant who smoked for years, and is now an abstainer. The continuous use of the pipe is thus always associated with injury, but this because it has become an axiom that the "habit" goes from bad to worse. If a smoker could continue as in his initial stages, some go the length of saying that no injury would result. One old doctor tells me that some constitutions would even thrive on it, the description showing it to be a fat producer like English beer. He also believes it useful against ague.

(ii.) With slight injury. Not many. My Chinese friends are reluctant to allow of slight injury where the habit is a lifelong one, and where the account is taken late in life. Please observe this: No injury, slight injury, can be predicated freely in the early stages, and in the case of strong constitutions, and again in the case of some to whom it may have some constitutional adaptations. If you take the account at the end of a man's life, and take the case of a man who has smoked for 30, 40, or even 50 years, the cases of no injury are not worth the counting said an old Chinaman to me. This, however, leaves the question of amount of injury a very difficult one.

(iii.) The worst case of "opium sots," i.e., in which there is a complete breakdown, morally and physically, is difficult to proportion. I have seen them alike among the rich and among the poor. But this extreme case is not, to my mind, so common as that of the large class who are confirmed smokers, and who are declared on medical grounds to be incapable of reformation (without serious physical injury, or at least serious risk to the health). To me this is a mere question of age. The majority of smokers who have attained to the age of 50 may be set down as suffering serious injury. As to the query, what is the nature of the injury? There is undoubted debility. People "are old before their time" is a common phrase. Such suffer acutely from alternations of constipation and diarrhoea. Thus, though the smoker does not become the disgusting "sot" he is too often painted, he is generally one who will be the first to say, and with a very wide reference, "I parted with my health when I took to opium."

6. When Chinese say there cannot be moderation in the use of opium they mean it as a practical opinion in a practical matter. Observation and experience go to show that moderation is not common. Theoretically, as I have shown above, moderation is conceived as possible. Given a good, sound, practical resolution, and a sound constitution (says an old native doctor to me) and a man may smoke without hurt. But the same man believes there is not 1 in 1,000 of his countrymen who could comply, or rather who would take the trouble to comply with his conditions of success. For myself, I have had two very remarkable cases of "slight injury" under my notice for a period of 10 years. One is an old Manchu of over 70 years of age. He has renounced the habit and taken to it again several times since I knew him. He is well-to-do, of active habits, owns and works his own farm. The one complaint he makes is that he cannot utterly renounce the habit without inconvenience. Having no children, he adopted a son, who also took to opium. This last is the most perfect case I have known of "no apparent injury" as one might fairly term it. A man of very robust make, an exceptionally active man,

and who did the bulk of the farm work, besides carrying on an extensive business in the city (Hai Ch'ng) at a distance of 13 English miles from his village, I have known no deterioration since I first knew him. His law was to smoke once a day, and he was able to keep it. Nay, he frequently went for days without. I have every reason to believe that up to the last (he died recently while I was absent on furlough) he was able to keep to his resolution, and that the only physical suffering he had was associated with the seasons of disuse. He always frankly confessed to me as a fact that abstinence led to indigestion and an irritating form of diarrhoea. It may be prejudice, but those who best knew him agree in saying his last sickness was aggravated, if not brought on, by what was meant as a final effort to renounce the habit. As to a case of great injury there is one near me, that of a widow lady whose husband was once the chief magistrate of this city. I have known her over a period of 10 years. I have been to the house and have seen the results for myself. It is a case of utter ruin owing to the use of opium. The old lady was hale and hearty when I last saw her. She managed all the rents, mortgages, &c. of a family once in good circumstances. Yet she was a habitual opium-smoker. She had her hour when she must smoke or be miserable, and she had her quantity which she never inclined to reduce (so far as I have ever heard) even when she was in desperate straits for money. When I first visited her house it was at her own request, and with a view to have me buy some of her best furniture. There was no hiding her trouble. The house was full of strangers, who seemed to make themselves quite at home. There were people who were dunning her for money due to them. According to our custom here, in cases of desperation, and where it is known there is an intention to carry off property, these duns lived and slept on the premises. She had even to furnish them with opium! I heard her state what it cost her daily for opium, and I heard her ascribe all her troubles to the drug. Her eldest son, quite a youth, lay there in the fullest sense of the word an opium sot. I have been there several times, but I never saw him on his feet. And his young bride (or wife as we say) was as far gone as himself! On the old lady's testimony, the two were opium wrecks. Action of any sort was an abomination to them. An ordinary smoker can "tweese" and work up his own opium, i.e., can fill his own pipe, if need be; but that was utterly beyond them. Yet the old lady's abiding grudge against the drug lay only in its excessive use. She saw no evil in it when it was kept in its place. She pressed my companion (an old gentleman attempting to get free from the habit) much as people press drink in certain circles. "You can take it and keep it in its place." And this is, perhaps, the fairest statement against the opium pipe when we complain of it on the general ground of health, and when no questions of morality or religion comes in, viz., it is clearly a very viper in the path to all weaklings. Thus to the case of the father and son above mentioned I have in honesty to add the sequel that the grandson, a man verging now on 30, has turned out an opium weakling, as I would say. I have had to dismiss him from a valuable post. He is, in fact, good for nothing but to lounge and loiter about. The probability is nothing will save him. Then a younger brother, 25, has taken to it, a ruddy picture of health at this present. Not, however, that he had a craving for opium. He sees the patrimony melting away at the hands of the eldest son, and this is his protest. He has ceased farm work therefore and taken to gentlemanly lounging like the other. This at all events is the story as it is given me by those mostly interested. In this connexion, an old Chinaman said very naively, "The worst I can say of opium is that our 'young bloods' (as we would say) have 'no other way of spending, i.e., getting through, their money. If we had your outlets in the way of travel, &c., opium would not bulk so largely." This came from a native doctor in relation to the above second son, and shows no fear of heredity. It has a bearing also on Q. 12.

7. "People who are occupied" are not expected to come under the power of the habit, and are not supposed, indeed, to be in the way of using the pipe. Merchants in some cases are, however, exposed to special danger. In many large firms business cannot be carried on without treating buyers to the pipe. I have been intimately acquainted with men who were thus led into the use of the drug, and who found it impossible therefore to back out of the habit when it

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had become a burden. As to labourers and artisans, it is the "loafers" only who are supposed to indulge. The opinion in the north here, as far as I have ever heard it, is very unanimous in condemning opium where hard and continuous work is expected of any class. Opium requires leisure, and has its fixed periods of gratification, and this answers the question as to its effect on a man's efficiency. If a man is wanted early in the morning, if he is to be always at call, if he is liable to be called out for indefinite service, or subject to a prolonged strain, no one would like to set an opium-smoker to the task (unless the ideal one who is in his early stages, or who can take it or want it). I hear the Chinese speak of the following classes as showing a larger proportion of opium smokers: Play actors (very much addicted), all manner of mountebanks, all manner of servitors about the county courts, the soldiers (unless under very exceptional circumstances), the idle and wealthy, or the wealthy idle class.

8. We have virtually no abuse of alcohol here. I have heard medical men (Europeans) say that great Chinese officials frequently complain of the effects upon themselves of alcohol (they are compelled to partake by the laws of courtesy). The last time I travelled there was a theatrical troupe in the inn, and there was a regular bout of drinking and opium-smoking. My carter complained to his fellow carter of head-ache and thirst, and vowed he would never drink again "while on duty." But after 20 years' travel I have to say that alcohol does not count for anything, even though it is served to every man with his food, and costs him the same to take it or leave it. We are frequently in a barn-like building with from 50 to 100 common Chinamen all drinking a villainous sort of alcoholic liquor, full of poison, as English analysts have declared. Yet there is the indisputable fact that you have no stirring up of the fiercer passions as with us, and every man is content with his measure, and does not drink till he is drunk as so many of the same class would do with us in Great Britain. Their alcohol, though it would kill out our drinking population (as proved at least by the effects on our sailors and others) does not seem to produce a craving as does opium.

9. Public opinion is undoubtedly against the use of opium. Witness the fact that all "sects" which contemplate a reformation among the people begin with opium. Also the fact that if any Christian preacher were privately addicted to its use, as in the shape of what is known as "opium medicine," the common street people would lift up their voices against him, and the further fact that the natives themselves in our Christian churches are the most forward in their demands for a stern discipline in the matter of opium. No reforming society can gain so much as a footing unless it break completely with what the Chinese declare to be their national misfortune. The word "degrading" does not so much fit in with the Chinese ideas as the word "injurious." Opium is a calamity with them, as we say alcohol is a vice with us. To my mind they easily associate alcohol with degradation, but this only in the case of foreigners. Where our countrymen have been seen in a beastly state of drunkenness, wallowing in the gutter, or, on the other hand, as mad as tigers (as the Chinese say), I know to my cost the contempt which comes to be felt for all "Westerners." But I would not say that drinking implies "degradation" in China as amongst "celestials." It does not amount to a vice among them, and it certainly is not a drain upon their resources as is opium. It takes quite an inferior place in both respects in the category of evils. But alcohol is also prohibited in all the reforming societies I know of, *i.e.*, among the native sects.

10. At certain stages, certainly, yes. I have quite a number of people about me who are undoubtedly reformed opium-smokers. It is all a matter of "will," they say. And they generally add, a man must not be too far advanced in the habit. I have a melancholy experience, on the other hand, of poor weaklings, of whom one has to say, "It is no use hoping." Their will-power seems quite gone. Their health suffers so with every honest attempt at reformation that British medical authorities declare it is best to let them alone. These are the best and the worst. I have had, further, a large experience among men of the middle class of society, who are "off and on" (as we say of drinking in Britain). I find it wants a very honest will indeed to accomplish a permanent cure. But I am frequently pointed, and that outside of Christian circles, to un-

doubted cases of reformation, and that in all stages from 30 years of age to 70. This is where only native opium was in use.

11. We are already independent of Indian opium in Manchuria. The Chinese article has run out the foreign. When I first came to the province in 1876 there were two foreign opium hong in the port of Newchwang. These have been, both of them, cleared out by the Chinese dealers in Indian opium. Now that the Chinese Government has legalised the growth of native opium, the quantity cultivated is already more than suffices for local consumption. Our native opium, they say, has not the flavour of the Indian, but it is cheaper, and is less enslaving. As I understand it, native opium is legalised purposely to run out the foreign article. The question we put, therefore, is, What would happen if the native opium were prohibited? Would the Chinese Government be able to put down opium even if they had the Indian trade suppressed by convention with Great Britain? And I always hear the one answer, opium could not now be put down even if there were a most competent ruler on the throne. It suits the people, and alcohol could not replace it. The question of "abstinence altogether" is a pure question of morality and religion. From what I see prohibition of opium as such would simply convulse the present Chinese Government. The cure of opium in China will be a more herculean task than the passing of a Maine law in Great Britain.

12. The Chinese tell me of "Europeans" who indulge in the opium pipe in San Francisco. But they have not been able to locate any in our own part of the world. The feeling here is that we Westerners are too active in our habits to take to opium. Once the natives have seen the *élite* of our foreign community stripped out in mid-winter at football, they are always ready to explain why it is we who sell them the opium do not use it ourselves. Opium, they feel, demands both leisure and laziness, and does not suit the haste and hurry and love of physical exercise which they usually see in the Westerner.

13. Very common through sickness. People take the pipe where we would take a few drops of laudanum or morphia. Every summer the pipe is pressed upon men and women, and sometimes upon young people as a cure for the aggravating form of diarrhœa which is common here, and which arises from heats and chills. So in every case of acute internal pain, opium is held to be a cure-all; and an average opium-smoker will be glad to fill a friendly pipe for the sake of the countenance it gives him. I have consulted several native doctors in writing this article, and it is agreed among them that opium is a valuable prophylactic. One old gentleman to whom I explained the desire on the part of many in Britain and China to suppress the opium trade, stated very ably the immense service of opium to humanity. He was zealous for his profession, and showed great knowledge of the medicinal uses of the drug. And this though a stern opponent of the use of opium save under medical direction.

14. In my experience, unless the smoker have a powerful motive in his own mind, no outside pressure will prompt him, or enable him to give up the habit. Those who give it up do so because they have counted the cost. But I have a very large experience in regard to men who would gladly give it up if the effort would not cost them so much. There must, however, always be a class who smoke because they like it, and who deem the habit a means of enjoyment. I always see great similarity between this and the drink question with ourselves. I have seen men in high positions in certain parts of our own island who knew infallibly what their third rummer of whisky toddy would cost them, but who mixed it as if the mixing had a relish, and who drank it with enthusiasm. So it is with opium. From time to time, when I travel, I have to lie down at night in sight of opium-smokers. Sometimes we are screened off from each other by a paper partition. I therefore hear all that is going on. I know the number of pipes taken, and I know the number of hours consumed at the task. I hear all manner of confidences, but I am compelled to believe that the opium-smoker is extremely happy over his pipe (even when he has all the tweezing to do for himself, a labour which would simply disgust an average Western with the practice in a single evening. If only the smoker can get his pipe in season, and under fairly comfortable circumstances, and have a companion or two to keep him in countenance, he is a very happy, and sometimes a very interesting man to overhear. In my very last experience,

less than a month ago, I heard the most thrilling stories in folk lore which it has ever been my privilege to hear. So if the query means, are opium-smokers, as a rule, discontented with themselves or their state? I answer unhesitatingly, by no means. Of course they have their "mornings" as devotees of whiskey have. But, to tell the truth, they take their "mornings" as best they can, and would rather have the pain than lose the pleasure. Government prohibitions conjointly in India and China would be a rare scare for that large class to whom the pipe is a refined enjoyment, which nothing within the present horizon could possibly supply.

15. There used to be, but the day is gone by. It is of no consequence now in this respect what India does, or rather Great Britain. The Chinese have the matter in their own hands. Merchants used to grumble that so much silver "went out of the country." There is no occasion now for the grumble. They have even a chance now of bringing in silver by the export of opium. I never at any time believed it was a matter of morality with the Chinese. It was a question of interfering with their fiscal arrangements. The voice of reproach is vanished from our province, at least where people sow the poppy in what used to be their cabbage garden.

N.B.—Not a matter of morality with the Chinese. I mean to say I disbelieve the loud talk about morality in which Chinese statesmen have from time to time indulged when they speak on so-called "opium war," and the use of opium. The opium war was a war in which the Chinamen fought to keep out the foreigner as such. I regret we took the opium in with us. Had we dropped it then we should have had an unequalled position to-day in China. But the opium was an accident of the war. Nothing but war could have brought the Chinese of that day to acknowledge us as belonging to the *genus homo*, and not only so, but as subjects of a free and independent sovereign, and a power infinitely superior to themselves. That, to my mind, was the subject matter of war.

16. I have heard say a few "old hands," and these men of means, have kept up the use of the Indian drug. Otherwise it is used to give "flavour" to the native. But as I have said above, it is of no practical account.

17. As I have shown, India no longer concerns us in Manchuria. The Government arrangements are already made, and native opium is legalised and taxed.

18. I have direct information from the "Yamèn" here (Hai Ch'èng) that in this "hsien" over 10,000 "mu" were reported as under opium crop last year, and that for every such Chinese acre reported and taxed another acre was under cultivation and escaped taxation. The average is said to be 6 mu to the English acre. If this 10,000 be multiplied by 20, they tell me it will be a near approximation to the entire acreage for our province of "Fèng Fien." But the remaining two provinces of Manchuria, i.e., Kirin and Tsi-Tsi-Han, grow much more than we do.

19. The tax on native opium is 11s. 0.22 per mu, or, say, one-sixth per English acre.

I should like to be allowed to add, without offence, that it would pay the British Government to back out of the opium trade in China. The great mass of the people would really believe us if we put it as a moral question. If we put it as a matter of friendship with China, it would make us an immense force in Chinese politics. I am satisfied we are even now the "favoured nation." But with this opium question in the air, we give a truculent party a chance of alienating the more friendly disposed. And, as a fact, we are forcing the hand of the Chinese Government, and compelling them to grow opium in order to kick out the trade if it will not go peacefully.

(Signed) JOHN MACINTYRE,
Missionary of the United Presby-
terian Church, Scotland.

Arrived in Chefoo, province of Shantung, China, 1st January 1872. Travelled all over Shantung between that date and July 1876, when I was transferred to this province. Lived for 10 years in the Port of Newchwang, and have now been several years resident in Hai Ch'èng, 33 miles inland. Have visited the interior cities of Kirin and Ku'an Ch'èng Tsu, and that while the poppy was in blossom, and the extent of ground covered by the crop could not be hidden.

Rev J. Ross.

Monkden, via Newchwang,
19th February 1894.

APP. XXVI.
Newchang.

SIR,

RESPONDING to the circular from the Royal Commission on Opium received from you a few days ago, let me briefly reply to the questions in their order and under their respective numbers.

1. Opium is commonly used by Chinese and Manchus throughout these three provinces.

2. The proportion of smokers in any city or district differs according to the social rank or financial condition of the people, there being no distinction of race. For approximate proportions, see below 7. Not many years ago, I was informed, as of a new thing, that women were known to smoke opium. Most women of bad reputation are now addicted to the use of opium of respectable women, probably 1 per cent. Children are allowed to smoke, smokers being very particular on this point.

3. In the initial stages in all cases, and for a greater or lesser number of years—depending on the amount smoked and on the nurture otherwise of the system—no serious results of any kind are noticeable. Beyond the age of 40 years, physical deterioration is patent in the vast majority of cases. Once the habit is established, and the strong craving takes possession of a man of limited means, the moral effects are deplorable, the man in his craving mood being ready to steal, to sell children or wife, or compel the latter to prostitute herself, if there is no other available means of securing so much opium as quenches the craving. In the case of even the young and wealthy, who can afford to nourish their bodies, if the craving to increase the amount needful for the pleasurable sensations of opium is indulged, the deterioration physically, mentally, and morally is rapid. This rapid deterioration is, however, comparatively rare, though cases are numerous enough. But when the prime of vigour is attained—an age set down at 40 years—there is a gradual enfeeblement in certainly 90 per cent. of moderate smokers. Ultimately there is, as far as my experience and information can carry me, premature old age and death. I have had to lament the premature death of several earnest Christian men, enthusiastic evangelists, who were opium-smokers up to and in some cases beyond the age of 40, before they were reclaimed by Christianity. Of reclaimed opium-smokers there is not one who is not prematurely and permanently enfeebled physically, even though Christianity has restored the moral power which opium had destroyed. There is no difference between Manchu and Chinese. There is no difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese opium.

4. All who can afford it smoke opium; but in the case of labourers who from lack of time or means are unable to smoke, opium is mixed with water and drunk. It is also taken in the form of pills or drink by those who seek to hide the habit, or whose immediate duties forbid the use of the pipe at the craving hour. As far as I can learn the effects are virtually similar in whatever form opium is taken. But apparently the smoke is the more pleasant form.

5. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give even an approximately correct answer to the three sub-questions. I shall make these four to better represent my own experience:—(i.) To begin with there is no apparent injury, a condition which may continue for years (see above 3). (ii.) As far as experience guides me, and as information from all classes of Chinese leads me to infer, no opium-smoker escapes, sooner or later, injurious effects (see above 3). (iii.) The number of "sots" of the extreme kind is comparatively few. (iv.) The number of those who suffer serious injuries is large, and increasingly so with advancing age (see above 3).

6. I have known men, officials, and in private life, who used opium in "moderation" as that term is applied to drink, i.e., men who smoked merely to satisfy the opium craving, and who never smoked to stupefaction. Indeed this latter kind of smoker is but a small proportion of the whole. If by "harm to themselves" is meant the "moral, physical" results, see above 3. Many smoke for years without apparent harm; but I have not known one who was not ultimately "harméd" by the habit. As to effects on their ability to work, see below 7. Of those whom I have known to suffer serious injury, it is difficult to make a selection. A neighbour, who is still a young man, was left a wealthy lad by one of the most prosperous merchants in town, soon after my arrival here. As a boy he was tempted to indulge in the pipe by other young men of "fast" society. The youth, on coming of age, paid no attention to any of

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the various flourishing places of business. Now not one of them remains, and his representatives are selling off the valuable curios left by his father and are trying to sell the good house in which the family is still living. The young man is dead at once to feelings of shame and sense of duty. His young and comely wife, whom he treated disgracefully, and who has no child, has, to kill her misery, betaken herself to the pipe. His mother alone is responsible for the well-being, such as it can be, of the family. Not long ago I encountered in an inn a youth of 23, gorgeously arrayed in rich satin robes and attended by many servants. They brought him food for his mid-day meal—he having had no meal since the preceding evening—but he turned it away with expressions of loathing. His pipe was then prepared for him. While my food was getting ready I entered into conversation with him, and ultimately expressed my regret that one so young and scholarly as he should have allowed himself to become so enslaved to his pipe. He smoked over a Chinese ounce per day, probably somewhat nearly 1½ oz. avoirdupois. He asked if there was any mode of curing the habit. I referred him to our hospital where cases were already cured. "But," he replied, "I cannot face any mode of curing implying suffering, I would rather die." He was emaciated so that he could scarcely become more so; his face was the colour of a dead man. He had to lean on a servant when going away. I was requested to see another young man, also wealthy, dying of what the Chinese term opium-dysentery, which by the way is said to cut off at last a large proportion of opium-smokers.

7. From what I can learn a majority of any class of men cannot be found addicted to opium in any form. Of common labourers only a small per-centage indulge in the habit, principally because they cannot afford it. Possibly from 3 to 5 per cent. Of artisans there may be double that number. Of merchants from 20 to 30 per cent; and of mandarins, 30 to 40 per cent. Mandarins and merchants transact their business like non-smokers (but see above 3). Artisans, though smokers, are employed; and it is true of them, if their work is not physically trying, as of the preceding classes, that they work like their neighbours. Labourers who have smoked for years are not able to overtake as much work as non-smokers. Hence, except when labourers are in great demand, opium-using labourers are not engaged. Here, in building, labourers are engaged by the day. When a man is found to be an opium-smoker he is generally not engaged again after the fact is discovered. This I have repeatedly seen. When servants are known to be opium-smokers, they are usually dismissed. In this city of over "20,000 shops" with from 5 to 400 men in each, as soon as a shopman is known to be an opium-smoker he is dismissed without an hour's warning, this being the only cause of such summary dismissal I have heard of. One such young man who was trusted with goods to sell to people in their homes, and who sold me articles not infrequently, was thus dismissed. He came to my compound, sat for some time with my servants, to whom he was well known, waited till the room was clear, and made off with several native garments. Those who have not themselves the means to gratify their craving are never trusted or believed.

8. Contrary to general belief in the west, Chinese consume ardent spirits very largely; but all but universally at meals. Drunkards are extremely rare, though heavy drinkers are common enough. Almost every man drinks strong alcoholic liquors; only a proportion, a minority, of adult men use opium. When men drink to exhilaration they are inclined to quarrel as in the west, while opium has the contrary influence. I have never heard ascribed to alcoholic liquors the evil results stated above on the fruit of opium.

9. I never met a Chinaman, smoker or non-smoker, who did not consider the habit injurious and degrading. The opium habit is considered incomparably worse than the drinking habit; but, of course, this latter habit is not as mischievous here as in western lands. It is therefore difficult to say how the Chinese would compare the opium habit with the western drinking habits.

10. In our Church there are those—men and women,—who have been reclaimed from the opium habit. These are few. Of non-Christians, I can only recall two men who of themselves broke off the habit. There is a sect widely spread throughout the centre and north of this province—T'ai Li—the members of which are total abstainers from opium and tobacco, and have renounced all kinds of strong drink. Opium-smokers joining that sect have some potent medicine administered; and,

usually, after excruciating experiences, are broken entirely off the habit. A few I have known, who have cured themselves by using morphia pills instead of the pipe, and by gradually decreasing the number or size of pill till they could drop the habit altogether. Some I have known go so far as to reach the smallest possible quantity; but this they could not renounce, as more sickness was the immediate result of total abstinence.

11. At the present stage the presence or absence of Indian opium would have no influence whatever. The province produces all the opium consumed, and even, I am informed, exports it elsewhere. (See 201.) In any case they would not resort to further indulgence in strong drink, the customs connected with which are of long standing.

12. I know of no reason why Asiatics should be more liable to contract the opium habit than any European.

13. Some resort to opium to cure stomach-ache or bowel complaints, as dysentery, frequent diarrhoea, or great pain. Others I have known to smoke because of bronchitis, which is relieved by the pipe. To begin with, these resort to the pipe intermittently and only as for medicine; usually the insidious craving takes possession of them, and they must have their pipe daily. They differ then in nothing from any other smoker. But the most fertile cause of the opium habit is fashion. It was the vice of the great and the wealthy, and those who were neither great nor wealthy betook themselves to this habit because it was fashionable. Young men, left a good deal of money by their industrious and sober fathers, generally betake themselves to the pipe, recruits being constantly added to the number of smokers through the influence of example. A high official, himself a moderate smoker all his days, in talking of the possible cure of the habit, told me frankly that no efforts of India or China would stop the habit while it was fashionable; but if it became so common that it ceased to be noteworthy for anything save its deleterious influences, respectable people would cease to enter the ranks of the smokers. In not a single instance did I ever hear of the opium habit as the result of taking it to prevent or to cure fever, rheumatism, or malaria; and though it is used commonly by native practitioners in cases of bowel or stomach complaints, it is not so used for any other complaint. Except for the troubles mentioned above, I have never heard of the use of opium medicinally. The number of those who smoke to ward off sickness is but a fraction of the number who smoke to secure pleasurable sensations, and these again are fewer than those who smoke to satisfy a craving.

14. Whether sincere or not, opium-smokers in town and country are ever asking for some medicine or method to cure them of the habit, but on condition that it does not imply the fearful suffering which cessation from smoking is said always to produce.

15. I have often heard England denounced for bringing opium into China and compelling the people by war to use it; but I have not heard any desire expressed that England should stop it. Probably the reason is that the commerce is believed to be so profitable that England would not consent to abandon it. The chief reason given for its compulsory introduction into China was usually that thus England wished to enfeeble the Chinese race before making a serious attempt to conquer the country. For several years I have not heard these arguments.

16. Twenty years ago the great opium merchants, "Old" and "New" Sassoon, were both represented by several agents in Newchwang, and the two houses were supported by their extensive sales. Years ago they ceased to be represented in Newchwang, the native-grown article having rapidly increased and driven out Indian opium. When used now it is smoked only by a few who were accustomed to the foreign article. Native opium for several years could not compare with Indian, and the latter was largely used to flavour the former. Now the native differs very little from the Indian. It is mixed, not with Indian opium, but with lard and calfsfoot jelly.

17. As far as Manchuria is concerned, I do not see that the prohibition of Indian opium can have any influence in any direction, unless, indeed, the Chinese Government would take steps to root out the native plant, which it could easily do. One mandarin of my acquaintance was sent to a very large county, which he found covered all over with the gaudy poppy flowers. He issued orders that next spring no poppy be sown. This was believed to be a pretext for "squeezing,"

so the poppy was sown, and the plant appeared above ground, the growers being willing enough to pay a liberal "squeeze." The mandarin sent out his men and had every plant plucked up, and for the next seven years of his office not a poppy flower was seen. The law is what it was; but poppy-growing is tolerated by most mandarins.

18. The area under cultivation is considerable in Manchuria, but fractional as compared to the soil under cereals.

19. The tax imposed by the local mandarin on land under opium is, as far as I know, about 12 times that on ordinary land; but this is small compared with the tax on Indian opium. I have not made inquiries in trustworthy quarters as to how much of the opium tax goes to Government; but it is generally believed that little, if any, of that tax finds its way into the imperial exchequer.

20. The first mandarin, one of the fourth grade, with whom I had friendly acquaintance, informed me years ago that when he was quite a small boy his father, also a mandarin, sent him to a high official to buy as much opium as would make a smoke. He never got it directly, for smoking was strictly prohibited; but it was sent by a servant, after it was "borrowed" by the official. It then sold for 15 times its present price. The port of Newchwang was not open to foreign ships. Balls of opium were smuggled on native junks. If the junk were approached by a Customs officer before the opium was landed the article was quietly dropped in the rushing river astern. The penalty of smuggling was severe. So little did the Chinese know about it that they believed it was the long sought for elixir of life; and that it was a medicine compounded of the virgin flesh of a youth and a maiden, a pure mixture of yang and yin principles. Some years after the opening of the port, when it was brought in abundance in foreign ships, seeds of the plant were secured. It was stealthily grown in narrow gullies among remote mountains, and as stealthily brought into this city for private sale. The carriage of grain or other likely produce was so expensive as to make trade in that way prohibitive, but opium was of small bulk and great value. The value has gone down, but the growth has gradually grown till now the pink and white flowers flaunt their unblushing gaudiness in gardens within and fields without our city walls.

(Rev.) JOHN ROSS,
Presbyterian Missionary
from Scotland.

Mr. D. CHRISTIE.

1. Opium is largely consumed in Manchuria.
2. About 45 per cent. of the adult male population use it; also, I should say, 10 per cent. of the upper class women, but few among the poor of that sex. The use of it by children has not come under my notice.
3. Effects. (a.) *Physical*.—Opium first stimulates, and afterwards depresses the system. It diminishes the secretions of the body, impairs digestion, lowers functional activity, weakens the nervous centres, and ultimately produces structural changes and diseased conditions in important organs. Its prolonged use often causes extreme emaciation and general weakness; and, by lessening the power of resistance, renders the consumer liable to succumb to acute disease. (b.) *Moral*.—The higher mental faculties are also enfeebled; the moral sensibility becomes gradually blunted; and, in the mind of a confirmed opium-smoker, the ethical distinction between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, becomes confused. (c.) *Social*.—A large proportion of those who habitually use the drug are reduced to poverty, having spent their all to satisfy the craving. If a man is wealthy, neither he nor his family suffer much socially. As to race, we have only Chinese and Manchus to deal with, and I have observed no difference in the effect of opium upon them. The Indian preparation is stronger than the native, and seems more powerful in its action.
4. The method of using opium here is chiefly smoking. Opium pills, and foreign morphia tablets are taken as a more convenient form. Many of the poor drink an infusion made from the ashes and scrapings of the pipe. Of these methods smoking is, in my opinion, the least harmful, as some of the alkaloids of opium are volatilized by the heat and do not enter the system.

5.—(i.) (ii.) I do not believe that any one can use opium for a length of time without more or less injury.

(iii.) Of those who consume the drug, I should say that about 20 or 30 per cent. are seriously injured by it.

6. It may be possible for a man of strong will to use the drug always in moderation; but of the many hundreds who have come under my observation all had to increase the dose steadily to satisfy the craving. It is true that many in comfortable circumstances and healthy surroundings, with good food and strong constitutions, can smoke for a lengthened period without any apparent deleterious result. An official of my acquaintance smoked heavily for 30 years, and seemed none the worse; but I should not like to be his medical attendant through an acute illness. On the other hand, I have met with hundreds who, with half the quantity, have had body and mind shattered. One of these had occupied an important official position, but he and his family were reduced to poverty and despair. He came to me to be cured of the habit, and was admitted to the hospital. He was old, feeble, his heart very weak, and after some days of careful treatment and observation, I came to the conclusion that giving up opium, which he had used so long, would mean death to him. When I told him this, he pleaded with me to take away his life rather than leave him helpless in his miserable condition.

7. Of labourers, merchants, and artisans, about 35 per cent. use opium; and, owing to the time and money required, as well as its effect on the system, it often interferes seriously with their calling. I am told that merchants in Monkden, even those who smoke themselves, will not employ any young man who tampers with the pipe.

8. The excessive use of alcohol in this province is not common, and its evil effects are not so manifest as in the West, for the stimulant is seldom indulged in on an empty stomach, but sipped out of tiny cups during a meal. A few confirmed drunkards, however, have come under observation, and these are often a disturbance to the community, which is not the case with opium-smokers. I consider, however, that the latter habit is more injurious to the individual who indulges in it, and also to his family because of the greater poverty it brings upon them.

9. The habitual use of opium is considered by the natives here both injurious and degrading. I have conversed on the subject with many intelligent men, officials and others, and, even among those who use it, I have never met with one who said anything in its favour. Alcohol, as consumed here, is by no means regarded in the same light as opium.

10. Those who succeed in overcoming the habit without help are, in my experience, very few, especially when it is fully established.

11. The cutting off of the Indian supply would not in my opinion materially affect the consumption of opium in this province, as those who use it would resort to the native article. I have no reason to believe that abstinence from opium would cause any increase in the use of alcohol. Among the many who have come to me to be cured of the habit I have not observed any tendency to turn to alcohol or any other narcotic.

12. The Chinese seem to be more liable than Europeans to contract the opium habit. Many resort to it in the hope of curing disease, having no other means for relieving pain and other symptoms. To them time is of less importance, and many finding it hang heavily upon them take to the pipe to pass the hours. Another reason may be the absence of such social pleasures as are enjoyed in the West.

13. From our hospital register I note that various reasons are given for beginning to use the drug. Some take it to cure disease, others to soothe sorrow, many because a friend offers the pipe, but the vast majority as a mere luxury. So far as my observation has gone, opium affords no protection against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, and the natives do not seem to regard it as doing so. Malaria, however, is not common in this province. In 1883 we had a severe epidemic of cholera in Manchuria, and the mortality among opium-smokers was very great. They also seem to succumb more readily than others to dysentery and diarrhoea.

14. Many opium-smokers desire to give up the habit, especially when its evil results begin to appear, or when they can no longer afford it.

15. I have seldom heard any opinion expressed regarding the importation of Indian opium.

App. XXVI.

16. Chinese-grown opium, owing to its comparative cheapness, is steadily supplanting the foreign article, and its cultivation is extending here every year. The latter is chiefly used by the wealthy, whether officials or merchants.

17. Unless new laws were to be made regarding the cultivation and consumption of opium in China, the prohibition or restriction of the export from India would probably have no effect on its consumption here, and the cultivation of the poppy would, I believe, largely increase.

(Signed) DUGALD CHRISTIE, L.R.C.P.,
L.R.C.S., Ed., Medical Missionary,
United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Date of arrival in China:
October 1882.

Monkden, Manchuria,
N. China,
February 20th, 1894.

FOOCHOW.

No. 20.

Her Majesty's Consulate, Foochow,
March 8, 1894.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith answers to the paper of questions from the Commission forwarded to me by Her Majesty's Minister at Peking.

The paper was sent to several members of the community, but only two have given any answers.*

By the use of these, and by inquiries made through intelligent Chinese, I have compiled the answers sent herewith. Some of these are of necessity rather vague, and some require further investigation, but I trust the Commission will find them of service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. WATTERS,
Her Majesty's Consul.

CONSUL WATTERS.

1. Opium is commonly consumed in all the central and northern parts of the Province of Fuhkien and, indeed, throughout the whole province.

2. It is estimated that nearly 80 per cent. of the adult male population of Fuhkien Province take opium. Of the adult female population above 5 per cent. smoke opium. It is not known that any children take opium. At Foochow there is a large colony of Manchu banner-men, and the proportion of these, men and women, addicted to opium is greater than among Chinese.

3. The effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers varies with circumstances. An English doctor of long experience in this province tells me that the natives "who are rich and well-to-do some times smoke opium regularly and moderately (from 10 to 30 grains daily) without any apparent injury, morally, physically, mentally, or socially. The well-to-do class who use opium immoderately become extremely indolent, which sometimes leads to poverty and disaster. On the poor, who have irregular employment and are badly fed, the deleterious effects of opium-smoking, morally and physically, are well marked." A missionary, who has resided and travelled much in this Province, states, as his experience of habitual opium-smokers:—"Physically, after a few years of opium-smoking the great majority of opium-smokers, especially among the poor, become perfect wrecks and are incapable of doing any hard or continuous work." "Socially," opium-smoking he states, "works ruin, by reducing families from comparative affluence to extreme poverty. It introduces shame and confusion and misery into the family by the practice of husbands selling their wives and children to procure the means of satisfying their craving for the opium pipe." There is no difference except in degree between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. Consumers of opium in this province are nearly all smokers. The missionary above quoted states that in the north part of the province the practice of eating opium in the form of pills has come into use of late years. Secretaries and others in public offices have also taken to the use of such pills. Among the very poor who become victims of opium, the doctor states, "some chew the capsules in which opium is imported,

"whilst others swallow opium-pipe cleanings or drink opium-pipe washings." According to the Chinese, smoking is the least injurious of all the ways of taking opium.

5. The proportion of those who use opium (1) without injury are, according to one estimate, 70 per cent. of all smokers; (2) with slight injury, about 10 per cent.; (3) with great injury, about 10 per cent. Chinese, however, who know well, state that only 50 per cent. of smokers of opium continue to be such without injury. They calculate also that the "opium sots," who "suffer great injury," are at least one-fifth of all smokers.

6. I am of opinion that it is not correct to say "there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium." The doctor, who is also of this opinion, gives the following instances of his own experience. (A.) "S., 60 years of age, a tea broker, native of Canton. He is of good physique, and has always been a healthy man. When about 25 years of age he commenced to smoke opium as a social amusement. At 30 years of age the dose smoked daily was about 30 grains, and he kept up this, never increasing until he was 55 years old, when he gave up the habit." (B.) "C., aged 65, a Government officer. He is a small man, of good physique; has smoked opium for upwards of 30 years, using from ½ to ¾ ounce daily. He is an active man, attends satisfactorily to his duties, and looks fat and well. He is the father of a large family, his two youngest children being aged respectively 9 months and 4 years. Recently he complained of gouty symptoms." As coming within my own experience I may mention the following: (C.) H. was a mandarin, holding an important and responsible position. When I made his acquaintance he was and had been for some years a regular but moderate smoker of opium. Fifteen years afterwards he died in office. A colleague, who saw him the day before death, informed me that then H. was as clear-headed and active-minded as he had ever been. (D.) W. is a Canton man of about 50 years of age. He has been married for about 30 years, and has been an opium-smoker all the time. His body is healthy and his mind vigorous, and he is upright, faithful, and charitable beyond the ordinary Chinese. His wife deals out to him every day his opium money, and he never exceeds, except when he has an extra pipe at a dinner party. As an instance of great injury resulting from the abuse of opium the doctor relates the following: "C. N. M., 50 years of age. When I knew him first, some 14 years ago, he was a foreigner's servant. He was a tall, handsome, well-built man, of good repute, and had good employment. Above 10 years ago he commenced to smoke opium in a companionable way. Eight years ago his consumption of the drug was about three drachms daily. About this time he became so indolent and dishonest that he could no longer find employment as a butler. After this his wife hanged herself on account of the misery induced by her husband's opium-smoking habits. Recently I saw him a miserable coolie, with irregular employment, smoking opium whenever he could get it, and looking more dead than alive. He is now dead, the cause of death being a form of dysentery, which is a common mode of death among opium-smokers. A younger brother of the above, who occupied a position in a household like his elder brother, followed his example, and is now a miserable wretched-looking street beggar."

7. Of the merchants and shopkeepers in this district the great majority smoke opium. But of these not more than 30 per cent., it is computed, are smokers to a serious or excessive degree. Between the merchant who takes opium in regulated moderate quantities and the merchant who does not take any there is practically no difference. But the merchant or shopkeeper who becomes a slave to opium soon becomes careless in business and loses the confidence of his customers. Of labourers, skilled and unskilled, it is estimated that about 40 per cent. smoke opium regularly. Nearly all the street chair coolies and the miscellaneous coolies to be hired for odd jobs are hopeless opium-smokers. It is a common impression among the Chinese that a man who smokes opium in small quantities, strictly regulated, has greater powers of concentration than others. The conversation of such a man is greatly relished, and he is supposed to be able to state his side of a matter with great clearness and fulness. A man of this kind as a skilled artisan is supposed to do his work with great care and neatness. His wages are, accordingly, in some crafts, better than the non-smoker's. The

* For other Foochow papers, see page 297.

coolies who smoke opium, partly because they smoke bad opium, and too much of it, and partly because they have irregular habits and bad and little nourishment, soon lose their health and their physical powers.

8. The Chinese of this province are not addicted to the abuse of alcohol. The native opinion, however, is that excess in the use of alcohol is not so injurious as excess in opium.

9. The excessive use of opium when persisted in is condemned by all right-minded Chinese as degrading and injurious. They despise the opium debauchee much more than the drunkard. But among the people generally there is no stigma attached to the moderate regular use of opium or alcohol.

10. Yes; opium-consumers can and do break themselves of the opium habit. It is seldom, however, that an opium-smoker of long standing is able and willing to give up his pipe. One hears of such cases, but the accounts are always to be received with caution. The missionary, already quoted, writes, "I have known a few, about half-a-dozen, I think, who broke off the opium habit by the natural force of their own will. I have known a good many who have been cured of the habit by remedies administered by medical men and others. The general opinion, however, of the Chinese is that it is next to impossible to break off the habit once it has been confirmed. This is the feeling of the opium victims also."

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off the smokers would certainly resort to native opium. Some might abstain and some might take to alcohol, but most would undoubtedly take to Chinese opium. This is the general opinion among Chinese and foreigners who know them.

12. People of European race in this district do not contract the opium habit in any form. The European residents here have active occupation, which engrosses mind and body. When relieved from work they require open-air exercise and social amusement of a higher and more active character than Chinese know of. The inactive sedentary habits and phlegmatic disposition of Chinese generally seem to suit the opium habit.

13. Many Chinese first take to opium by the advice of the native doctors. My missionary correspondent thinks that probably about 15 per cent. of opium-smokers in this region so began the practice. The doctor also writes, "No doubt some are induced to commence the use of opium with an idea of curing dyspepsia, diarrhoea, dysentery, hernia, and many other painful affections, as well as to soothe their sorrow in times of trouble." Many take to opium merely because others smoke. Opium-smoking in its early stages is essentially a social habit, and the smoker always likes to have a companion. Many are thus induced to take to opium as a simple matter of companionship. Opium is regarded by many Chinese as a prophylactic against fever or malaria. But some natives assert that it loses its power against these with the opium set, who suffers from malaria like others. Opium is also resorted to by rheumatic patients, but probably not as a cure.

14. Many opium-smokers do desire strongly to get free of the habit. But many will tell the missionary, or doctor, or friend that they abhor the habit and wish to be free from it, while really they have no desire or intention to break it off. My missionary correspondent writes, "Opium-smokers themselves do most earnestly desire to get free of the habit. I have never met, during the 33 years of my residence in this province, with an opium-smoker who did not desire to get rid of the habit. In every town and village one is besieged by opium-smokers begging for medicine to enable them to break off the habit."

15. Certainly some Chinese express the wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India to China. To missionaries especially such expressions are often addressed, and my missionary correspondent, like his brethren, accepts them. The natives, however, whom I have consulted tell me there is no sincere wish of the kind among the people generally. I have no doubt that some of the officials and many of the landowners would like to have Indian opium prohibited, but their desire is not prompted by any highly moral or benevolent motive. Doubtless there are some honest right-minded Chinese who would like to see all Indian opium cut off from China, but they would also like to see the cultivation of native

opium stopped. Such persons wish to see the use and abuse of opium abolished, so far as their nation is concerned, and not merely the supply of one description cut off.

16. As to this district, Indian opium is used in the port of Foochow and surrounding places by the rich people and most who can afford it. Those who have begun with it and used it for some time prefer it very much to any native-grown opium. But even in Foochow and suburbs the native opium is now very largely used. In all the inland districts the Indian opium is little known, and the native product is in general use. My missionary correspondent states that he knows that "in this province the native opium is now principally consumed, 1st, because it is cheaper by one-half the price, and 2nd, because the native vendors palm off on consumers a mixture containing two-thirds of native opium with one-third of Indian for pure Indian opium." The native opium here is sold at about 35 cents the ounce, while Indian opium is about \$1 an ounce.

17. The probable consequences will be (a) that the Chinese will smoke opium as before; (b) that the cultivation of the opium poppy in China will receive a great development; and (c) a complete change in the treatment of native opium, from the revenue point of view, by the Chinese Government.

18. It is utterly impossible to obtain any trustworthy information as to the area of land in this province now under poppy. The cultivation of the poppy, it is admitted by all, has increased greatly, and is increasing. The missionary writes: "The poppy is cultivated chiefly in the northern part of the province, and about 25 years ago, when I visited that part of the province, I did not find any opium at that time cultivated there. I revisited the place again about 4 years ago, and found most of the extensive valleys which, at the time of my first visit, were covered with crops of rice, wheat, &c., now under crops of the poppy, and the cultivation of this is rapidly increasing." Within the last 10 years, the Chinese tell me, the cultivation of the poppy has extended to districts only a few miles from the city. In many places it is grown in gardens, only in sufficient quantities to supply the family with opium. The native opium is not openly advertised for sale, and it is often refused to inquirers who are not known to the vendors. These in and about Foochow often keep both native and foreign opium, but only the latter openly.

19. In 1892 the revenue collected by the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs on foreign opium imported into Foochow was Hiakuan Taels 578,115, or about 115,623*l*. In 1893 the revenue collected was H. Taels 544,171, or about 95,230*l*. Here, as at other Treaty ports, the foreign opium pays duty and tax at the rate of H. Taels 110*00*, or about 22*l*. on every lbs. 133½ or 100 catties. The native opium is nominally taxed at a certain rate. But very little of what is consumed in this part of the country is reported at a Custom house. The Government, consequently, derives little revenue from the opium crops.

20. The following official publications of the Imperial Maritime Customs contain much valuable information about the poppy and opium in China:—

Opium, 1881.

Native Opium, 1888.

Opium: Historical Note, 1889.

Medical Reports, Jan. 21, 1881.

T. WATERS,
Consul.

H.B.M. Consulate, Foochow,
March 7, 1894.

CHEFOO.

CONSUL ALLEN.

SIR,
February 22, 1894.
I HAVE the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's Minister at Peking sent me 15 copies of the paper of 20 questions, dated October 1893, with instructions to circulate these among persons at Chefoo competent to give trustworthy evidence on the points referred to, and to transmit their answers to you with as little delay as possible.

In compliance with these instructions I sent copies of the questions, which I translated into Chinese, to Lui Ham fang, the Intendant of Circuit, or Tartai of Chefoo, one of the most progressive officials in the Chinese Empire. I also called on the writer of this Consulate, an intelligent Cantonese, for a memorandum.

M m 3

APP. XXVI.
Chefoo.

Then I sent a copy of the paper to Mr. P. F. Levers, one of our trading merchants; to Dr. E. W. von Tunzelnann, the medical officer of the Consulate and Custom House, a gentleman, who has been in practice both at Singapore and here, where he superintends the native hospital of the S.P.G.; to Dr. Kirk, the head of the medical school at the Chinese Naval Station of We Hai Wei; to Dr. Dowthwaite, a medical missionary of long experience in China; to the Rev. H. J. Brown, S.P.G., a missionary who has charge of the S.P.G. hospital; to the Rev. Dr. Corbett, of the American Presbyterian Mission, senior missionary in Chefoo; to the Rev. J. M. Mullan, late of the China Inland Mission; and to the Rev. Dr. C. Mateer, an American missionary of 30 years standing, resident at Teing Chow. I have the honour to enclose replies from all these gentlemen, except from Dr. Kirk, who, I regret to say, excuses himself on the plea that he cannot get his answers ready in time.

The Tartai's reply, as might have been expected, is evasive. I am told that he was a good deal disturbed by the receipt of my letter, suspecting as an Oriental would be sure to do, that there was something more intended than reached his eye. He consulted the Commissioner of Customs on the matter, and sent his interpreter to the Custom House to talk it over, and eventually sent me his reply, which amounts to little more than that the Chinese look on the trade in opium, and on opium-smoking, as disreputable, and that opium-smoking, if indulged in to excess, gives rise to great evils. Beyond this he will not commit himself.

The other Chinese reply is an interesting document. Lu Pao yn admits that opium-smoking is an evil, and that an opium-smoker is not only looked upon as disreputable, but is actually physically deteriorated and mentally perverted. At the same time he comes to the conclusion that a rich man receives no injury from opium-smoking, a well-to-do tradesman but little, while the use of the opium pipe reduces a poor man to utter ruin. He also holds the belief, common to all southern Chinese, that opium is a prophylactic against malarial diseases. I send Chinese versions of the Chinese witnesses' replies for the records of the Commission.

Before epitomising the replies from the European and American witnesses, it may not be out of place for me to invite the attention of the members of the Commission to the climates, and the commercial and social conditions of the place from which this Despatch is written. Chefoo is the Treaty port of the Province of Shantung. The town is mean, and contains according to the Chinese census a little over 32,000 inhabitants. The immediate neighbourhood of Chefoo is unproductive. Its exports are brought from a distance to be shipped here, and its imports are carried away up country on mule back, or are transported to some other coast towns by junk. Consequently there is among the population a large proportion of men who have come here only to earn wages for their families in the interior. The harbour is full of junks. 3,000 pack mules, each with a mule driver, are said to enter the town every day. The fact of there being such a large number of men without family ties in Chefoo has a very bad effect on the morals of the place. The Chinese admit that Chefoo contains 132 opium divans, and 245 brothels. The climate is very healthy and bracing. It is too cold for rice culture. There is no malaria, and the natives, though badly nourished, are tall and well-shaped men, with the reputation of being the best coolies on the coast. They have great difficulty in getting a living, and many of them emigrate to Manchuria and the maritime provinces of Siberia. From the above facts I draw this conclusion. The climate does not drive the inhabitants to use opium as a necessary of life, or as a prophylactic against malaria, as the natives of Southern China and of the Straits of Malacca use it. (See Dr. Von Tunzelnann's paper.) I have been in no place in China, where fewer signs of opium-smoking are brought to one's notice. I have never smelt the scent of opium in my servants' quarters, and the writer of this Consulate shows no sign of having the opium habit. Men of that class are usually confirmed opium-smokers. I believe that the opium dens of Chefoo, like the gin palaces of a seaport town in England, are more to entice strangers than for the use of the residents themselves.

With this preface I proceed to epitomise the answers to the various questions, adding occasionally a remark of my own.

1. All the writers agree in saying that opium is generally consumed in Shantung.

2. All the writers agree that opium-smoking is rare among women, and practically unknown among children. The estimates of the proportion of opium-smokers among adult males vary from Dr. Von Tunzelnann's estimate of 10 per cent. to 20 per cent., to Dr. Dowthwaite's of 30 per cent. to 70 per cent. I incline myself to accept a somewhat low estimate, and to put the number of opium-smokers as not more than 25 per cent. of the adult male population. Dr. Corbett asserts that opium-smoking is a vice of the towns, and that the country villages are comparatively free from it, a statement borne out by some of the other witnesses.

3. None of the writers assert that opium has the exciting effect on the Chinese that it is said to have on the Japanese and Malayan races. Dr. Dowthwaite draws attention to this point. Dr. Mateer is the only writer who asserts that opium acts as an aphrodisiac. The evidence regarding the moral effects of opium-smoking is conflicting. Dr. Von Tunzelnann does not go into the question. Mr. Brown thinks that it has no demoralising effects. The other missionary witnesses unite in asserting that opium has the most demoralising effects, in which I am bound to say the two Chinese writers bear them out. As regards the physical effects, Dr. Dowthwaite's remarks are most valuable. Dr. Von Tunzelnann asserts that opium in moderation has no worse effect than tobacco, but that men who are habitual opium-smokers, though not to excess, are sallow and dyspeptic. The evidence of all the missionaries is that opium has a most harmful effect on the health. It seems to me from the medical evidence that opium is a valuable stimulant, but that unless it is rarely and carefully indulged in, the depression which follows does more harm than the stimulant does good.

Dr. Corbett is the only witness who goes into the question of the social results of opium-smoking. I beg to call particular attention to his observations.

All agree that the Indian drug is stronger than the Chinese, and that the difference between them is only one of degree.

4. Smoking, all admit, is the form in which the Chinese of Chefoo habitually take opium. The use of opium pills and decoctions of opium is rare. A Chinaman will only take opium in these forms when he cannot make use of his pipe.

5. Drs. Corbett and Mateer assert that every opium-smoker is greatly injured. Mr. McMullan and Dr. Dowthwaite leave the question unanswered. Dr. Von Tunzelnann and Mr. Levers think the proportion of "opium sots" very small. Mr. Brown, on the other hand, makes the proportion of opium sots to be 40 per cent. of the whole number of smokers. Lu Pao yn takes the matter-of-fact view that the rich form Class I. of the answer—those who receive no injury from opium; the well-to-do make up Class II.; those who receive slight injury, and the poor, Class III., who receive great injury. Personally I cannot say that I have ever been brought into contact with an opium sot at Chefoo.

6. Here, again, the evidence is conflicting, but certainly the weight of it is in favour of the view that opium-smoking in moderation exists. Dr. Von Tunzelnann's remarks are very much to the point. Both Mr. Levers and Dr. Corbett give examples of cases in which opium-smoking has occasioned great injury.

7. It seems admitted that the country peasants as a class are not opium-smokers. The various witnesses declare that opium-smokers are principally found among merchants, soldiers, yamen, underlings, and labourers. Dr. Corbett gives some interesting details. Speaking of the various classes of men collectively, I cannot see that the work and occupation of the merchants, artisans, and craftsmen of Chefoo are in any way interfered with by the habit of opium-smoking, and, as I have already mentioned, the coolies of Chefoo are considered the best on the west of China. I expect that the civil and military officials would indignantly deny that the men under their orders smoke opium. In fact, the Brigadier-General in charge of the troops told me that he dismissed at once any soldier caught smoking opium. For all that I believe that the accusation brought against the soldiers and underlings is not undeserved.

8. There is practically no abuse of alcohol among the Chinese of Chefoo, so that no comparison between the opium habit and the alcohol habit can be drawn.

9. From the evidence given by the several writers, as well as from my own experience, I conclude that the Chinese regard the habit of consuming opium as

dangerous. It must, however, not be forgotten that when a Chinaman says, "So-and-so smokes," he means what we mean when we say, "So-and-so drinks." We infer that he drinks to excess. Drunkenness is so rare a vice among the Chinese that they seldom draw any comparison between the degradation of it and the degradation of the opium habit.

10. Dr. Von Tunzemann and Mr. Brown agree in asserting that the opium habit can be broken off. The missionary witnesses either deny the possibility of it or state that instances of it are extremely rare. I presume that they are all thinking of smokers who smoke to excess. Probably the moderate smoker has no wish nor motive to give up his pipe any more than the man who only drinks a glass of wine or beer at his meals desires to become a total abstainer.

11. All the authorities agree that if the supply of Indian opium were cut off smokers would find plenty of native opium to supply its place. They certainly would not abstain, nor would they take to any other narcotic or to alcohol in its stead.

12. Europeans seldom contract the opium habit. It presents no attraction to a healthy European. During my 31 years in China I can only remember knowing two confirmed western opium-smokers, one an American, the other an Englishman. Both died of the habit.

13. I infer, from the various answers to this question, that the majority of smokers begin the practice as a pleasant amusement, or to drive care and *ennui* away, and the minority to ease pain or physical discomfort. The two medical witnesses agree in saying that opium is no prophylactic against fever and rheumatism, but Dr. Von Tunzemann alleges that it is a prophylactic against malaria. I do not know what the natives of Chefoo may think, but I am sure that every Chinaman from the southern and more malarious provinces looks on opium as a specific against all malarious diseases. See Lu Pao yn's statement to this effect. The same idea exists even among the inhabitants of marshy and fen districts in England. I remember when Kiangchow was opened as a Treaty port a Chinese literati telling me what an advantage to the people of Hainan the opportunity of getting Indian opium would be, as the natives of that island suffered so much from malaria.

14. The existence of a desire on the part of opium-smokers to get rid of the habit is also disputed. I am of opinion that the evidence in favour of this desire preponderates, although, as the missionaries say, few have the moral courage to undergo the pain and discomfort which must be endured when an attempt is made to break off the habit.

15. Dr. Corbett is the only witness who states that the majority of Chinese would hail with joy the news that England would no longer allow opium to be imported into China from India. No doubt, as some of the witnesses say, the Chinese have a vague sense of grievance against foreigners for importing opium, and are glad to throw any blame and responsibility that there may be off their own shoulders on to theirs. This is human nature.

16-20. The answers to the last five questions call for little remark. A good many of the questions can hardly be properly answered here. In reply to No. 18, Dr. Dowthwaite states that Shantung produces annually 28,000 piculs of native opium. I do not know where he collects his statistics. Less than 10,000 piculs of native opium pass through Chefoo in a year. In answer to Question 19, I may say that the likin tax on native opium in this province is Taels 48 per picul (133½ lbs.) against Taels 110 (import duty, Taels 30; likin, Taels 80) on the Indian article. I beg to call attention to Dr. Von Tunzemann's reply to Question 20, though I do not quite agree with his views. I cannot consider the Chinese one of the successful races of the world. They can make a living where other men would starve, and are quiet and law-abiding subjects under good government, as in Burmah or in the Straits Settlements; but it is rare indeed to see the members of a Chinese community out of China other than mere money-grubbers or else the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Europeans. Nor is China itself as an empire to be envied or copied. If opium has been, as Dr. Von Tunzemann alleges, a benefit to the Chinese, it has not raised them to any point of vantage above the rest of the world.

I now venture to submit a few observations on opium from my own points of view. I draw on my experiences,

which are both those of an ordinary resident in China for 31 years, and those of a consular official for the same period.

As a private resident in China my experiences in China have not the weight either of those of a medical man or of those of a missionary. We consuls have little private intercourse with the natives outside our homes and offices. As I have said already, I believe that I have no opium-smokers about me in this Consulate. If any of my men smoke, they conceal it cleverly. Elsewhere I have not been so fortunate. I have nearly always had opium-smoking servants. They have usually remained with me as long as I have been in the port where I engaged them. One man, who smoked regularly, was with me at Pakhoi, and accompanied me thence to Anoy, Kankiang, and Hankow, only parting from me when I returned to England on leave. He was an excellent servant, and I would gladly take him into my employ again. On the other hand, two opium-smoking servants of mine, brothers, went blind from the use of the drug. One was a messenger for 20 years in the Hankow Consulate.

Office writers (moonshes), who belong to the literary class, I have usually found to be opium-smokers. The habit, even if indulged in to excess, interferes little with office work, as they do most of their smoking in the evening, after office hours. The literates of China are, as a class, physically weak and effeminate to a degree, weaker even than the Burgalis. In spite of the pleasing theory that in China honours are to the learned alone, and that the son of a peasant may compete at the examinations with the son of a viceroy, and beat him, yet as a fact nine literates out of 10 are sons of officials or of well-to-do men, who can afford to pay for their schooling. Lads of this class are taught to despise play, sport, and manly exercises of any sort, and naturally grow up weak and enervated. Not one literate in a dozen can walk 5 miles without distress. I have never known a writer who made it his practice even in winter to walk from his house to the office and back. He must have a sedan chair. Moreover, although one reads marvellous stories of the application of Chinese scholars, my experience has been that when there is any press of office work the Consulate writer gives in long before his European employer. A large proportion of them, too, die or are invalidated at an early age. Still I am not inclined to attribute their mental and physical weakness to opium-smoking. I am inclined rather to attribute their opium-smoking to their debility. I may mention another temptation to opium-smoking among the literates. The majority of them waste a great portion of their lives waiting for employment or seeking and intriguing for an appointment. It seems to me that if anything could drive a man to the solace of the opium-pipe, this perpetual heart-breaking anxiety would.

Consular officials in China, especially those who hold the post of assessor at the mixed court at Shanghai, get a certain amount of insight into the ways of "opium sots," who have sunk in the world and have become members of the criminal classes. I held the post of mixed court assessor for two years, and certainly there were considerable numbers of "opium sots" brought before the Chinese magistrate and myself every week. These men would be arrested for petty thefts, to which they had been impelled by their craving for the drug. They were most miserable and degraded specimens of humanity, evidently not long for this world, but I am bound to say that the proportion of opium sots to other criminals was not greater than the proportion of habitual drunkards would be to other offenders in the police courts of our large cities, and that none of these miserable wretches were arrested for breaches of the peace or for violent assaults, as drunkards would assuredly have been.

A consul, having constant official intercourse with the mandarins, ought to be in a position to ascertain their views and ideas on the opium question. I will try to describe a few of the impressions which official intercourse has left on me. First of all, I have never had made to me, nor have I ever heard of its being made to my colleagues, the observation which seems so commonly made to missionaries: "How can you dare to talk of introducing Christianity and civilization among us, and to teach us righteousness and morality, while you import opium to poison us?" See missionary reports, *passim*. No Chinese official has ever in my presence complained of England's injuring the people by opium. The effect of opium on the consumers seems to occur but seldom to a mandarin's

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mind or conscience. On the other hand, before the time of the Chefoo Convention I have often heard officials, especially at Chinkiang and Foochow, complain bitterly of the opium trade. It must be remembered that at that time the opium trade brought three evils in its train: (1.) Injury to the consumer; (2.) injury to the wealth of the country; (3.) injury to peace and good order. Of the first the officials said, and seemed to think, little. The second evil was, no doubt, ever present in their minds, though I do not recall any conversations on the subject. They were sorry to see vast sums of silver, or of its equivalent in goods, paid for what was at best an unproductive luxury. Although they did not often speak of this, they were full of complaints about the injury occasioned by opium-smuggling. It will be remembered that No. 5 of the Tariff Rules attached to the Treaty of Tientsin prescribes that opium shall pay Taels 30 per picul import duty, and that the importer shall sell it only at the port. The Chinese tried to argue that the ship on which the opium arrived was the limit of the port, and that the moment the opium left it it became liable to whatever duties the authorities might choose to lay on it, but the compromise practically arrived at was that when there was a defined concession, as at Canton or Hankow, no likin nor other taxes should be levied within its limits, and that where, as at Foochow, there was no separate concession, the door of the merchant's hong or godown formed the limit of the port, so far as the sale of opium was concerned. The European merchant, of course, claimed the right to send opium in charge of his own servants to any house within the limits of the port. At Foochow there was a likin watch-station on the right and left of the larger merchants' houses, and a likin watch-boat on the river in front. When a Chinese customer honestly bought opium and took it away openly, he would be stopped as he left the merchant's door, and would be taxed by these likin runners; but there were great numbers of disreputable Chinese who would, if they could, smuggle opium into the port without paying the opium dues, and afterwards smuggle it out of port without paying the likin. At the southern ports there was a good deal of inward smuggling, but at all the ports of China, except, perhaps, at Canton, it was the outward smuggling which was the worse. I am sorry to have to admit that Europeans, if they did not actually assist, certainly shut their eyes to what their employes did. A Chinese customer would come to the European merchant and buy, say, a chest of opium. The merchant would give him an order on his godown keeper for the delivery of it. The purchaser would not, however, take delivery in open day. He would come at night and take away a few balls at a time, which would be tied up in a coverlet, or put inside an innocent looking box or basket, until he had cleared the whole chest, while the British merchant would profess utter ignorance of what went on in his godown, and would disclaim all responsibility for his servants' acts. At Foochow the custom was to have the opium sent down at night from the foreign settlement to the anchorage, 12 miles away, in a foreign-owned house-boat. On the way down a native boat would come alongside, and the opium would be passed on board. If it was seized on the house-boat the owner would come to the Consulate with a furious complaint that while he was conveying, as he had a perfect right to do, opium in his own boat in charge of his own servants from Nantai to Pagoda Anchorage, both within the limits of the port, the likin runners boarded his boat and carried off his property. He must have restitution and redress. Smugglers and likin runners did not scruple to use firearms. I remember at Foochow a merchant bringing to the Consulate a bullet which had been lodged in the wall of one of his rooms the night before. At Chinkiang, where this likin smuggling was probably more disgraceful than at any other port in China, there was a collection of dangerous rowdies. Night after night I have seen these men in gangs armed with pieces of chain fastened to the end of a thick stick, coming out of foreign hongs with bags of opium. I was once witness to a fight between these ruffians and some runners, in which revolvers were freely used. At Foochow, too, and Amoy dangerous characters collected, and at Canton it is not too much to say that a smuggler and a pirate are practically synonymous. Now a mandarin's ideal of an official position is one in which the people under him give him no trouble, and when his revenue is collected for him without friction. If some one will farm it and pay him an annual lump sum, all the better. It can, therefore, be easily imagined what

a thorn in the flesh to every mandarin the opium trade was, collecting, as it did, all the roughs and rowdies of the district to raise trouble, and bringing him into endless disputes with foreigners. This aggravation of evils has all been removed by the system, introduced under the Chefoo Convention, by which all opium on landing is lodged at the Custom House, and cannot be cleared until import and likin duties have both been paid. Since the introduction of this system I have not heard a word of complaint from any Chinese official, and the subject of opium is rarely broached.

To sum up—

1. I do not agree with those who hold that opium adds to the sum of human happiness in China. I believe, on the contrary, that it increases the sum of human misery. The comfort and pleasure that it gives to the moderate smoker is more than counterbalanced by the harm that it does to the opium sot.

2. I believe, all the same, that there is a demand for opium in China, and that if the import of Indian opium was stopped there would not be a single smoker the less. The natural conditions of China cannot be altered. The climate of the greater part is enervating and malarious, and in a climate of this sort there must be a craving for opium. I am further convinced that an embargo on Indian opium would never give rise to the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy in China. On the contrary, such an embargo would at once increase the production of native opium.

3. I believe that now the trade in Indian opium is carried on with the full sanction of the Chinese officials, high and low, who set great store by the revenue which both it and native opium produce, and that these officials would be much taken aback if they were to be deprived of this revenue. Further, I am convinced that the system of levying the duties, as described above, prevents all friction.

4. I firmly believe that the abuse of opium-smoking is an effect of evil, not a cause; a punishment, not a vice. Consequently the remedies for the evils of opium-smoking to excess will be found, not by restricting or forbidding the opium trade, but by promoting among the Chinese a healthier state of things, material, mental, and moral, and thereby dissipating those feelings of *ennui* and discontent which produce the desire for the delights of opium. May this in time be accomplished by the forces of civilisation and Christianity.

I have, &c.

CLEMENT F. R. ALLEN,
Consul.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I have received a set of answers from the Rev. Charles Judd, a missionary of 26 years' standing. I have the honour to enclose a copy of them with the other papers.

CLEMENT F. R. ALLEN,
Consul.

LIN HAN FANG, Intendant of the Teng Lai Ching Circuit.

I AM in receipt of your letter on the subject of opium, in which you enclose a paper of questions in English and Chinese, and request me to give you detailed replies to them.

I find on examination of the English documents that it contains in all 20 questions, and on reading the translation of these several questions I learn for the first time that you have been called upon by the Royal Commission for a Report on the subject. To you, as a gentleman in whose friendly relations with myself there has been no breach, I send the following general summary of the whole matter.

I find that opium, since the restrictions on trade were withdrawn 50 years ago, has been a never ending evil. Chinese and Europeans have long ago known the harm that it does. There have been articles about it in the newspapers for years past. You, sir, have been a long time in China, and I think have a thorough knowledge of the matter, so there is no occasion to recapitulate the case to you.

Putting the case generally, men who sell opium and men who consume it are universally looked on by their neighbours with contempt, and as men of no respectability.

You ask me whether the consumers of opium are men or women, to what class of people they belong, and how

the opium is taken (*i.e.*, eaten, drunk, or smoked), and what is the total number of smokers. Now, even if I were to get hold of the opium dealers and were to question them they would be unable to tell me. But to sum up, I may say that of those who smoke opium so much that they acquire a craving for it, less than 1 or 2 per cent. can break off the opium habit. It is an evil that occasions waste of time, loss of property, laziness, and exhaustion, and a complication of diseases, and by degrees the smoker becomes utterly good for nothing. The harm done is much more than the harm done by alcohol.

A special reply sent with the compliments of the season.

February 17, 1894.

LU PAO YU, a Chinese Literate, Official Writer at
H.B.M. Consulate, Chefoo.

1. Opium is certainly commonly consumed at Chefoo, as a thing that cannot be done without.

2. Of the males, about 25 per cent. There are also women who smoke opium, but not children.

3. There is a great difference between opium-smokers and non-smokers. Smokers have a sallow complexion, while non-smokers' complexions are clear. The difference can be detected at a glance. Smokers are enfeebled in body while non-smokers are robust. Smokers become mentally perverted, while non-smokers are honest, liberal, good, and respectable. There is a very slight difference between the men who smoke foreign opium and the men who smoke native opium. The craving in the latter is comparatively light; therefore its consequent evils are not so severe. The craving in the former is stronger and so its consequent evils are worse. This is due to the fact that native opium is milder than foreign.

4. Opium is always smoked and not eaten or taken in a decoction.

5. Ten per cent. of opium-smokers smoke without injury, about 20 per cent. with slight injury, and 70 per cent. with great injury. When the rich and well-to-do of the upper classes have the opium craving, they only spend too much money on it, but otherwise are not injured in their affairs. The second class of men, that is to say, traders and merchants on a large scale, who have the opium craving, may spend too much on opium and yet their profits are enough for their own wants. But artisans and coolies who have the opium craving suffer in a manner indescribable. If they cannot procure the drug they have a running at the eyes and nose. Their limbs become weak and feeble. They must satisfy their craving before they can do anything. They look on this as more important than their food. To be without opium is to them worse than being without food. They earn but little wages, out of which they have to get their opium and their food. An evil of this sort is immeasurable.

6. The fact of there being persons who consume opium in moderation without wishing to increase their consumption, is due to their not having acquired the craving, and the same cause accounts for those who have smoked opium for years without injury. When once the craving is acquired the smoker must smoke large quantities which he cannot reduce. There is no one that smokes for years without injury.

7. But few of the merchants smoke opium. Most of the opium-smokers are artisans and coolies. About half of them may be estimated to smoke. Opium-smokers can only do their work under pressure, but there is no opium-smoker that is not a shirker and lazy. There is a still worse evil to which they are addicted. They are all day trying some plan to cheat people out of their money. They go down hill and become thieves, and fall into the grasp of the law, bringing their own retribution on themselves in a pitiable manner.

8. The abuse of opium is worse than that of alcohol.

9. Chinese know that the habit of opium-smoking is shameful. If opium-smoking and drinking are compared, opium-smoking is the more disgraceful.

10. Opium-consumers can, as a fact, break themselves of the opium habit, and this breaking of the habit constantly occurs. But after breaking off the habit it is rather difficult to keep up the resolution.

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One wants to relapse after a while. After a relapse the opium habit becomes a degree more confirmed.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off at Chefoo, all the natives (who smoke opium) would naturally be forced to use native opium instead. As for drinking alcohol, or taking other drugs in its place, they would abstain from them.

12. There are no European opium-smokers at Chefoo. There is no reason why Chinese should smoke and Europeans not except the difference of custom. Persons' likings are not the same. Besides, there are many non-smokers among the Chinese. Europeans cannot claim the monopoly of this virtue. Smoking or not smoking depends on a man himself.

13. There are those who smoke opium because they have some complaint. Others take to it as an amusement for their leisure, and thus acquire a craving for it, and are unable to refrain. Opium-smokers seldom have fever, malaria, or rheumatism.

14. Opium-smokers being slaves to their craving never fail to desire with all their might to break off the habit, but most of them when they set to work to do it, perhaps because of the distress it causes, stop short in the midst of the work of reformation. Besides, it is difficult to be sure that those who have abstained will not relapse.

15. The inhabitants of Shantung naturally do not like England to import Indian opium. Every chest of opium imported is so much injury to the people, and the flood of poison is never ending.

Mr. P. F. LAVER.

1. Freely consumed and on the increase.

2. Cannot say. A very small number of people smoke in the interior. A few women smoke. Children, no.

3. Moderate smokers have not any symptoms of general deterioration; of those who show the effects of their smoking propensities there is a feeling of distrust, whether deserved or otherwise I am not able to say. The Indian product blends with and strengthens the China opium, but the mixture is only within the reach of the richer classes.

4. Chiefly smoke; old smokers also drink a little.

5. 1 and 2, Cannot say. 3. Apparently not many.

6. I should say there are moderate opium-smokers; I know smokers of long standing who appear well and capable, but cannot supply details of their lives. I know of one instance of great injury arising—presumably from opium-smoking—by which an active and intelligent man became an enfeebled beggar. I am also aware of another instance of a young man, who, I believe, owes his penurious state to opium, but his father has been his example. Had the youth been a European he need not have followed it, but a father's control here is such that a son is more than likely to contract a vicious habit, of whatever character, from his parent.

7. Not a majority by any means.

8. Alcohol is little consumed here by natives.

2. A steady-going Shantung man would not employ an opium-smoker if the latter had to live amongst other natives in the same employ. Under ordinary circumstances an opium-smoker would be preferable to a consumer of alcohol.

10. It is difficult to say. Opium-smokers, like other smokers, see no reason for changing their habits until perhaps they feel it is too late.

11. The supply of foreign opium here is a mere trifle, and does not at all affect the habit of opium-smoking.

12. Europeans here do not contract the habit. The climate of China, from the heat, produces a laziness and the desire for a narcotic; a European drinks first in company and while conversing; the Asiatic appeals to opium from a lazy tendency.

13. An opium-smoker says to his friend, "Come and smoke." This is not a feverish region, but Chinese here understand from those of other parts that opium is an absolute essential in some places.

14. No; they do not realise any necessity or advantage in giving up smoking.

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Chefoo.

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15. None whatever. Chinese simply call it "foreign" opium, and have no sentimental feelings about it.

16. By the richer classes a small quantity is consumed mixed with native opium.

17.—(a) None here. (b) None here. (c) The same. The production of opium in Shantung is said to be a good deal in excess of the requirements of the province, and given a market its export would result.

18. No.

19. The opium produced in this province pays taxes little, if any, short of imported opium.

20. I believe if the province had more wealth the consumption of opium would increase faster than it is doing; the race of men here is naturally strong and big, and this will perhaps be influenced adversely if opium-smoking becomes a very general habit. Chinese are not an active people in their leisure hours, having a preference for indoor games and gambling; it would therefore seem almost certain that some narcotic will find favour amongst them. The Indian drug affects Shantung not at all, but the fact that a considerable population can and does get its opium from its own locality points to an inadequate benefit being derived from any alteration in present opium legislation in India; that is of course as regards this part of the world.

P. F. LAVERS.

Chefoo, 14th February 1894.

DR. VON TUNZEHMANN.

Chefoo, 17th February 1894.

1. Yes.

2. I should guess that from 10 to 20 per cent. of the adult males of Chefoo consume opium; this is, however, purely a guess, and I have no figures on which to base it. Women, to the best of my belief, do not consume it, nor children. Outside the town the consumption of opium is, I believe, much less.

3. The moral and social effects of opium among the Chinese whom I have had opportunities of observing in Chefoo are not very apparent, except in the very rare, in my experience, cases of "opium sots"; in the vast majority of opium-consumers these same effects are no more obtrusive than are those of the analogous habit of tobacco-smoking among Europeans. The physical effects are somewhat more marked. The habitual consumer of opium, not to excess, is usually of a more spare frame of body, the complexion is often somewhat sallow, the food requirement is commonly lessened; they are liable to dyspeptic troubles. On the other hand, I have seen many men whose occupation is exclusively out of doors, such as farmers, muleteers, &c., who have stated to me that they have smoked opium for years, and who yet in their physical appearance showed no trace of any ill-effect.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium. The effects of eating opium or of drinking a decoction of opium, themselves indistinguishable, are much more marked.

5. I cannot give the proportions, but may observe that the proportion of "opium sots" is extremely small.

6. Certainly not. I have known many persons who have come to me for treatment of morbid conditions in no way related to opium, such *e.g.*, as wounds, fractures, &c., whom I should never have suspected of being opium-consumers had they not themselves admitted it. I have, however, no detailed notes of any such cases. I have never seen any case of great injury, except in two or three instances, these were sons of well-to-do Chinese officials and merchants, idle, debauched youths, who had no occupation, indulged all their appetites to excess, and were prematurely old and worn out.

7. I believe the majority of the well-to-do merchants, a smaller proportion of the artisans, and a small minority of the labourers, consume opium; poverty, and consequent inability to procure the luxury, is the main reason why only a minority of the labourers are opium-consumers; added to the fact that in the bracing, healthy climate of Chefoo there is less requirement for the drug than there is in the more enervating climate of South China. I am of opinion that their efficiency in their calling is in no way affected by the habit.

8. Alcohol is comparatively little used by the mass of the natives of Chefoo; on the other hand, I have

seen more cases of harm caused by its abuse than by the abuse of opium, though probably not more than a dozen, in the course of two years' work at the Anglican Mission Hospital in the native town here.

9. The moderate use of opium is not, I think, regarded as degrading or injurious, but the danger of moderate passing into immoderate use is of course recognised by sensible Chinese, and naturally induces many to discountenance the indulgence entirely. The alcohol habit is extremely rare and, I believe, regarded as far more disgraceful.

10. They commonly do break off the habit. Converts to the Catholic Church are obliged to do so, and I am informed on good authority that it is often done without any great difficulty. This statement of course applies only to moderate consumers.

11. Very little Indian opium is used here; if the supply were cut off recourse would undoubtedly be had to Chinese-grown opium.

12. No. For sundry reasons: (1.) It is not the custom, and the European is not tempted to use opium; the ordinary European regards opium solely as a somewhat dangerous medicine, and has little or no knowledge as to the character of the enjoyment which it affords to its *habitues*. (2.) Opium-smoking, or eating, is a solitary enjoyment, and as such is not attractive to the European. (3.) The European has far more resources, physical and mental, than the Oriental, so is much less troubled by *ennui*, the worst torment of the leisured classes in China, and the chief persuasive to the use of opium. The European prefers an agent which will quicken rather than slacken the current of life; and usually has no desire to dull his passions, thereby lessening the sum of pleasure derivable from them. The well-to-do Oriental, on the contrary, if intellectual, derives his highest bliss from contemplation, and luxuriates in the stimulus which opium gives to his imaginative faculties; even if not intellectual, he enjoys the subjective sensations of well-being and content which it affords. If poor, he commonly prefers to dull the edge of the passions which he has not the means to gratify, whereas the European is more often goaded by them to efforts to attain the desired means.

13. *Vide* above; example also: everything which induces men to adopt the current custom, or vice. Also the fact that it undoubtedly economises vital energy. Opium is not, I think, a prophylactic against most fevers or rheumatism; nor is it, to the best of my knowledge, so regarded by the Chinese. Chefoo is not a malarious place. During two years' residence in Singapore I found many Chinese regarded opium as prophylactic against malaria; and I am inclined to be of the same opinion.

14. No.

15. No.

16. _____

17.—(a.) Nil. (b.) It will stimulate these. (c.) _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. The struggle for existence is probably fiercer in China than anywhere else in the world, as it is much less affected by the altruism taught both by Christianity and by living Buddhism; the fact that the use of opium is so prevalent in China is itself evidence that it does not unfavourably affect the actors in the struggle. The eminent success of the Chinese, when allowed to compete on equal terms with other races, powerfully corroborates this view. Opium should be compared with tobacco (*vide* Kingsley's *Eulogium*) not with alcohol. It is of course liable to abuse, and its abuse entails disagreeable consequences, but no competent and unbiassed observer can question that by its use the sum of human happiness in the Chinese Empire is vastly increased, and the unavoidable misery of the failures in the bitter struggle for existence which rages there to a very great extent alleviated. Nearly every race of mankind uses some drug to influence their nervous mechanisms, and thereby agreeably modify their subjective existence; and of all these drugs opium is certainly the most efficacious and the least harmful.

ETR. VON TUNZEHMANN.

M.B. Lond., M.R.C.S. Eng.
Medical Officer I. C. Customs, Chefoo.
in charge of Anglican
Mission Hospital, &c.

Dr. DOUTHWAITE.

1. I believe opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in all parts of the Empire. Certainly it is in the four provinces with which I am acquainted.

2. It would be impossible to give even approximately the proportion of opium-smokers. In some cities the native estimate of the number of adult males who smoke opium varies from 30 to 70 per cent. In country districts, except where the poppy is grown, the opium habit is comparatively rare. I have known very few women contract the habit, and never heard of children being addicted to it; but in one city with which I am acquainted the majority of men and women, even young boys and girls, have the characteristic appearance which the consumption of opium gives to the face.

3. The physical effects of this drug are most manifest on the poor ill-fed coolies and other labourers, who cannot out of their scanty wages procure both food and opium, and are compelled by the ever-increasing craving for the latter to deprive themselves of the former. Many of these people suffer the more because, being too poor to increase the quantity of opium smoked, they are driven to the necessity of swallowing the ashes scraped from their pipes, and thus speedily ruin their digestive organs. The wealthier smokers, who by reason of education have more power of self-restraint, and who, as a rule, only smoke after meals, suffer much less than their poorer brethren do, and so long as they confine the habit to smoking, and avoid eating the drug, they may consume enormous quantities with apparent impunity. I say "apparent," for eventually they, with few exceptions, have to pay the usual penalty of their indulgence. Opium has not the same effect on all persons, and people of different races are differently affected by its use. The Japanese, for instance, are driven almost crazy by this drug, while on the Chinese its effect is almost universally stimulating and soothing. This will account to a large extent for the rapid spread of opium-smoking and eating in China, for any preparation containing this drug is eagerly accepted by the natives. The effect of opium-smoking depends largely on its quality, which varies very much. Indian opium contains from 12 to 20 per cent. of morphia, its principal alkaloid, while that produced in China is much inferior. In 1881 I was asked by a British Government official to analyse several specimens of opium, Taichow and Wenchow, in the province of Cheh-kiang, and the best sample only contained 8 per cent. of morphia. Since that time, I am informed, the native drug has improved in quality, and that produced in some districts in Western China is little inferior to the imported article, which is gradually being driven out of the market. In moderate doses it first acts as a stimulant, affecting largely the nerve centres, through which it acts on the whole body, increasing the force, fulness and frequency of the pulse. It raises the temperature of the skin, invigorates the muscles, and quickens all the senses, putting new life and energy into the whole being. This effect may daily be observed in the Chinese coolies, who, after toiling wearily under their burdens, will, after a pipe of opium and a short rest, resume their journey with astonishing energy and sprightliness. I have tested its effects on myself for several weeks, and can bear witness to the power of this drug as a stimulant of the intellect and an energizer of the whole body. But after the stimulation comes a corresponding depression, energy gives place to lethargy, the muscles become tremulous, and the nervous system exhausted. There is often headache, nausea, and vomiting, and a general feeling of weariness takes the place of the sensation of well-being before experienced. The frequent and regular repetition of this process of stimulation and depression induces the "ying" or craving, which is simply a demand by the nervous system for its accustomed stimulant, without which it is unable properly to perform its functions. I have observed that men who smoke at irregular intervals do not acquire the "ying" so readily as those who have fixed hours for smoking. But three or four months' regular indulgence in the drug is usually enough to bring a man fairly under its influence, when he quickly discovers he is no longer master of his desire; the habit, which at first held him with the slender threads of a cobweb, now binds him with a chain of iron, and requires a greater power than he possesses to get him free. There is nothing more remarkable than the rapidity with which an opium-smoker loses that quality of so-called "moral courage," and becomes so degraded that it is hard to find a vestige of anything that is manly or noble in his character.

4. Smoking is the more favourite habit, but the poor, and those who wish to get the full effect of the drug, scrape the ashes of the opium off their pipes, and swallow them mixed with tea or whiskey. Many labouring men who cannot give the time necessary for smoking, carry with them pills composed of opium and opium ashes, which they take whenever the craving comes on. The injurious effect of eating opium is far greater than that of smoking; in fact, when undertaking the cure of opium *habitues*, I always consider that one dram swallowed will require the same treatment as three drams smoked.

5. It would be impossible to give the proportions asked for, but these questions are partly answered already.

6. It is not correct to say that there is no such thing as moderation in the consumption of opium, if by moderation is meant occasional indulgence. As already stated, the smoking or eating of opium, even in small quantities, at regular intervals, induces a craving; and when a man is thus enslaved by the drug, he can hardly be said to use it in moderation. I have known some, but not many, who have consumed large quantities of opium without any apparent harm. One man, for instance, with whom I was acquainted assured me that he had smoked opium for 20 years, and for a long time had consumed one ounce per day, yet he was stout and apparently in good health. On the other hand, I have had scores of men under treatment who have consumed but from two to four drams of opium daily, yet have been so wrecked, morally, mentally, and physically, as to be good for nothing. That their wretched condition was due to the opium is proved by the fact that, after being cured of the habit, they, in every case, were restored to fairly good health and strength.

7. I am acquainted with several cities in which the majority of the labourers consumed opium, and have observed that it induced in them habits of indolence which have a very detrimental effect on their efficiency in their calling. In one city I entered several large houses formerly occupied by wealthy tradesmen, but now either empty or occupied by poor families. In every case I was told that this condition was the result of the indulgence in opium by the male members of the various families. Doubtless other vicious habits had also contributed to the downfall, but the love of opium was the first cause.

8. The abuse of alcohol among the Chinese is a rare vice, and no comparison can be made between alcohol and opium in its effects upon the Chinese.

9. The more respectable of the Chinese certainly condemn opium-smoking as degrading and injurious, and even those who indulge in it are ready enough to admit the charge, but they consider drunkenness as a far more degrading habit.

10. Occasionally one meets with men who have broken off the opium habit without human aid, but they are chiefly Christians who have been taught to look to God for His help. Others have attempted to cure themselves by gradually reducing their allowance of opium, or by means of the various anti-opium pills or powders supplied by native or foreign druggists, but comparatively few of these who make the attempt succeed in breaking off the habit unless taken in hand by their friends, who deprive them entirely of the drug.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the effect would undoubtedly be an increase in the area of poppy cultivation by the natives. It is most improbable that they would take to any other narcotic or entertain the thought of abstaining.

12. Europeans do not contract the habit in any number. They are an energetic race, and seek rather to stimulate their latent energy than to deaden it by narcotics. The Asiatics, on the contrary, are naturally lethargic, and the drugs which create a sense of dreamy pleasure will meet with more acceptance than alcoholic stimulants.

13. Most of the opium-smokers with whom I am acquainted began the use of the drug to ease pain. The native doctors are largely to blame for the spread of the opium habit, for they give the drug in pill form, for pain of any kind, and often when the doctor's services are dispensed with the patient finds to his dismay that he has acquired a craving for opium. Many of course are led into the opium habit by their companions, beginning with a small quantity and gradually increasing the allowance until they become enslaved by it. I have no hesitation in saying that

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opium is not a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria. In one district with which I am acquainted, opium is extensively produced and freely consumed by both men and women, and yet in that district the majority of deaths are from malarial fever. The people take opium, not with the idea of preventing the disease, but to obtain relief from their sufferings. I never heard of any of the Chinese attributing prophylactic powers to opium.

14. I never yet spoke to an opium-smoker who did not express a desire to get rid of the habit, but comparatively few are willing to undergo the suffering and discomfort inseparable from the breaking off of opium-smoking. During one year I admitted over 200 opium-smokers into my hospital for the cure of the habit, but most of them came either because they had not sufficient money to purchase the drug, or they were urged by their friends to give it up. Certain English and Chinese druggists do an enormous trade in so-called anti-opium medicines. These, with few exceptions, contain morphia, and the natives have found out that this will to a large extent take the place of opium, satisfying their craving at a lower cost in time and money than the made drug. Morphia is imported as "foreign medicine" and pays no duty, hence it is relatively much cheaper than opium, on which a heavy tax is levied.

15. I have met with a few Chinamen, but very few who have expressed any strong opinion as to the connexion of England with the opium traffic. Most of them deplore that the opium habit has spread so rapidly over the country, and there is a vague idea among the people that "foreign countries" are in some way to blame for it.

16. Indian opium is principally consumed in the coast provinces and in those parts adjacent to the ports on the River Yang-tsze. In this province (Shantung) the import of Indian opium has decreased since 1879 from 3,500 piculs per annum to about 300 piculs (1 picul = 133 lbs.), while the native opium has increased in the same period from a mere trifle to over 28,000 piculs per annum. In the town of Chefoo there are 132 licensed opium-smoking houses; of these only five sell pure foreign opium, 10 profess to sell a mixture of half foreign and half native opium, 20 sell a mixture of three-tenths foreign and seven-tenths native opium, and the remaining 97 sell only native opium. Indian opium is dearer than the native drug and is consumed chiefly by the wealthier class of smokers.

17. The probable consequence of the prohibition of the import of Indian opium would be the increase in native production, but it would have no effect on the quantity consumed by the Chinese. As to its effect on the arrangement of the Chinese Government for raising a revenue I am unable to express an opinion.

18. I have no idea of the area now under poppy cultivation in the various provinces of China; in this province, as already stated, the annual quantity now amounts to over 28,000 piculs.

19. I am unable to say what revenue the Chinese Government derive from opium. The tax on native opium, I am informed, is 22 taels per picul, which is considerably less than the import duty on the Indian drug. The native opium is sold at about 3 dollars a catty, while the foreign drug is 5 dollars or 6 dollars a catty. This will, to some extent, account for the large increase in the consumption of native opium, and the consequent decrease in the importation of the Indian drug.

20. One can but deeply deplore the rapid spread of the opium habit among the Chinese, for the injury already done to the nation is very great, and what the results will be in the future it is easy to predict. The mischief is done and will never be undone till the people themselves are aroused to see the evil they have brought upon themselves and their children, and force their rulers to adopt some measures for restricting the supply of opium.

Without such pressure from below it is improbable that the Government will seriously attempt restriction on any large scale, for China is now almost as dependent on the revenue from opium as India is.

A. W. DOUTHWAITE, M.D.
(20 years engaged in the practice of
medicine among the Chinese).

Chefoo, China,
16th February, 1894.

The Rev. H. J. BROWN.

1. Yes.

2.—(a.) Adult males, about two-fifths ($\frac{2}{5}$) of the entire population. (b.) Yes, but not to any great extent. (c.) I have known one or two, but none under 14 years of age, and such cases are very rare.

3. It is difficult to say whether the use of opium has the demoralising effect upon its consumers which many writers on the subject would have us believe. Personally I am inclined to think that it has not.

Physically it has a decided effect, causing weakness and general debility, and, when used in excess, incapacity for work of any kind. Socially I am of opinion that it does not affect the Chinamen in the least.

4. The Chinese smoke opium to a very large extent. As far as my experience goes, it is only eaten by the poorer class of people who have become confirmed smokers, and are unable to provide the necessary amount of the drug required for the pipe. A decoction of opium is frequently used by persons who desire to commit suicide. 77 such cases in one small district were brought to our notice last year (1893).

5.—(i.) One-fifth ($\frac{1}{5}$) }
(ii.) Two-fifths ($\frac{2}{5}$) } Approximately.
(iii.) Two-fifths ($\frac{2}{5}$) }

6. No. Opium can and is taken in moderation by a large number of *habitues*, and I know of one or two cases in which opium has been taken for years without any apparent harm to the consumers beyond a mere pecuniary loss.

7. In the south-west of Shantung it is principally the merchants, tradesmen, and soldiers who are addicted to the use of opium. The majority of the agricultural labourers, artisans, &c., do not consume opium in any form whatever. In the case of those who become habitual smokers, the tendency is to produce physical weakness and a general incapacity to undertake work requiring more than an ordinary amount of mental effort.

8. Abuse of alcohol is rarely met with; abuse of opium frequently.

9. A vast majority of the Chinese (Christian converts excepted) do not look upon the opium habit as degrading in any sense whatever, though from a physical and financial point of view most of them would readily acknowledge that it was injurious.

10. Yes, I have known many cases where the habit has been entirely given up and never again resumed.

11. It would have no appreciable effect at all. The Chinese would at once resort to native opium, of which considerable quantities are grown in most parts of the province.

12. I have never met a European who had contracted the habit in any form whatever. A general lack of stimulants and proper nourishing food is, I think, one of the chief reasons why Chinamen resort to opium.

13. Eight-tenths ($\frac{8}{10}$) by force of example and a certain desire to drive away "dull care," and the other two-tenths have been led to use the drug in the first instance as a means of allaying pain, cure of dysentery, coughs, &c., &c.

14. Very infrequently, and only then with an ulterior object in view.

15. I have never heard such a desire expressed.

16. Native opium is used extensively by the middle and lower classes of the people. Indian opium (as far as my experience goes) is used only by officials and men of wealth and means.

17.—(a.) Practically none. (b.) Native opium would be grown in larger quantities to meet the demand. (c.) Unable to give an opinion.

18. No. But I should imagine that it was considerable.

February 14th, 1894.

HENRY J. BROWN,
Clerk in Holy Orders,
S.P.G. Mission, Chefoo.

The Rev. Dr. CORBETT.

Cheefoo, China,
February 20, 1894.

DEAR SIR,

In reply to the questions of the Royal Commission on Opium my remarks apply solely to the Province of Shantung, where for more than 30 years I have lived and travelled extensively in almost every district.

Very truly,
HUNTER CORBETT.

1. In hundreds of villages which I have repeatedly visited no opium-smokers are found. It is in the cities and large towns, especially market towns, where men live who consume opium.

2. Many intelligent Chinese, men whom I have asked, estimate that the proportion of men who live in the cities and towns addicted to opium would probably average one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of the whole. In some places fully one-half or more are said to use opium, in others, a much smaller proportion. Women, as a class, do not consume opium. It is said that the wives of wealthy men who smoke opium frequently fall into this habit. The husbands often exhort their wives to smoke, so that their lips will be closed to all upbraiding. Widows in wealthy homes are said to frequently indulge in opium. Children of 14 years and upwards reared in the homes of opium-smokers are found smokers, but their number is limited.

3. Moral, social, and physical degradation undoubtedly follows in the wake of the habitual use of opium. The most common answer given by the Chinese may be summed up as follows:—

Moral.—The first effect is to destroy or deaden conscience. Opium-smokers are regarded by the people generally as depraved and capable of doing things which are only done by men who have lost the sense of shame. Second. Makes men inefficient and lazy. Third. When resources fail they become thieves and vagabonds. It is a common saying that no thieves are found who do not use opium.

Physically.—Muleteers, boatmen, farmers, and coolies and others who daily use opium do not have the power of endurance nor the strength of will possessed by others. They are rejected rather than sought for by employers. After a few years of even moderate use, most become more or less emaciated and have a sickly and unnatural appearance. Hollow eyes, smokers' cheeks, and an indescribable stare are the sure signs of a victim. A few days ago a Chinese friend of mine, a prominent business man at Chefoo, received a proposal to betroth his daughter to the son of a wealthy man of good family but an opium-smoker. The reply was emphatically no. He did not wish to be related to an opium-smoker. I know of no parents who have their daughters' welfare at heart who would willingly betroth their daughters to young men of whatever position if given to the opium habit. All agree that the use of Indian-grown opium is more powerful in its effects than the native-grown. I have heard the statement made that it is regarded as less difficult to break off the smoking of five years of native opium than it is of only three years' smoking of the Indian.

4. Chiefly smoke. Those who are pressed for time or wish to keep the fact concealed eat opium. A few are said to drink a decoction of opium. Smoking is said to be less trying on the constitution than taking it in any other form. The ashes used by the poor is regarded as the worst of all.

5. The general verdict is that opium used even in moderation has a demoralising influence, weakens the will, and makes men less capable of enduring fatigue. I have found no one who had used opium for years claiming that he had sustained no injury. The "opium sots" all seem to die early. I have personally met large numbers of opium-smokers, but not one who had reached the age of 70.

6. The rule is said to be to gradually increase the quantity year by year, and not to diminish it until poverty compels. It is said that many do not increase the quantity smoked, but in addition to this extra opium is eaten to satisfy the growing appetite. Upon repeated inquiry I have not been able to hear of any who have smoked opium for years without injury to themselves. Twenty-five years ago I made the acquaintance of a young man living at a village 30 miles south of Chefoo. He was a man of education and

owned more than two hundred Chinese acres of land and good buildings. Last October I visited again the same village and found this man ragged, emaciated, and more corpse-like than alive in appearance. The reason for this was that both he and his wife are opium-smokers, and have sold, little by little, all that they owned and now are on the verge of starvation. They were trying to sell their daughter. The neighbours all seemed to fear him, saying he would falsely accuse or do anything to gain an advantage. A Tavish priest from whom I rented a building, and for more than 20 years paid him rent, fell into the habit of opium-smoking and increased the amount until, the last time I talked with him, he told me that a Chinese ounce per day was barely enough. He died last year under 60 years of age. Some years ago I was asked to perform a marriage ceremony for a man the name of "Li." After a few years he became such a slave to opium that no one would employ him. He spent all that he owned, then pawned his clothing, and later stole his wife's clothing and pawned it, and still later, sold his wife to a soldier and disappeared and no one here knows whether he is living or dead.

7. No, not a majority. I have heard one-tenth or more mentioned as the probable number of labourers who use opium. A larger proportion of merchants are said to use it. The general effect, as expressed by an educated man is: 1st, leads rapidly to poverty; 2nd, to theft; 3rd, to selling wives and children; 4th, a dishonoured death. Twenty years ago I employed a master workman, the name of Li, to build a house. He proved to be a good workman, and gave satisfaction. A few years later he had, through the use of opium, become so unreliable and lazy that I could no longer employ him. The last I heard of him was that he had abandoned work and opened a little opium den. Dr. Nevins employed a mason who did his work faithfully until the opium habit grew and so demoralised him that he could no longer employ him. A man named Yuen in the "Chi mo" district supported himself by selling medicine until opium demoralised him. He squandered more than fifty acres of land owned by the family and died a miserable death about five years ago. His father, now 75 years of age, is paralysed and supported by friends. Poverty overtook him solely in consequence of the doings of his profligate and unmanageable son. A Mrs. Lin, a member of our Church, states that when she married her husband, he owned land and they had abundance. After he became an opium-smoker he ceased to work and soon squandered all his property. When he could not purchase opium he acted like a madman. He would beat his wife and treat his children with the greatest cruelty. When he died his wife said she had no tears to shed for him. These are but samples of many cases known to me. Five days ago, in the village of Hai Yang, in sight of my door, an opium-smoker sold his wife, who was seized and forcibly carried away.

8. Comparatively few die in this province from the excessive use of alcohol, but great numbers die from the use and abuse of opium.

9. All classes unite in the condemnation of the injurious and degrading effects of opium-smoking. Nothing seems so powerful in destroying self-respect and paralysing industry as the opium habit. An opium-smoking son is a curse dreaded and universally detested. All say that when men are unable to get alcohol they can still live, but the confirmed opium-smoker cannot live without it.

10. Yes, possibly, one in a thousand breaks the habit permanently. Sin Shutang, now 75 years of age, ceased nearly 30 years ago, after many years of smoking. He has told me that he has only heard of one other case of permanent cure.

11. The general opinion among the Chinese seems to be that if the supply of the Indian opium were to be cut off, smokers would be compelled to resort to Chinese-grown opium. Alcohol does not seem to be regarded as a substitute for opium.

12. No. Europeans are not charmed with the sleepy and death-like habits of the opium-smokers.

13. Dr. Ting She Hao, a scholarly man of much experience, says the chief causes which lead to opium-smoking are:—

1. To relieve pain, as in head-ache, bowel trouble, &c.
2. To relieve sorrow, worry, and disappointment.
3. In sport. When men meet socially they challenge one another to try the effect of opium.

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4. At feasts and the reception of guests. The custom prevails of always offering opium to guests, and it is generally easier to take a smoke than to decline.
5. Wicked men who frequent brothels become an easy prey, as opium dens and brothels are closely connected, and often in the same buildings.

Dr. Ting's experience is that opium is not a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria, nor is so regarded by the people generally. Dr. Ting says opium-smokers are less liable to suffer from diarrhoea and dysentery in the early years of smoking. If, however, an opium-smoker is taken with either fever, cholera, or dysentery, it generally proves fatal, as the system has become weakened, and medicine will not act as it does upon others.

14. Many make the attempt, though generally unsuccessful, to get free of the opium habit. This would seem to imply that men are often sincere when they say they wish to be cured of opium. Most, however, seem to have no desire to throw off the habit until poverty and ruin overtake them. The earnest pleading of impoverished, emaciated, and corpse-like men for relief, which I have often heard, would surely move the hardest heart to pity. Eight young men of fine talent and education have within the past three years been members of our normal school. They seemed to sincerely desire to get free of their accursed taste for opium. After months of struggle they one by one climbed the wall at different times, and in the night went in search of opium. We were compelled to dismiss them, anxious as we were to help them to escape the thralldom.

Within the past two or three years a benevolent society at Chefoo has been in the habit of receiving bands of from 15 to 20 opium-smokers, who said they wished to be cured, and giving them free medical attendance and good food until the intense craving for opium subsides. They are then dismissed, and others taken in their place. Thus a large number have received special help, and thought they were cured. A few days ago the head men of this society told us that investigation had shown that all, so far as they could learn, had fallen into the old habit, and seemed more hopeless than before. The leaders of the society are now seriously considering whether it would not be best to abandon this branch of their work and apply the money to something else. This society is purely Chinese, and in no way connected with the Christian Church or with foreigners.

15. The vast majority of the Chinese would hail with joy the news that England should no longer allow opium to be exported from India. Many thoughtful men who sincerely desire the best interests of their countrymen say that, so long as opium is allowed to be imported, it is useless for the Chinese Government to attempt to check or even control it, but if the entire control were in the hands of the Chinese the eradication of this evil is still possible.

16. The official class, and the people of wealth and leisure, are said to be most addicted to this vice. Large numbers of the coolie class have become victims. The latter class are able only to use the ashes alone, or mixed with varying proportions of the fresh drug. The wealthy are said to use the Indian opium, while others use a mixture of Indian and native, or the native exclusively.

17. I am unable to give even a conjecture. It is said that the Government receives no revenue from the opium which is grown and consumed within the province.

18. Nothing reliable. I have heard natives estimate that probably one hsien or county in a hundred is given to the cultivation of opium.

19. I can give no date.

20. Suicides by swallowing opium, now so easily obtained, have become painfully common, and are said to be yearly on the increase. Again and again have I been called to try to save men in the agonies of death. The use of opium is steadily increasing, and at the inns and elsewhere openly smoked, in striking contrast to the secrecy of early years. It is said that but few children are born in homes where the opium habit has become masterful. Children brought up in opium-smoking homes seem to become easy victims. In one wealthy family known to me, five sons are following in their father's footsteps, and leaving their aged and widowed mother to mourn and do her utmost to save her property. The impoverished opium-smokers usually

die in hopelessness and agony. The families of such are reduced to destitution and misery—daughters sold into slavery or shame. Not a word is ever heard spoken in favour of the use, which always ends in abuse, of opium. All feel that the trade in opium is a monstrous wrong, and the curse of China.

The Rev. Y. McMULLAN.

1. Opium is extensively used in the Province of Szechwan, but not so largely in Shantung.

2. In Chefoo I would think of the males 30 to 40 per cent. use opium. My knowledge does not extend to children, but I know some women smoke. Country (Shantung promontory), about 10 per cent. of the men smoke opium.

Opium dens abound in the back streets of Chefoo, and many of the villages have now opium dens. Szechwan, 60 to 80 per cent. of the men smoke.

3. Those who use opium become deceitful and unpendable. The injurious effects of opium on the body are more rapid and severe in the case of the poor than the rich. The use of opium often causes trouble and division in families.

The Indian drug is, more powerful and the effects more injurious than the native drug.

4. I believe opium is principally smoked, but many take it in the form of pills, because they could not hold their positions if known to be opium-consumers.

6. I think it is almost impossible to use opium without gradually increasing the quantity, and eventually becoming a slave to the habit. On the other hand there are some who have consumed opium for years without much evident physical injury.

9. The habit of using opium is universally condemned by the Chinese.

10. A great many try to break off the habit of opium-smoking, but few are permanently successful.

13. Often by young men as an amusement, from idle curiosity, or through the influence of companions. Sometimes as a cure or supposed cure for some ailment.

14. Opium-smokers, especially those who have been long slaves to the drug, are frequently anxious to get free from the habit.

16. In West China only native opium is consumed. I believe it is frequently mixed in this district.

17.—(a.) It would now be difficult for the Chinese Government to stop the consumption of opium.

(b.) It is said that cultivation of the native drug would be restricted if the importation of the foreign drug was stopped.

18. I think opium is hardly, if at all, cultivated in this part of Shantung. It is said to be cultivated further west in the province.

Opium is cultivated extensively in the portions of Western China with which I am acquainted, viz., Southern Shensi, Szechwan, and Yunnan.

Chefoo, February 15, 1894.

P.S.—I noticed the following after writing replies to queries.

(By a literary man in Ninghai.)

In Ninghai 15 per cent. of the men smoke. In the country 2 or 3 per cent.

The proportion of women is much smaller.

There are probably 60 or 70 opium dens in Ninghai; 25 years ago there were not 10.

Nearly all the officials and their underlings take opium.

Indian opium can be smoked 5 or 6 times.

Native " " 3 or 4 " (at most).

Opium-smoking injures the poorer classes much more than the rich, the reason the natives give is that the rich only smoke the drug once, whereas the poor smoke the ashes.

Rev. C. W. MATEER, of Tengchow, Province of Shantung.

The answers have reference to the immediate district with which the writer is acquainted, but are probably equally applicable to the Province of Shantung.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by all classes.
2. About one-fifth of the adult males smoke opium, and probably about one-fiftieth of the women.
3. The effect is bad and only bad, both physically and morally. It goes hand in hand with other vices, and is most used by the worst men in the community. It gives strength for a spurt, but unfits men for continuous labour. It protects men from colds but not from dysentery, or fevers, or cholera, to which its consumers, when attacked, generally succumb. It stimulates the passions, but by and by renders both men and women impotent and sterile. It undermines the vital powers, and debauches the moral sense. The effect of the Indian opium is worse than the Chinese, because the opium is stronger.
4. Nearly all consumers smoke, a few eat it in pills, mostly such as wish to conceal the habit or quit it. When the appetite becomes insatiable they use a tincture of opium. The effect is substantially the same in each case, in proportion to the quantity.
5. None take opium without injury. About the half of those who use it do so with comparatively slight injury, and the other half with great injury, sooner or later becoming "sots."
6. Opium may, I suppose, be taken in moderation just as wine may be so taken, but not generally without some bad effect. I have known considerable numbers of men who have taken opium for many years without apparent harm being generally men who had the means of living well and pursued an active life. Opium wrecks are everywhere to be seen. I have rarely been in a crowd where I could not pick out a number whose sallow and enervated appearance marked them as victims of opium.
7. In Yaméns nearly all underlings of every class smoke opium, and of merchants nearly, if not quite, one-half. Farmers are least addicted to the habit.
8. The effect of using opium is distinctly worse on the individual than that of alcoholic drinks, but leads to fewer breaches of the peace.
9. The opium habit is universally condemned by the Chinese as both wrong morally, and injurious physically. I have never heard a Chinaman seriously attempt to defend it as a good thing. They regard it as much worse than drinking wine.
10. Of those who contract the "opium appetite," not one in a hundred is ever able to quit it, however hard he may try to do so.
11. The cutting off of Indian opium would have no appreciable effect in this region. The native article would simply be substituted for it.
12. So far as I know very few Europeans contract the opium habit. Wine and brandy suit the European temperament better. Chinese like opium, and use it because it suits their lethargic temperament.
13. A few learn to use opium by first taking it to relieve pain, but the vast majority learn it just in the same way and for the same reasons that young men in the west learn to drink. Opium is not in any proper sense a prophylactic, nor is it so regarded by the people.
14. Opium-consumers always profess to want to get free of the habit. I have never met one who did not speak thus; the subject of opium never comes up in a company of Chinamen but that someone is eagerly inquiring for some "antidote" by which he can break off the habit.
15. The responsibility for introducing opium into China and so spreading the vice of its use is universally laid at the door of foreigners, and a strong feeling of wrong everywhere exists. At the present time the Chinese are largely indifferent about foreigners bringing opium to China, as it is practically impossible to stop the production of it at home. Bringing or not bringing opium into China is purely a moral question so far as China is concerned.
- 16, 17, 18, and 19. I cannot answer.

The Rev. C. Judd.

1. Yes.
2. Fully one-half of the adult males (the natives say more) are consumers. Less than that number of adult

women, and but very few children. This applies to the town; in the country villages opium-smokers are fewer, and in some villages they will not allow an opium-smoker in the place.

3. The effects of opium-smoking are not the same on the rich as on the poorer classes. Those who can get plenty of good food may smoke for a long time with little or no apparent injury physically. On the poorer classes, poor literary men, working men, and small tradesmen, the effect is more severe, as their pale sunken cheeks, staring eyes, bloodless lips, and stooping form, all bear witness. And as the smoker must, at any cost, have his opium, his food may be hard to get with diminished means, and thus his emaciated body suffers the more. The prolonged use of opium is commonly said to decrease, or even destroy, the power of the procreation of offspring. Among the moral effects, most smokers seem to lose much of their energy of character, and become lazy, slovenly, and dirty. Those who are not compelled to work spend half the night in smoking and vice, and sleep the early half of the day. On the poorer and working classes it is worse. I know personally of many cases where the man cannot go without his opium for himself, and buys the best food he can to support his emaciated body, leaving wife and children to beg or starve. In not a few cases he earns little, if any, more than enough for his opium, and eats the food, which his wife and children must beg, which, failing to do, they get beaten. Having smoked for some time, the drug is no longer a luxury only, but a necessity, without which he must suffer severely. I have myself seen a poor beggar in such pain for want of his opium, which he had no longer the means to procure, that I gave him money to get it rather than see him suffer. Another young man who had come to beggary at not more than nineteen years of age, through opium, I took into my house, giving him good food and all he needed but the opium; the next day but one he ran away, unable to bear the pain caused by the privation from the drug. The smoker of opium when he has no money steals almost of necessity. One of its moral and social evils is that in many cases harlots and opium are supplied in the same shop. One may ask, does this coupling of vices bear any relation to the State regulation of opium and immorality by the Indian Government? I do not know if there be any difference between Indian and Chinese grown opium in its effects.

4. In my neighbourhood (Ning-hai-chow) it is chiefly smoked. When too poor to buy the drug, they swallow the dregs, which are easily procured. It is said to be harder to give up the taking of the dregs than the purer opium.

5. The proportion of those who smoke opium:—

- (i.) Without injury—very small in this neighbourhood.
 - (ii.) With slight injury—many.
 - (iii.) With great injury—many more.
6. It is difficult to speak of "moderation" in the use of a drug that must be increased in order to keep up its effect.

The cases of smoking opium for years "without injury" are said to exist and doubtless do so with some degree of qualification. The cases of "great injury" known to me personally are too numerous to mention. I will mention two.

- (i.) A literary man, Mr. K'ü, formerly in my employ, had very good abilities as a teacher, but lost his situation with natives several times on account of his opium. He at last came down to beg from me food given to the common beggars, and clothing to save his being actually frozen. At the same time his family were in fairly good circumstances, but dare not allow him to come home lest he should ruin them all. His sunken cheeks, and stooping gait are a great contrast to his healthy appearance only a year or so before. He owns that opium is the cause.
- (ii.) Another literary man, named Wang, of excellent abilities, a teacher to a missionary friend, through the use of opium became unable to attend to his duties, his increase of salary only helped to hasten his moral and physical ruin, and hence he soon lost his position and was despised by his family, going about in rags. I have seen several cases of men once much better off so reduced by opium as to die on the streets, or outside the city walls, outcasts even from former friends and relatives.

7. Many coolies on the streets take opium, and a good number of the artisans; but tradespeople, even when

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they themselves consume it, will rarely retain a smoker in their employ, on account of the great temptation to steal in order to satisfy the opium crave. No one cares to employ a known opium-smoker as artisan, because, however urgent his business, he must stop to smoke at or near the usual time for the crave to return. Some, however, carry with them small pills of opium to take at such time, and tide over the trouble. The worst opium-smokers are usually found in the Yamens, where they have plenty of leisure. Many cases of men turned away for opium-smoking might be given, both from places of business and private families.

8. Alcohol makes men more violent when taken to excess than opium does. The latter rather takes the energy out of a man. But the opium takes more hold of the man, and if the supply stops, without other aid he suffers severely; that is, when he has taken it long enough (say, a few months in some cases) to establish the "ying" or craving.

9. During 25 years in China I have always heard the Chinese speak of the opium habit as degrading and injurious in the extreme, and it is constantly thrown in our face that our country sends it here.

They speak of excess in alcohol as bad; but I rarely, if ever, hear them speak of opium being anything but bad, except as used medicinally.

10. Many opium-smokers temporarily cure themselves of the habit by taking medicines for the purpose. But, unless they become converted to God and thus receive the Saviour's help, about 80 or 90 per cent. are said to revert to it before long. Of those who become Christians probably not more than 3 per cent. return to the drug. This is corroborated by some who have had much to do with opium refuges.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, I think most of the smokers would turn to native-grown opium.

12. I have not heard of many Europeans taking to opium in China, and only recently I hear it is being taken to by many in London, but know nothing of this personally.

13. I think there is little doubt but that the majority begin with the drug for various diseases—toothache, rheumatism, and other pains, and not being under good medical care, are not able to leave it off. I know of many such cases; but among many tradespeople it has become common to offer opium, instead of merely tobacco, to their friends, and thus the taste for it is rapidly spreading.

14. Large numbers of consumers desire to get free: (i.) because they find the expense too great; (ii.) because they frequently lose their situations on account of it; (iii.) because they are in many cases cast off by their families; (iv.) because many lose their physical strength through its use, and others become diseased in other ways, especially when they are too poor to counteract its effects by good and nourishing food.

15. There is a wish among many that England would stop the traffic, even at this late hour when it is already so deeply rooted.

16. Indian opium is consumed more in the open ports, where the people are rich, the native more in the interior. The Indian, although more expensive, is said to be better.

17. The consequences of the prohibition of the export of Indian opium:—

(a.) On the consumption of opium by the Chinese, would be to put a considerable check upon it; and at least give the Chinese Government some opportunity to restrict its use.

(b.) On the cultivation of the poppy. If the Chinese were to cultivate the poppy to any further considerable extent, there would not be land enough to grow the needful grain for food. In Shantung alone, one great reason for its present poverty is, that the land does not produce enough grain to supply its dense population. How then if they should use more land for the poppy?

(c.) On the arrangements made by the Chinese Government for raising revenue from opium, I have no decided opinion.

18. I have not sufficient knowledge to answer this question. Shan-si, Honan, Kausuh, Sze-Chuan, and Yunnan are large opium-growing provinces.

19. I do not know.

20. I would remark:—

(i.) That it is degrading the already low condition of the people wherever the opium is consumed.

(ii.) That the amount in value of the opium consumed within the walls of Ninghai city would easily support all its poor, aged, and sick, as well as blind, and this, too, in a place notoriously poor; it would also pay for the streets being kept in order and well lighted, and may other temporal blessings to them, instead of going to enrich an already wealthy country by its opium revenue.

(iii.) It keeps up a continual hatred towards British influence, which otherwise would be honoured and esteemed by the mass of Chinese people.

Whether this flood of opium already all over the Empire can now be stopped is a question not easy to answer, even should the Indian opium be stopped, but it looks very much as though it would soon destroy a large part of the population, except such as come to be delivered from its power by divine grace, and, thank God, that number is daily increasing.

I think that its influence as a hindrance to the progress of Christianity has been greatly over-estimated. Large numbers of opium-smokers turn to the Christians to get aid for their deliverance, and finding it, they become followers of Christ and faithful upright citizens. Numerous instances of these can be given.

CHAS. H. JUDD,

China Inland Mission, Ninghai Chou, Shantung.
Arrived in China, March 1868.

PAKHOI.

Her Majesty's Consulate, Pakhoi,
(China), 8th March 1894.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose, in original, my own replies, and those of a resident medical man, Dr. Horder, of the Church Missionary Society, to the enclosed questions of the Royal Commission on Opium.

On 28th February I received the questions through Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, with instructions to forward the replies which I should receive, with my own statement, within 10 days. I have, therefore, hardly had time to answer questions of such scope in a very satisfactory manner as to fulness, but have done the best I could.

I am sorry that I have only been able to obtain the answers of one person besides my own, and have to offer the following explanation:—The Commissioner of Customs, Mr. H. M. Hillier, could not undertake to give replies before receiving express permission from Sir Robert Hart, the head of the service, and the same difficulty, of course, stood in the way of obtaining replies from his subordinates, Dr. Deane, medical assistant, and Mr. Byworth, head of the out-door staff here. (All these gentlemen are British.) These are the only officials of the Chinese Government whom it could be desirable or unobjectionable to consult. As regards natives, even if a "mandarin" could have been induced to give a reply in such a short time (which is highly improbable), his reply would have been utterly unreliable, from carelessness and want of information, if given *bonâ fide*, and from intention to deceive if he had thought there was any advantage in doing so. The same objection applies in a less degree to native merchants, a far more honourable class of men albeit they are.

Here is only one European merchant, a German, and even if he were present instead of absent, he has nothing to do with the opium trade, which is passing into Chinese hands.

I have, &c.

M. F. A. FRASER,
Her Majesty's Consul.

Consul FRASER.

1. I believe that opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which I am acquainted, that is to say, that a great many Chinese smoke opium.

[But I have spent over 18 years in China (after deducting leaves of absence), and resided at 10 Treaty

ports, without being much in the homes of the Chinese; the mandarins and "gentry" have kept me at a distance as much as possible, and the other classes have not been desirous of intercourse. My experience in this respect is that of all foreigners in my position. My opportunities of gaining direct knowledge by watching the people's daily life have therefore been rare, although I have lived long in China and travelled a good deal in the interior, understand, more or less, several Chinese dialects, and read their books and newspapers.]

I think opium-smoking in China is about as common as tobacco-smoking in England.

2. I conjecture that half the adult Chinese males smoke opium. (Opinions vary greatly on this subject.)

In some places even women smoke it. At Shanghai I know that native women of loose life recline on a divan, smoking with native customers in some "opium dens," or "opium palaces"; but this is rare. In Kwangsi Province I believe that many women, and even children smoke, at least in the part between Nanning and Lungchow. Taking the whole Empire, I suppose few women, and still less children, smoke.

3. I believe, from my own observation, that opium refreshes the labouring men (the class who comes most under a European's observation), such as sedan-chair bearers, boatmen, &c., who require some stimulant, as their work is terribly hard. Unfortunately, as with wines amongst ourselves, the rich, who need stimulants least, take most, and the poor find it hard to buy enough.

I have not observed the moral and social effects, but suppose on moderate smokers these are good (if the man's health is benefited by smoking), or, at least, indifferent; on immoderate, bad.

The Chinese are in the main a homogeneous nation, and I should imagine the effects must be much the same on all, but there are also climatic and hygienic conditions in different parts of such a large country which must be factors in the question.

As to the effects of Chinese and Indian opium respectively, I gather, from what I hear, that 1 oz. of Indian goes as far as 2 oz. of Chinese. The quality of native opium has, however, greatly improved of late. The native drug is often much adulterated with various substances, but the Indian drug is often adulterated also. The two are frequently taken mixed together. [I respectfully refer to the Reports of the Imperial Chinese Customs on this subject. In the Reports for 1892 is an Index showing in what Reports it is dealt with.]

4. Smoking opium is, I believe, the usual form of taking it, but swallowing it is not unknown. The comparative effects of each method are a subject for medical testimony, and I can express no opinion.

5. I believe that of opium-consumers those who thus inflict injury on themselves are in the minority, as is the case with wine-drinkers. The time wasted is considerable, but the Chinese have few rational innocent pastimes. It is impossible to state the proportions of the classes (i.), (ii.), (iii.), with any accuracy.

6. I believe it is perfectly incorrect to say that there cannot be moderation in the consumption of opium. There can be no doubt, however, I think, that, especially with people of so little energy, force of will, moral courage, or ambition, as the average Chinese, the habit is very hard to break off when once acquired, and that a moderate use to begin with often ends in excess. [But Dr. Horder says it is easier, nevertheless, to cure a Chinaman of the habit than a European, and I may well be wrong in my opinion.]

7. I believe a considerable proportion of all these classes take opium. With the labourer, whose small means restrict him to a modicum, I believe opium is useful as a stimulant, in the absence of something better, after the excessive fatigues to which he is subjected in his calling. When the merchant takes to it, he is, I am afraid (when with means and leisure) having few rational pastimes, apt to increase the dose, and impair his efficiency, and I fear the same must be the case with the artisan, at least him who makes a good living.

In a land where the chief "moral law" enjoins the propagation of male children to carry on the feeding of the ancestral manes, and where every young man has a wife and family to support, expensive or even comfortable habits for the father often entail want on the son. (The wife and daughters are a "negligible quantity" in native eyes.)

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8. Alcohol is generally, as yet, not presented in very attractive form (in the guise of native "samschoo") in China; and I do not think much is consumed, except about China New Year, and at dinner-parties. On visits, where the European says to his friend, "have a drink," the native says, "have some tea and a pipe." A drunken Chinaman is a rare sight, a Chinaman drunk and violent rarer still. I never heard of a man drunk and violent with opium-smoking. That I conceive to be the main difference. Opium is a sedative as well as a stimulant.

[Suicide is appallingly common in China, especially among the young men and women, who are, owing to their weakness, greatly oppressed; and also in "suttee," a practice common in China and highly venerated. Opium is a very common—probably the most common—means of suicide, and this is an abuse of the drug, but hanging and drowning are also resorted to, and would be more so if opium were not procurable.]

9. I have no doubt that the habit of consuming opium is condemned as degrading and injurious, or at least as a lazy extravagant habit, by the general opinion of the Chinese, and has been so since the habit showed symptoms of becoming widely diffused, which is now probably nearly 200 years ago.*

The alcohol habit, I believe, they regard with comparative leniency; but if the immoderate use of alcohol in China were as striking an abuse as it is in the countries of northern Europe and America, they would no doubt regard it with horror. At present the wine-cup is regarded as an elegant adjunct to a feast and a source of poetic inspiration, and the poets of China have long praised it as poets have done in other countries.

10. I believe that the number of opium-consumers who break themselves of the habit is small compared with the number of those who do not do so. It is possible to break off the habit, but difficult in the extreme in many cases, which is true, I suppose, of all stimulants.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the people who consume it would, I think, take to Chinese opium (as they are doing more and more every year), and to foreign opium from other countries than India. I do not know if they would substitute tobacco or liquor; opium-consumers already consume tobacco and liquor as well as opium, I believe. The race is said to have an inclination for narcotics.

12. People of European race do not contract the opium habit in any numbers, I believe. They have other stimulants and other pastimes, and have no congenital predisposition to it. Opium-smoking is both a stimulant and a pastime for the Chinaman. I have heard of Europeans taking to it in malarious countries with a depressing routine of life, as a few French military men stationed in parts of the jungle in Tonkin or Annam. I have known other isolated instances without this particular excuse.

13. I understand that opium-consumers are often led to consume the drug habitually by once or a few times using it as a medicinal remedy; but fashion in China, and imitation, must be responsible for much. I do not know if the Chinese look on it as a prophylactic, but believe not. Here I am told by a Chinese that there exists some belief among the labourers and others who use it that it relieves difficulty of breathing. [In malarious regions there is, I believe, most resort to it; I infer, therefore, that it is held to be remedial in malaria. As I have no medical knowledge I am here expressing what is purely a conjecture.]

14. I have no doubt that persons who consume opium excessively have a desire to get rid of the habit. I do not think that those who take it in moderation, and can afford it, have this wish, at least not many of them.

15. I have, on a few rare occasions, become aware of such a wish being expressed by a few persons among the Chinese, on moral grounds. It is often expressed in the native press of Shanghai. On grounds of political economy the wish is, I believe, generally, in fact, perhaps I may say, universally entertained among the so-called educated classes; as they are in favour (if they cannot break off relations with Europeans for good and all, which they would much prefer) of increasing China's money by fostering China's export trade, and look with disfavour on the outdrain of money to buy imports.

16. I think it may be said, generally, that Indian opium, from its greater cost, is consumed by the rich,

* See "Historical Note on the Poppy in China," by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Edkins, London; P. S. King and Son, 1889.

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and Chinese opium by the poor; although owing to the improvement in the Chinese product it is now in some places taking the place of Indian in the favour of even well-to-do customers. The two are often taken mixed, both for taste and for economy.

[On these points I beg reference to Customs and Consular Reports on China.]

17.—(a.) If the export of Indian opium were prohibited or restricted, I believe the Chinese would consume as much opium as they do now, supplying the deficiency in foreign drug by Chinese and other non-Indian opium.

(b.) The production in China would increase, as the crop is, it is said, more profitable to the grower than any other.

(c.) The Chinese Government would probably, finding the revenue from Indian opium diminished, take more stringent steps to diminish the smuggling of native opium, which is carried on to an enormous extent, as is indeed also the case with Indian opium.

18. I can give no estimate of the area under the poppy in China, nor the average annual out-turn of opium. It is said to have been grown in China for 400 years past*; it is now extensively grown in Manchuria, Shantung, Kiangsu, Anhui, Chehkiang, Yunnan, Kweichow, Lzechuen, Shensi, Shansi, Kwangsi, Hupeh, and a little in Fuhkien, and is exported to Tonkin and even a little to Malaysia. Many estimates of the area and out-turn have been given, but must be largely speculative. The culture is apparently everywhere increasing; in the province in which Ningpo is (Chehkiang), it more than doubled between 1879 and 1889, according to Commissioner of Custom's Report.

19. The Revenue collected from foreign opium by the Chinese Government through the Imperial Maritime Customs is fully dealt with in the Customs Trade Returns and Reports published, in English, in China and in London, by order of Sir Robert Hart. Besides the revenues legitimately accrued by Treaty to the Central Government, the Chinese Government's Agents in the provinces (the provincial authorities) are continually striving to burden imported opium with extra charges for their own benefit.

I extract the following notes from Customs Decennial Reports, 1883-91 :—

(NATIVE OPIUM.)

In 1886 the cultivation was legalised, and a tax authorised.

At Wuhu, native opium was taxed, in 1889, Taels 20 a picul. [The tael is an ounce of silver; there are nearly 17 piculs in a ton.]

At Ningpo, same date, Taels 24 a picul.

At Tchang, in 1890, a tax-office was established (Taels 34·7 per picul); and the price of Lzechuen opium rose from Taels 190 to Taels 240 per picul, and that of Yunnan opium from Taels 266 to Taels 285 per picul.

In Fuhkien likin tax Taels 42 per picul raw native opium.

At Wuhu, in 1890, about Taels 22 per picul, tax.

At Wenchow, in 1890, about Taels 24 per picul, tax.

There are also varying transit fees from province to province.

The tax must be much smaller than that levied on Indian opium, which is Taels 110 per chest. I have no statistics of the total tax collected on native opium, nor of how much of it goes to the Central Government.

20. Opium-consumption, and particularly the evils of excess in it, if any excess there is, among the Pakhoi people, does not come conspicuously under a European's notice, if he is not a doctor. The people generally look healthy and cheerful, for Chinese, although the proportion of them who smoke opium is said to be considerable.

I have long thought that it is only in excess that opium does harm to the race, not in moderation. In watching the natives around me, in whom I take a friendly interest, I form the opinion that each of the terrible abuses, gambling, foot-laming of women, geomancy, official speculation and cruelty, slavery, superstition, and ignorance, cause far more distress than does excess in opium. To prevent them indulging in opium to excess, and to cure them of far worse faults, the moral tone and manliness, and the material prosperity of the people must be raised. This can only be done by the opening of the country to those European influences against which the mandarins and "gentry"

work with such bitter hatred and contempt, and with such methods as attacks on missionaries and Christians, and obstruction to trade, travel, residence, and intercourse of Europeans.

Pakhoi, South China,
8th March 1894.

M. F. E. FRASER,
H.B.M.'s Consul.

Dr. HORDER, Church Missionary Society, Pakhoi,
China.

1. Not to the extent it is in some other parts.
2. A small proportion of women and a few children.
3. Morally, most degrading; an opium-smoker is utterly mistrusted by his fellow men, and finds it difficult to gain employment of any kind. I refer to those who smoke large quantities.
Physically, if taken to any extent the consumer becomes a complete wreck.
Socially, he seeks no society but what he finds in the opium den.
These remarks do not refer to the consumers of small doses.
4. Smoke.
5. ———
6. There is such a thing as "moderation in the consumption of opium," but in so many cases this "moderation" quickly becomes excess.
7. "With which I am conversant?" No.
8. I cannot see what the alcohol question has to do with opium consumed by the Chinese.
9. Yes, certainly.
10. A few, but the majority seek help.
11. In my opinion these questions cannot be answered.
12. ———
- 13.—(a.) Friends, sickness.
(b.) Never heard it was in this part of China, and the Chinese do not ask for it to prevent or remove such maladies, and I should not think of prescribing opium for these diseases or as a prophylactic.
14. A large number apply for treatment.
15. I have not heard any express such a wish. Probably they have not the slightest idea here that England has anything to do with it, and to a large majority in Pakhoi "England" and "India" are utterly unknown.
16. ———
20. My wish is to see the consumption of opium by the Chinese entirely done away. It degrades the consumer, and thus far hinders the progress of mission work.

EDWARD G. HORDER,
Medical Missionary, Church Missionary
Society, Pakhoi.

South China, March 1894.

HANKOW.*

H.B.M. Consulate, Hankow,
March 6, 1894.

SIR,
In obedience to instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to forward herewith answers to the questions asked by the Royal Commission on Opium.

I have, &c.

PELHAM WARREN,
The Secretary,
Royal Commission on Opium, India. Consul.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in all parts of China with which I am acquainted.
2. I have not been sufficiently long at Hankow to offer an opinion as to the proportion of the adult males of the neighbouring districts who are consumers. In other parts of China the proportion varies very considerably. In some I have known it as high as from 70 to 80 per cent., and in those districts both women and children consume it. I have seldom heard it put lower than from 30 to 40 per cent. in any district. The consumption, as far as my experience goes, depends

* Edkins, op. cit., p. 23. See Vol. I, App.

* For other statements from Hankow, see page 264.

greatly on the climate and the nature of the occupation of the inhabitants.

3. Opium when indulged in to excess produces both moral and physical deterioration; taken in moderation it is often beneficial rather than injurious, and enables the lower classes to support hardships, undergo toil, and resist climatic influences, to which they would otherwise succumb more rapidly than they now do. I cannot say of my own knowledge whether there is any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium, but Chinese smokers have assured me that the Indian drug is less likely to do harm.

4. As a rule consumers chiefly smoke opium. I have known few cases of eating opium, save in the form of anti-opium pills, which as a rule contain morphia, or with the object of committing suicide.

5. Is a question that can only be answered by a medical man.

6 and 7. It is utterly incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have known parts of China where the climate was highly malarious in which it would not be too much to say that the whole of the labouring classes smoked. The amount daily consumed by each individual was almost infinitesimal, merely sufficient to afford one pipe taken at the end of the day's work, the cost being about the equivalent of one halfpenny. It is rare to meet any of the mercantile class who do not indulge in a pipe occasionally, but they are not on that account classed as "opium smokers," nor has it any effect on their efficiency in their calling. Of course there are exceptions to the rule. Some persons gradually increase their daily consumption until they develop into "opium sots," but such cases are far rarer than is generally imagined.

8. Is a question for a medical man.

9. I have not found as a general rule that the use of opium is condemned by the Chinese as degrading or injurious; the abuse is so condemned, and is looked upon as worse than the abuse of alcohol. Practically there is no such thing as habitual drunkenness amongst the Chinese. Men may on occasions drink to excess, but it is an exception, not a habit.

10. Opium-smokers both can and do break themselves of the habit. When very far advanced in the practice, however, they cannot break themselves of it without medical assistance.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off in this neighbourhood I should say, judging from my experience here and in other places, the result would simply be an increase in the consumption of Chinese-grown opium. The consumption of Indian opium here is very small, and is yearly becoming less, opium from Szechuan taking its place. This native-grown opium is not much inferior to Indian and is far cheaper, and though I am not in a position to speak positively as regards this district, I am distinctly of opinion that the replacing of Indian by native drug leads to an increase of the numbers of those who consume opium. I am led to this conclusion by the fact that in those ports where Persian opium has taken the place of Indian, and is used mixed with native drug, there has been, owing to the comparative cheapness of the mixture, a very marked increase both in the number of smokers and in the amount consumed by individuals. It is in these ports that the practice is extending amongst the women and children.

12. There are very few cases within my knowledge of the contraction of the opium habit by Europeans. I can only call to mind two cases.

13. Opium-consumers use the drug as a stimulant, especially the hard-worked lower classes, who also believe in it as a preventative of malarial complaints.

14. I have known several cases of "opium sots" wishing to get free of the habit, sometimes because they found it too expensive, sometimes because they felt that their excess was producing physical and moral degradation.

15. I have never myself heard a wish expressed that England should not allow opium to be exported from India. On the other hand I have seen in some ports proclamations posted by the Chinese authorities forbidding the import of native opium, on the grounds that it would check the import of Indian drug and injure the revenue collected from its taxation

It is very difficult to get at the real views of a Chinaman on the subject. He is very apt to say what he thinks will coincide with the views of his questioner.

16. Indian opium is chiefly consumed by the well-to-do classes; the poorer cannot afford it, except when mixed with native drug and other mixtures, such as sesanum cake for instance. Native opium is rapidly driving out Indian from the northern districts, and apparently the replacing of Indian by native drug throughout China is only a question of time. Where Chinese opium is easily obtainable Indian has sooner or later to give way.

17. The probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium would be:—

(a.) That the consumption of opium by the Chinese would be temporarily checked.

(b.) That the increase of poppy cultivation in China and in the production of opium would be very considerable, tending to a very large increase of the number of smokers.

(c.) That the Chinese Government, having lost the revenue they now derive from the duties on Indian opium, would be compelled to tax the native drug higher than they now do, but they could not afford to tax it so highly as to make the diminishing of the consumption more than very temporary.

18. I am unable to give any estimate as to the area now under poppy cultivation, or as to the average out-turn of opium. Any such estimate would be pure guesswork. All that is absolutely certain is that the production is daily increasing, that the out-turn is very large, as is also the consumption, and that the proportion of Indian drug to native is small and rapidly decreasing.

19. The native drug that reaches this port from up river would, if passed through the foreign customs, pay in all a duty of 60 per picul. It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty what the duty levied at the native custom houses would be. I have usually found the tariff rates in most parts of China to be about 50 dollars per picul of 133½ pounds. But the merchant as a rule makes his own terms with the native custom house, and generally succeeds in passing his opium much below tariff rates. The duty and likin on Indian opium amount to 110 Haikwan taels per picul.

20. There is no doubt that excess in opium-smoking leads to very grievous results. At the same time it is a question whether the moderate smoker does not derive a certain amount of good from his pipe. I am inclined to think that he does. In stating that I have found the average in some parts of China as high as 70 to 80 per cent.—I mean that that proportion of the people of those districts use the pipe more or less. "Opium sots" are not met with to any great extent unless sought for in opium dens or in hospitals.

(Signed) FELHAM WARREN,

H.B.M. Consulate, Hankow, Consul.
March 6, 1894.

Mr. CHARLES BEGG, of Hankow.

1. Yes.

2. Twenty per cent. of adult males consume opium in a greater or less quantity, women very rarely, children never.

3. The effects of opium depend entirely on the amount consumed. I believe the great majority obtain only the stimulant action, making them brighter and more fit to transact business, acting first as a moderate use of alcohol acts when taken with food. Once the line between moderation and excess is overstepped, then the effect, moral, social, and physical, on its consumers is merely a question of degree. Although it is known to be a cumulative drug, yet my experience leads me to believe that a very large proportion of opium-consumers do not stop over that line, but continue all their lives as moderate consumers. I have never had an applicant for cure who was able to procure his usual supply of the drug, or who desired to be cured because of the bad effects of the habit. Poverty had overtaken all, bad food and exposure had added their quota to the effects of the drug, the opium craze had long become developed, and the patient was a moral and physical wreck, unable to obtain the necessaries of life, or a supply of his loved opium. I have never been applied

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to by the friends of a consumer to undertake his cure, a rather important statement in this land of strong family ties and other relationships. Consumers in China are of the same race and not as in India, the only difference is in social position, and what effect good surroundings and a purer specimen of the drug may have as contrasted with cheap drug and bad hygiene generally. Indian opium is much more powerful than Chinese-grown, and when possible is always mixed with the latter. It would require a series of special observations to clear up this point. My opinion is it would turn out merely a question of degree.

4. Chiefly smoke. To distinguish a habitual smoker from one who drank the drug I do not think possible.

5. (i.) 88 per cent.
- (ii.) 10 per cent.
- (iii.) 2 per cent.

6. As above stated, it is my belief that moderation is not only perfectly possible, but is to a large extent the rule. Injury from opium-consuming is not visible to the ordinary observer in China; it has to be looked for most carefully till found, and yet, with the exception of the coolie class, I believe it is safe to state that every Chinaman one meets may be put in the class of moderate consumers of opium, although he may not always admit the same if asked by a foreigner—a natural enough result of the hue and cry that has been raised about the habit. If he were in the foreigner's employ he certainly would not admit it. An opium consumer suffering from the effects of it cannot escape a medical eye, yet it is a rare sight to see one when walking in the crowded streets of a Chinese town. You could certainly count on your fingers the number met during a long walk. It follows, therefore, that either the consumption of the drug is limited to those few, or that a much greater proportion of consumers than is allowed by certain writers on the subject stop short of the stage where opium becomes their curse. If one, living among them, has to hunt for a sample, it speaks volumes, considering that custom house returns will give information as to the great quantity of the drug that is imported, and that has to be added to the very rapidly-growing amount of Chinese-grown opium. If the opium habit was what it has been made out to be, one would expect to see evidence of it on every hand, and not be compelled to search very far. I personally know many Chinese who have smoked opium for years, and who are still smoking, and I would defy anyone to convict them of the habit. I have known men who smoked from time to time, and who could give it up at will, although as a medical man I have had the care also of many who were out and out "opium sots." The question of what the drug can do when abused is not in question, but my experience of 15 years leads me to believe that it can be used in moderation without injury, and that an opium sot is one who has met with monetary or other loss, and gone to excess to drown his cares, plus those on whom the drug takes hold from the beginning, as there is a chance of its doing, and then the patient proceeds from stage to stage with greater or less rapidity depending on environment. In writing an answer at such short notice, it is only possible to record the convictions forced upon one by 15 years' life and practice among them. A case illustrative of the evils of opium taken to excess can be obtained from any text-book. I have never felt it necessary to burden my note-books with them.

7. My experience is that it is the exception for the ordinary labourer to consume opium. Merchants generally do, and also well-to-do artisans. The effect on their calling depends on the quantity consumed. See answer to 5.

8. The use of opium is not in my opinion to be named in the same breath with that of alcohol, or rather I should say the abuse of either, for I doubt if the use of either can be condemned on rational grounds, whether they be taken medicinally for "the stomach's sake," or taken because they are desired and can be obtained without wronging any one. Any article of consumption beyond the bare necessities of life might as justly be condemned. The abuse of either or any cannot be too strongly condemned, but to my mind it is foolish to compare opium and alcohol except in one particular, viz., the common effect of shortening life, and depriving the patient and those depending on him or her for their means of livelihood—an equal crime and a danger to the common well-being. But take the case of moderate opium-consumers. They will tell you how they find their brains clearer to act, and themselves

stronger and in every way more fitted after their "dose," a fact confirmed by every physician, who has reason very often to be thankful for that well-known quality of the drug. Alcohol acts in the same way in moderation, only custom has ordained that it shall be a servant of our idle moments instead of a help in our labours, and the result of even moderate drinking is generally a waste of time. Alcohol also seems to derive a great deal of its attraction from numbers, "the more the merrier," and therefore to be a greater danger, in that it tends to increase its ranks. Opium, even by its bitterest enemies, is called a secret vice, but when one goes beyond these first stages and sees the opium sot quietly sleeping off the effects of his debauch, his only crime having spent the money urgently required by starving wife and children, not to speak of his own starved body, to compare him for an instant with the brute who, as he proceeds from stage to stage of intoxication, becomes more and more violent and lawless as the animal part of him gains possession, and the radius of his influence for evil merely depends on his opportunities, an animal calling for the several methods of repression, and capable of working untold harm, is simply foolish. It is rare to see a Chinaman under the influence of alcohol, although a large quantity of it is consumed, as every out-door clinic of a hospital can prove, but when seen it is the usual exhibition, and to my mind emphasises the vast difference between the drugs in their effect, either on himself or through himself on his surroundings. From a medical point of view, we have only to remember the changes brought about in the various organs from the habitual use of alcohol, changes which, once established, are incurable. To mark one great difference between the drugs, I doubt if any case of opium is incurable in the same sense, or if any permanent effect be produced upon the tissues, a most important point when dealing with the question of heredity.

9. A most difficult question to answer, from the difficulty of obtaining true answers to questions. I cannot believe that the habit of consuming opium is looked upon as degrading, seeing how common it is among the better class. The abuse of it would be as freely condemned by us, and the same remark applies to the opium habit, seeing that it is used at every dinner table in the land.

10. I have no reason to doubt statements made to me by most intelligent business men that they smoke a little, and have done so for years, and can give it up when they wish to do so. The habit or craving once formed, however, which results from the abuse of it, is beyond their control, and they have to consult their physicians. Drugs, specific of various kinds, enable many to conduct their own cure, but an "opium sot" requires to be under lock and key, just as a dipsomaniac would need to be in order to have a reasonable chance of cure.

11. The increased tax on Indian opium has resulted in a great impetus to the culture of the native drug. I doubt if anything else would take its place, and believe the only result would be more land would be devoted to the production of opium. The opportunity to abuse alcohol has existed for so long that I cannot believe it would have any influence on it, and I also doubt they would not abstain altogether.

12. No, I do not know a case, although I know of several who have "done a little smoking" from curiosity, and then given it up.

13. Most difficult to say. Opium is most justly looked upon as a most valuable medicine, and I am certain that it does act to a degree as a prophylactic against fevers, especially malaria. It is freely used for the relief of all pain, and enters very largely into the prescriptions of Chinese doctors.

14. No, except under the circumstances described in answer to Question 3.

15. I should say most certainly not, and that it is merely looked on in the light they regard the importation of edible birds' nests, and an individual question entirely as to whether the consumer takes too much.

16. The better class, well-to-do people, and the other extreme, i.e., beggars, among whom are found the bulk of the "opium sots." Native-grown opium is every year becoming a more formidable competitor to the Indian drug, due to the increased taxes levied by the Chinese authorities on the latter, but it is held to be inferior in many qualities and is never used when Indian opium can be procured.

- 17.—(a.) A temporary check on the consumption.
 (b.) A large increase of the area of cultivation.
 (c.) Additional taxes on other things, and, perhaps, on native growers.

18. No.

19. Cannot say.

20. Except to repeat that I feel certain a great deal too much has been made of the subject, and that it is anything but the crying evil it is said to be; otherwise the effects of it would be more noticeable. An evil that requires to be sought after is a very different thing from one that cries out for notice at every street corner. That opium is abused no sensible man will deny, but that it is abused to anything approaching the way alcohol is in our own country I cannot deny too strongly. Remembering this, those who do not live in China can form a true idea on the subject.

(Signed) CHARLES BEGG, M.B.C.M.

Mr. J. ARCHIBALD.

The parts of China with which I am acquainted are the central provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi, with adjacent parts of the provinces of Honan and Nganhui. It has been my business for the last 17 years to travel in these regions in the service of the National Bible Society of Scotland, and I thus know them intimately.

1. In every place where I have been opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese, as is proved by the fact that, wherever shops of any kind are to be found, the opium den is sure to be amongst them. Everywhere it is just as easy to obtain opium as to procure a meal, and often more so.

2. It is impossible to give per-centages of smokers. In some districts the whole of the adult male population seems to have contracted the habit, while in others the chief support of the dens is derived from travellers. Generally, in these regions, women and children do not use the drug. Those who chiefly do so belong to the two extremes of society, that is, to the well off and leisured class, and to the coolies. The Yaman people also are nearly all smokers.

3. The effect of the opium habit on the individual, the family, and the district given up to it, is, in the long run, ruin. It must be remembered that this vice seldom stands by itself, but has certain most hurtful accompaniments going along with it. Amongst the rich, these are other forms of debauchery which I need not specify; and among the poor, starvation. The opium crave is most imperious, and they sacrifice both food and clothing to satisfy it. A dozen years unrestricted indulgence in opium leaves the victim with little to boast of morally, physically, or socially.

4, 5, 6. It is quite correct to say that there can be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium, at all events by smoking, which is the method which has come under my observation. There are cases of men who, through easy circumstances and some peculiarity of temperament, have been able to carry on the habit for many years without doing themselves apparent harm. Also any number of cases occur of others who, on the other hand, are brought to ruin through opium with great rapidity. It is impossible to give per-centages, but the former seem to be few in number compared with the latter. To give particulars of cases would involve writing a book.

7. The effect of the opium habit on the efficiency of labourers, artisans, &c., is such that employers generally will not engage men addicted to it, if they can by any means get others. Personally, I have seen a good deal of how it works in connexion with boatmen, coolies, and the soldiers and police of escorts, when travelling. If there are opium-smokers amongst one's crew it means that the boat will be constantly delayed by these men making off to smoke; and if they are prevented from doing this they are simply good for nothing. It is thus necessary to have them changed the first chance. When the habit obtains amongst the coolies it means that the traveller will have no command over his party. They will obey no master but this appetite of theirs; they will start when they please and stop when they like; they will leave the baggage about in the streets unprotected, and by their disobedience and untrustworthiness constantly cause serious trouble.

It is true that these men, with the aid of opium, can carry loads and perform feats of endurance which, considering their physical condition, are simply astonishing; but deprived of the drug they have no strength at all. The official escorts, when opium-smokers, are equally unreliable. The time when their assistance would be valuable is when the traveller first arrives in a town. A few words from them then can do a great deal towards calming the excitement which generally arises among the people in these central provinces, especially in places which have not been visited by a foreigner before. But although sent by the authorities for this very purpose, the first thing the opium-smokers do is to disappear into the nearest den, and leave the traveller to fight his own battle. I have often had to "eat bitterness" from this cause.

In a sedentary life, and under circumstances where the smoker can have his opium when he likes, and work when he likes, the mischief is not so apparent; but in cases where men are called on to put forth effort at a moment's notice, to be in the hands of opium-smokers is to ensure disaster. The Chinese themselves understand this perfectly. The officers in charge of the military in active service amongst the aborigines have often told me that they would not have an opium-smoker amongst their men at any price, and sometimes had to resort to the extreme measure of taking off heads in order to put a stop to the practice.

8, 9. Although alcohol in these regions is cheap, and in constant use, the natives do not drink to excess. A drunk Chinaman is very seldom to be seen, and they would not think of comparing alcohol and opium. The people universally regard the opium habit as degrading and injurious, and none condemn it more earnestly than those addicted to it. As to alcohol, it is spoken of in the same terms as other articles of food.

10. Nearly all opium-smokers say they intend to break off the habit sometime, and a good many succeed in doing so. The sale of anti-opium medicine in the shape of pills and powders—most of them containing opium in some of its forms—comes next to the sale of the drug itself. Many leave off smoking by the aid of these, and many are cured in foreign hospitals and native refuges. Unfortunately, whenever the pinch which leads them to break off the habit ceases to be felt, they generally begin again.

11. The supply of Indian opium does not affect these regions to any appreciable extent. Smokers use the native article, and will probably continue to do so whatever becomes of the Indian drug.

12, 13. Europeans do not contract the opium habit, but why I do not know. Nor do I know why Asiatics are so liable to contract it. Some natives have told me that they began smoking in order to get relief for some ailment, but the great majority take to it because they like it, and because other smokers tempt them. I never heard of anyone who troubled his head about "prophylactics," nor does the character of the district—malarious or otherwise—seem to make the least difference.

14. See 10. No only do smokers desire to be free of the habit, but non-smokers often bind themselves to keep free. I have frequently met instances of families and clans who had undertaken to expel any member who might adopt the habit.

15. The Chinese, in the part of China with which I am acquainted, are supremely indifferent to anything England or India may do in connexion with the opium traffic or any other matter.

16. In these regions foreign opium is only consumed by wealthy traders from other provinces in the Yaman, and used for mixing. It is a mere-fraction of the total quantity consumed.

17. See 11. As far as I can judge there is no likelihood that anything the Indian Government may now do will appreciably affect for the better the opium-smoking habits of the Chinese. Nor do I think the Chinese Government, even if willing—which for revenue reasons is doubtful—could restrict the practice very much. The officials themselves, on whom it would fall to enforce the prohibitions, are the chief offenders.

18. It is doubtful if even the authorities could give an accurate estimate of the area given up to the poppy in the central provinces. I can only state that 15 years ago it was never to be seen, but now it is constantly to be met with, more especially in the districts remote from waterways, and the cultivation is rapidly extending. There is now no hindrance placed in its way by

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the officials, and as in the roadless condition of China it is the only crop which can readily stand the expense of transport to a distant market, the temptation to earn a little money by growing it is to the poor out of the way farmer, irresistible. Unfortunately, when opium begins to be grown in a locality, the use of it spreads with increasing rapidity until nearly every one has adopted the habit. Then a deterioration sets in which is visible on every hand. Instead of an industrious, healthy, happy people—exceedingly poor it may be but quite contented—the traveller finds a population of lazy, sickly, ragged loafers, with hardly a visible virtue to recommend them, and poorer even than they were before.

19. I do not know what revenue the Chinese government derives from opium, but I believe it varies in different districts. There is a special tax levied on it when growing, but not enough to discourage the cultivation. Then, taxes are levied on it at all the likin stations when in transit, but whenever these exceed the expense of carrying it over the mountains by unfrequented routes this plan is adopted, and the drug ceases to travel by the main roads. On the borders of Szchwan, both north and south of the Yang-tsze, I have met with numbers of such routes coming eastward, and with strong bands of opium coolies passing daily. The opium dens are also taxed, in regular and irregular ways, to a considerable amount, but no one can say how much.

20. The way in which the opium plague is spread through the regions with which I am familiar is as follows:—In a district where the vice is not prevalent, someone, generally a disreputable and dangerous character, sees there is money in the opium business, so for the sake of gain he starts a den. In addition to opium-smoking, women and gambling are often added to increase its attractions, and before long the establishment begins to be well patronised. Then someone else starts another, and so on it goes till the district magistrate comes down upon them and orders them to be shut up. Unfortunately, his object in so doing is generally not so much to secure the welfare of the neighbourhood as to make sure of a full share of the profits. As soon as the Yamen has reaped its harvest of presents from the keepers, the dens are all opened again and continue to remain so unmolested till something happens in connexion with them which gives the magistrate an excuse for proceeding against them afresh, after the same manner and with the same result as before.

The district takes a further downward plunge when the farmers discover that there is money to be made by poppy growing. Then it becomes an article of daily household use; then also the women learn to smoke, and may be seen blowing the fumes into the nostrils of the children. Although the opium business is thus started and carried on for gain, yet neither grower nor seller seems to thrive on it, but poverty and wretchedness sets its stamp on the whole region.

Cure for this deplorable state of matters, humanly speaking, I believe there is none. At least not till such time as the government concerned can be brought to forego their share of the profits accruing from this source. From top to bottom the love of money is the root of the whole evil; and so long as governments regard the opium traffic mainly as a desirable means of replenishing the exchequer, so long—in China at all events—will magistrates, dealers, and growers alike, see in it a promising source of income for themselves, and carefully nourish and extend it accordingly.

In the above I have endeavoured, honestly and conscientiously, to state the facts of the case as they have come under my observation.

JOHN ARCHIBALD,
Colporteur of the National Bible Society
of Scotland.

Hankow,
February 26th, 1894.

Mr. KU HUNG MING, Interpreter to the Viceroy of
Hukwang.

1. Yes.

2. I should say from 10 to 20 per cent. of the male adult population, and perhaps more in the worst districts. This is, of course, a mere conjecture, but I have observed the opium habit to be more prevalent

where the conditions of life are hard, in large towns and poverty-stricken districts, where men are overworked and insufficiently fed. (b.) The habit is not prevalent among women to any extent; and (c) among children not at all.

3. The effect "morally" is to make them capable of any meanness and crime, except those for which physical courage and animal spirits are necessary. "Physically" it takes all the stamina out of them for any sustained exertion, whether physical or mental, and "socially" it makes them unsuccessful for life; (b) opium-smokers say they require less of the foreign drug to satisfy their craving.

4. It is invariably smoked, except when so-called opium-curing pills are used.

5.—(i.) None, except perhaps in the early stage of the habit.

(ii.) and (iii.) The injury is more or less according to the quantity taken, and the length of time the habit has been acquired, as the victim is constitutionally strong or weak, and especially as he is well or insufficiently fed. Over and above the injury they do themselves it will not be out of place to call attention to the enormous amount of misery which opium smokers in China bring upon their family, women and children, who depend upon them for support.

6. Yes, if the word habitual is added. (b.) No. (c.) The end in the worst cases is suicide; at least, I have known many in all ranks of life.

7. Not the majority. The effect may be judged from the fact that anyone looking out for an employé would certainly not, unless under influence of family or other consideration, take an opium-smoker if he could engage one who does not smoke.

8. The injury would seem to be less in that opium-smokers are not liable to break out into crimes of open violence, but in reality I think it is worse in that the craving for opium is more easily acquired, and when once acquired its hold upon the victim is more tenacious. I do not think that anyone can smoke opium, in however moderate a quantity, regularly for one year, without acquiring the habit, and the habit means that its victim cannot be deprived of its use without pain and distress.

9. It is regarded as morally degrading and physically injurious, but it is ceasing to be regarded as socially degrading for men. For women it is still looked upon as socially degrading. (b) The alcohol habit is scarcely known in China.

10. I should say no, except in the early stage of the habit, say before the end of two years.

11. The effect for the moment would certainly be to make smokers take to the native drug, and where that is accessible and plentiful, as it is in the Yang-tsze districts, it would not make much difference, but in places on the coast, and especially in Canton, where consumers depend wholly or for the most part on foreign opium, it would certainly bring hardship on actual smokers for some time, until the supply of native drug could be sufficiently increased to reach them at the prices quoted for foreign opium. But as the increase of supply would take time, the non-smoking population might benefit by being deterred by the high price and difficulty of obtaining it. The eventual effect of the stoppage of the Indian trade would naturally depend upon the action taken by the Imperial Government of China.

12. Not that I know of. Flesh food, temperament, and perhaps habits of thought,* which make Europeans more liable to excesses, faults of commission, whereas Asiatics, from different modes of life and temperament, are more liable to weaknesses, faults of omission.

13.—(a.) Sensual excesses and dissipation; overwork, mental or physical, and hence broken health. Insufficient nourishment and physical weakness, and distress attendant thereon. (b.) It is so regarded as against malaria by many Chinese; it is also regarded as an aphrodisiac for heightening the power of obtaining, or rather prolonging, sensual enjoyments.

14. Yes, certainly.

15. Yes, I must confess, however, that among the scholars and officials I am acquainted with, who have expressed their interest in this subject, their views of

* Confucius said: "Extravagance leads men to sin, and thrift makes men liable to be mean, but it is better to be mean than to sin."

dealing with the opium question are either very vague or extravagant, but I must say also that I think it is the impossibility of checking or in any way controlling the Indian trade that has made many earnest and thinking statesmen in China shelve the question as one incapable of practical solution.

16, 17, 18, and 19. I do not venture to give any answers, not only because, as an official in the Government service, I do not think I am entitled to express my opinions on questions relating to the policy and revenue of the Imperial Government, but also because I have not sufficiently studied the statistics of the question to enable me to give answers of any value.

20. My last observation is this: believing as I do that, except in the few cases of men who acquire the opium habit by their own excesses, most of the opium-smokers are driven to it by the results of overwork, mental distress, and insufficiency of food. I do not think the opium question can ever be adequately solved, unless the conditions of life and society can be so made that the evils I have indicated as driving men to take refuge in opium shall cease to exist. Indeed it would be almost cruel to deprive men suffering from the ills and miseries of life of the anodyne which would seem to be provided by beneficent Nature, except for the fact that the condition of those who take refuge in opium is, I am afraid, in the end worse than if they had never taken to it.

Wuchang.
28th February 1894.

KU HUNG MING.

Rev. D. HILL and Mr. S. HODGE.

1. Yes, both in the Province of Hupeh, Central China, and in that of Shansi, North China.

2. In the large cities and along the waterways of Hupeh 25 to 30 per cent.

This estimate is based upon many inquiries amongst the natives, questioning them both in regard to the population as a whole, and also testing their estimates by further inquiries as to the prevalence of the habit in the principal classes of society; it is further confirmed by hospital statistics covering some thousands of cases.

In the hill country and villages generally the proportion is much smaller, rarely exceeding 10 per cent., and often much lower.

Women do not smoke to any large extent. Amongst the poor and working classes probably not more than 3 per cent. Amongst the official and wealthier classes the per-centage is much higher, say 20 per cent.

The seclusion of the women prevents them frequenting opium taverns, and consequently frees from temptation those whose husbands do not smoke at home. Children do not take opium. The above estimates refer entirely to the Hupeh Province, Central China.

In some cities in the Shansi Province, North China, the proportion of opium-smokers is much higher. In Tai Yuen Fu, the provincial capital, it is estimated by the natives, and personal observation would lead me to the same conclusion, that 70 per cent. of the adult male population take opium. (D. H.)

3. The moral effects are: A consciousness of wrongdoing, prostration of will-power, indolence and waste of time, deceptiveness, and, as the habit grows, hopelessness in struggling against it. Where poverty renders it difficult to provide the drug recourse is frequently had to lying and theft, and in some cases even to the sale of wife and children. The physical effects are: Impaired digestion, constipation, depraved and lessened appetite, dry skin, muscular weakness, anæmia, emaciation. At a later stage constant and uncontrollable diarrhœa (termed "opium-leaking" by the Chinese), diminished sexual appetite, and when the drug loses its power, spermatorrhœa. The social effects are: An impoverished exchequer leading in some cases to family quarrels, bankruptcy, and beggary. In commercial life it is used as a means of cultivating intercourse and entertaining purchasers, but not infrequently results in an acquirement of the "craving" (the "yin," as the Chinese term it), and such consequent expenditure of time and money as hampers or even ruins the trader. Amongst the religious classes of the country it is frowned upon and the opium-smoker is counted an unworthy member of the community, whilst the facility for suicide afforded by the unrestricted sale of the drug has rendered such cases very frequent,

(b.) The effects are the same on all the Chinese we have met with.

(c.) The Indian drug being much stronger than that produced in China, a much smaller amount—the natives say one-half the quantity—is required to satisfy the craving, but of late years Chinese opium has been much improved in quality, and the best samples approach much nearer the Indian standard.

4. They chiefly smoke, since smoking more effectually satisfies the craving, but eating also is practised, especially when business engagements do not allow time for smoking, and also when the money is insufficient to procure the amount of opium required for smoking. Some with a large "yin" (craving) do both, but smoking is preferred being the pleasanter method of consumption. We cannot recall any cases in Hupeh in which it was taken in the form of a decoction, but in Shansi opium-smokers, when reduced to the last extremity, take it in this form. We cannot distinguish the different effects of these various forms.

5. This question can only be answered in the most general terms. (i.) There are undoubtedly a few who take it without obvious injury. These are men of naturally strong constitution who have sufficient money at their disposal to enable them to obtain food, the most nutritive and easily digested. But (ii.) and (iii.) the great majority in the long run are unquestionably injured, the difference being chiefly one of time, and dependent on the above conditions. According to a native estimate 70 to 80 per cent. of those who smoke acquire the "yin" (craving), but with such varying degrees that a clear definition of an "opium sot" would be necessary before a proportion can be ventured upon.

6. If by taking opium in moderation it be meant that a man can go on smoking regularly for years without contracting the "yin" (craving), the proportion of such cases is exceedingly small, probably not more than 1 or 2 per cent. At the same time we freely admit that many cases may be met with where the drug has been indulged in for years without obvious harm, especially when accompanied with nutritive food and a strong constitution, but even in these cases, from a strictly scientific point of view, injury has been done, as is evidenced by a weakened digestion, habitual constipation, and general enfeeblement, which in time will more or less tell on the health; but where these conditions (viz., a strong constitution and good food) do not exist, deterioration is rapid.

CASES.

The following is the only case that I have met of a regular smoker who appeared to have suffered very little harm. He was 60 years old when I saw him, and had been a native policeman for 20 years. He had been a smoker for 36 years, and for the last 20 years had smoked 2½ drams of opium per day. He said he was in as good health as ever, appetite good, and bowels regular. He had 11 children, and his sexual appetite was as good as could be expected in a man of 60. He is an instance of a man fairly well to do with an exceptionally strong constitution withstanding the drug. Such cases are rare.

Cases where the drug has worked ruin are numerous. I select the following which have come under my personal notice:—

(1.) Mr. Tso, aged 42, an opium-den keeper, was left an orphan at 22, very well off. His father was in the fruit trade and had several hongts. The youth took to opium-smoking, lost all his property, and was reduced almost to beggary.

(2.) Mr. Liu Hsia Tin, aged 42, began to smoke opium when he was 20 years old, was then a well-to-do writer in the Native Customs Service and earning 10,000 cash a month. In four years time he was dismissed from his post on account of his opium habits; he then sponged on friends for some time, and finally when I saw him had been for six years helping in an opium-den, where he got his food and opium.

(3.) Mr. Hsieh, 33 years old, began to smoke at 19, was then well off, owning a boat of his own and earning about 6,000 cash a month. His boat and everything got sold for opium, his parents support his wife and children, and when I saw him he was what is technically known as an opium monkey, i.e., a man who hangs about the den preparing the opium for heavy smokers who give him one-third of all they smoke for his trouble.

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(4.) Mr. Tang, aged 36, has been a smoker 14 years; formerly was an assistant in a large oil shop earning 150,000 cash a year and his food; was dismissed for his opium habit. When I met him in the den he was both eating and smoking opium, weak and emaciated, and earning a precarious living as a small huckster of peanuts; his clothes were ragged, and his wife and children were supported by an uncle.

7. Reliable natives with whom we have conversed give the following estimates of various classes of opium-smokers, i.e., persons who have acquired the craving or yin, but does not include those who tamper with the pipe:—

Officials, 30 to 40 per cent.
 Tamun runners, 50 to 60 per cent.
 Police constables, 50 per cent.
 Tradesmen, 15 to 20 per cent.
 Artizans, 20 to 30 per cent.
 Boatmen, 30 per cent.
 Coolies, 20 per cent.

As to the effect of the habit on their efficiency in their calling see the cases given above under 2 and 6, where representatives of various classes are cited, and but one instance found where efficiency has not been impaired by the habit. Cases in proof of this might be multiplied to almost any extent.

8. Spirit-drinking, though fairly general amongst the Chinese, is not commonly carried to excess, and it is rare to meet with any serious injury from its use. A drunken man is a *rara avis*, and the social effects of drink are not marked. In a word, whilst alcohol is a weakness of the Chinese, opium is a vice.

9. It is unquestionably condemned by the Chinese both as degrading and injurious, as witness—

(i.) The popular moral literature of the Chinese sold in the form of tracts in the streets of all large cities in which opium-smoking is commonly classified with licentious gambling and gross vice.

(ii.) Official proclamations issued with a view to the suppression of the practice of opium-smoking.

(iii.) Regulations in public institutions forbidding the employment of opium-smokers.

(iv.) The fact that opium dens are rarely found in the principal streets of cities; these are almost always in the back streets; a blind is hung before the door, and in some cases the opium divan is relegated to the upper storey to be out of sight, whilst in some there will be an ordinary tradesman's shop facing the street and behind it an opium den.

Like all vice in China opium-smoking is veiled.

(v.) Opium-smokers are not admitted into the Christian Church. Should any missionary attempt the admission of an acknowledged opium-smoker and allow the habit he would have the whole body of Christians against him.

From these facts and the general testimony of the people we conclude that the national conscience unequivocally condemns the habit.

From what the mass of the Chinese know of the alcohol habit they count that of opium immeasurably worse.

10. Rarely. Cases are not infrequent in our hospitals of persons desiring to do so, and treatment, though successful for a while, is permanently so only in 25 or 30 cases out of the 100. In rare instances men have been known to break it off without medical assistance, but it is our deepening conviction that without Divine help the majority of cases do and must lapse again.

11. If the supply of opium from India ceased the Chinese opium-smoker would unquestionably resort to Chinese-grown opium, unless the most stringent measures were introduced by the Government, which is perhaps not likely.

The consumer would certainly (S. R. H.) not take to alcohol, as this would only increase the craving for opium, and therefore not meet the case.

We know of no narcotic that is likely to be substituted for opium.

12. No. Cases of European opium-smokers are extremely rare. The temptation is never presented, and the indolence of the opium-smoker is contrary to the active habits of the European, but we cannot ignore the possibility of the opium habit spreading widely in another form, say by injection or as a decoction amongst European races.

13. Opium-smokers are led to use the drug from the following causes:—

(i.) For pleasure, young men go "on the spree;" in many cases friends treat them to the pipe.

(ii.) In connexion with business negotiations.

(iii.) For the relief of pain or as treatment in illness.

I have not known opium to be a prophylactic against fever, but it is used to relieve the aches and pains of rheumatism and malaria.—S. R. H.

14. In the early stages before the "yin" or craving is fully contracted the opium-smoker is usually blinded by present pleasure and does not care to keep from the drug.

But when he does feel himself victimised by an increasingly powerful craving he usually does wish to be free, but with will-power prostrated is too languid resolutely to abandon it.

And when the sting is deep he hates the habit to which he is now a slave.

The numerous native opium-curing establishments prove the desire to be free from it which many have.

15. The mass of the people do not know that opium is exported from India, or even that there is such a country as India. The usual term by which the drug is spoken of is "yang yien," or foreign smoke, and they do not differentiate one nation from another, but they not infrequently taunt the foreign missionary with the introduction of what they deem the opium vice.

Amongst the better informed of the official classes there are men who desire the suppression of the Indian trade in opium. On the other hand there are probably some who for the sake of the revenue now derived from that source would allow it.

16, 17, 18, and 19. For replies to these inquiries see the Imperial Maritime Customs Report, Special Series, Nos. 1, 4, 9, published in Shanghai, at the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, and sold by P. S. King & Son, King Street, Westminster, S.W.

(Signed) DAVID HILL,
 Twenty-eight years missionary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and has travelled over considerable area both in the Hupeh and Shansi Provinces, living for years right amongst the people.

(Signed) SYDNEY R. HODGE, M.R.C.S.,
 L.R.C.P.

Seven years medical missionary in charge of the Wesleyan mission work in Hankow. Has personally visited some 50 opium dens of all classes in Hankow, besides his experience with opium suicides and smokers in homes, wealthy and otherwise.

THOMAS GILLISON.

1. Yes.

2. I have no data on which I can rely as giving a correct guess as to the proportion who smoke. A small proportion of women in general smoke; nearly all prostitutes smoke. Very few children smoke.

3.—(i.) Moral effect decidedly degrading, especially as it is against the moral conscience of most of the smokers. It induces much laziness also.

(ii.) Physical effect. It produces constipation, loss of appetite, sallowness, lowering of the physical tone, so that the smoker bears pain much worse than the non-smoker, and there is often in the long run loss of flesh, and in bad cases the smoker becomes extremely emaciated. I have frequently been told by smokers that they lie in bed late into the day, and do not care for their morning meal. They do not sleep well at night, and rise late in the morning.

(iii.) Social effect. I do not understand this question fully. Quarrels, wife-beatings, &c. are common in opium-smoker's homes. Indian opium is stronger than the native grown, and it takes less Indian opium to satisfy the craving than native grown, perhaps because purer, i.e. less adulterated than the Chinese drug.

4. Most commonly smoked, and much preferred taken in this way. Only swallowed when no time to smoke, or when the smoker is too poor to afford all that he would require to smoke to satisfy his craving.

I have not met with cases where drinking a decoction is resorted to. The Chinese look upon swallowing as more hurtful than smoking, and say it is more constipating.

5. This question is difficult to answer, and at best the answer would only be a guess, so I leave it unanswered.

6. In my opinion every smoker who smokes regularly, i.e., once or twice or three times per day, cannot be truly said to smoke in moderation, for he must have his pipe, and he suffers if deprived of it. There are those who at first smoke only occasionally, but not at the same time each day. Many avoid smoking at the same time each day for fear of becoming slaves to the drug, and those who have "played" longest with the pipe without becoming victims attribute their escape to their not smoking at the same time each day, nor dare they smoke every day, but must break off every now and then before it is too late, or they know they will get the craving and then will have to continue. I have known very few who have taken opium for long without harm. I remember one constable who had smoked for 30 years. He said it did him no harm. He looked well. But such cases are in my experience very exceptional. Cases of great injury are innumerable. I have seen many such, both in the hospital and the opium dens which I have visited. A man was in my house three days ago who sold his wife to buy opium. I have known him for years. In fact he does not disguise the fact, but is very sorry for it. He has lost a good situation through it, and is now almost reduced to beggary, and quite to rags. He came to me to beg a few cash. Did time permit I could quote many other cases noted down from visits to the opium dens of this city.

7. Not a majority of the labourers or merchants or artisans, but a majority of mandarins, police constables, and prostitutes. The effect of opium-smoking on the calling of consumers is that in the long run frequently their business or trade goes from bad to worse. Many are beggars in the street to-day, having lost their business through opium; many are in small businesses to-day that were once in large ones. One firm with which I have dealings is said to have had five large stores in Hankow, and to have lost them all but one by opium. That last house was next door to my hospital, and was lately offered for sale and a smaller place built, because money was wanted. Other cases might be given did time permit.

8. Alcohol excites, opium narcotises, and the effects correspond to the respective actions of the drugs. Opium brings a man to rags, through laziness induced thereby, through loss of time spent in the den, and through loss of physical strength.

9. Opium-smoking is considered degrading by the Chinese. It is classified by them amongst the greatest sins, and when a person wants to say he is a good man and free from vice, he says, "I do not fornicate or gamble, I am not arrogant and proud, and do not smoke opium." I asked a denkeeper whether he thought his trade respectable, and he said, "I have sold my 'face' to get my food." I have often asked what is the good of opium, and have got the reply, "No good, only evil." We are taunted with having brought the drug to China. It is called "foreign smoke."

10. Comparatively few smokers are able to break themselves of the habit, but some do. Many, in fact most of those who get cured, go back to it again. Of nine opium smokers who got cured in my hospital and presented me with an honorary tablet of thanks, eight, if not all the nine, went back, some sooner and some later. One man was cured (so-called) some six times, one four times, and so on.

11. Chinese-grown opium is largely used now, and would be still more largely used and grown.

12. Not to my knowledge. The results are produced too slowly for the energetic European. The Asiatic is more willing to give the time.

13. Some begin for pleasure, some for sickness. The latter become victims more rapidly than the former. I have not heard of opium being used in Hankow as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria. Those whom I have asked deny that it has any value as such.

14. Yes.

15. Slight wish, but much blame to us for introducing it.

16. By all classes. Indian opium is consumed here.

17. ———

18. No.

19. See Customs Reports.

20. I regard opium as one of the greatest curses that any country could be afflicted with. Its consumption is increasing rapidly in Hankow. The opium-smoker is a slave. One man whom I spoke to consumed six mace per day, two mace in the morning, two at noon, and two at night. I asked him if he were prevented from smoking in the morning by business engagements what would he do. He said, "I would get it as soon as possible." If kept from getting it till night, what would you do? Would you be content with your usual two mace at night? "No, I must have the whole six mace before I can be satisfied."

THOMAS GILLISON, M.B., C.M. (Edin.).
Resident in China for nine years, in charge of a hospital in which I have treated some 1,500 to 2,000 opium-smokers. I have also visited about 50 opium dens, and questioned about 80 of the inmates.

Hankow, China,
5th March, 1894.

FOOCHOW (Supplementary).*

H.B.M. Consulate, Foochow,
March 19, 1894.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a further series of answers to the queries from your Commission. These answers, which reached me on the 17th instant, are from Dr. J. Rigg, a devoted missionary of the Church Missionary Society. Dr. Rigg has been working for several years in an inland district of this province, and he has had abundant opportunities for observing the effects of intemperance in the use of opium among the poorer classes of Chinese.

With reference to my answer to query No. 19, I wish to add a fact which has come to my knowledge since my last letter. The fact is this: That in some districts of this province native opium is duty taxed. In the Funing Prefecture, the chief district of its production, the yearly revenue from it is stated to be above 1,000L.

I have, &c.
T. WATERS,
H.B.M. Consul.

Dr. J. RIGG.

1. It is. I am acquainted with the Fuh-ning, Fuh-chow, and Kien-ning Prefectures of the Fuh-kien Province, having worked in them as a medical missionary for over five years, speaking the dialects, and constantly in charge of opium refuges.

2. Of men in the Fuh-ning and Fuh-chow Prefectures 50 per cent.; in the Kien-ning Prefecture, 70 per cent.

I have seen only about half-a-dozen women who consumed opium and no children, neither have I heard of any children using the drug.

3. I have observed effects of opium. (a.) Moral: Idleness, dishonesty, pilfering or theft and robbery (highway robbery especially in the Kien-ning Prefecture), untrustworthiness. All Chinese are liars, but opium-smokers especially so—liars and cheats.

(b.) Physical: Rags, dirt, loss of flesh and strength and development of *facies opii* (face dusky, sclerotic dull and yellowish, cheeks sunken), sleeplessness in early part of night and drowsiness in morning, absolute dependence on the drug for fitness for daily work. Impotence, or at any rate sterility; this without question allowed by all.

(c.) Social: Domestic quarrels, anxiety of relatives regarding their future, progressive poverty. In advanced cases leading to beggary and death by the roadside of the opium-consumer.

Effects of Indian and Chinese opium the same, except that Indian opium stronger.

4. Both smoked and eaten, the richer and more leisured class smoke mostly but also eat; the poorer smoke when they can, and only eat when they cannot smoke.

The opium-eater is more difficult to cure of the habit than the opium-smoker, and more apt to relapse. All old smokers eat as well.

5.—(1.) I never saw a single Chinaman who took opium habitually without injury.

* For rest of Foochow papers see page 276.

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(2.) With slight injury; not more than 5 to 10 per cent. of consumers of the drug.

(3.) With great injury, or I should prefer to say "marked injury," 90 to 95 per cent. of consumers.

6. I think there cannot be such a thing as "moderation in the consumption of opium," except in cases of sickness, in which its temporary use would be of benefit to the disease, but dangerous in leading towards habitual use.

Among the thousands of opium-smokers and consumers I have met with (almost all habitual consumers) and dealt with, I have not known one who was not injured by the habit.

Examples of great injury:—

(a.) A boatman with a boat of his own and able to earn plenty of money, opium-smoking impoverished him; his boat when damaged could not be repaired on account of his poverty, and he lost employment, then boat was seized for debt, and he had to become an under boatman on another's boat; now employment uncertain and a day's wages needed for a day's food and opium.

(b.) A wood gatherer who ill or well, weather bad or good, is compelled to get two heavy loads of wood, sold for about 120 cash; about 80 of this goes for opium, and only remainder for rice.

(c.) A raft maker who had a widowed mother, a wife and three children, could earn about four dollars a month. Smoked and ate opium for over 10 years and brought his relatives into great poverty and distress, so that on two occasions mother and wife tried to poison themselves by swallowing a quantity of opium. Both recovered by help of native Christian (foreign-taught) doctors. The wife driven by the husband to prostitution (over a long period) to earn money to help to supply the husband's demands for opium.

The above three cases are perhaps not very striking, but are examples of what is very common. I could give hundreds of such cases.

7. The majority of opium-smokers in my districts are of the following classes somewhat in order of frequency. Field-workers, petty tradesmen, chair coolies, boatmen, especially those on smaller boats. I am not sure of the proportion of the artisans, but think it less than the other classes, decidedly less.

Effect of habit on their callings:—

Field workers: Loss of energy and industry, often leading to poverty and sale of fields.

Petty tradesmen: Loss of energy, industry and enterprise. Idleness, neglect, a tumble-along style of living, certain poverty and domestic misery.

Inkeepers: Loss of custom, inn filthy beyond custom, certain loss of trade and poverty.

Chair coolies: Never early in morning; delays at least twice or thrice a day at opium shops; a marked difference in cleanliness and dress between those who use and those who do not use opium (in favour of non-users); unmanageableness; want of staying power often leading to complete exhaustion before the end of a fair day's journey (40 to 80 li.). Extortionate demands for money—often want over a dollar a day per man (in villages). If it were possible to get non-smokers I would never employ a smoker or eater of opium.

Boatmen: Much the same as chair coolies; boats often unsafe from lack of needed repairs.

Artisans: Unless specially skilful lose their employment.

8. The use of alcohol may be called harmless comparatively. I have known of only three or four cases of injury through alcohol but of hundreds or more correctly thousands of cases of injury from opium. Wine (native) is more generally and liberally taken in China than I supposed when I first came from England, but drunkenness is rare. I now and then see cases of dyspepsia aggravated or caused by wine drinking, but these bear no comparison to the evil of opium.

9. If opium is condemned as degrading and injurious by the Chinese. I never heard one say it was a boon and I have very often asked them or said "Opium is a boon to you, is it not?" The answer is always "No, it is an injury to me."

The alcohol habit in China is of little consequence comparatively to the "opium habit" which is ruining the country.

10. They can and do, but not commonly; more often they diminish the dose to the lowest amount they can or take to morphia when they can afford it.

11. Beneficial, because a great many would be unable to obtain any opium at all, no native opium being produced in the districts (except in Fuh-Ning) and the supply of native opium from other places being very insufficient to supply all. Even though native opium were sent into the unsupplied districts there would be time before it came to cause a great many to compulsorily break off the habit, and some of them at any rate when once free would not resume its use. They would not take to alcohol or any other narcotic than opium.

12. No. Why not? They are more active mentally and have stronger motives to preserve self-respect, more social pleasures, and life is less bare and hopeless to Europeans. The Chinese have little to occupy them mentally and in their leisure time; to many of them life is a dull humdrum and they have no hope of anything after life. No fear of God or desire to attain to a high standard. The same moral causes which make Asiatics so untruthful help to make them fall into the most inviting vice.

13. Chiefly they begin by invitation of a friend or as recreation when they are at leisure or to refresh them when overtired or to cure or relieve stomach ailments or diarrhoea or dysentery. No, not prophylactic against any of the three, neither is it regarded so by the people.

14. Without exception they do but dread the suffering of giving up the habit and the difficulty of again resisting the many temptations about them.

15. There is a strong and frequently expressed wish that no opium should ever come from England (India). I have been frequently asked if opium did not come from my country, the object being to show that because I was associated with a country sending opium whatever I said about religion was unworthy of credit.

16. Chinese opium is cheaper and I believe only used by those who cannot afford Indian. In Fuh-Ning a fair amount of Chinese opium is used; about Fuh-Chow I am not so sure; in Kien Ning district very little native opium is used.

17. (a.) Very beneficial.

(b.) Increase unless stopped by Government.

(c.) I do not know.

18. I do not know.

19. Ditto.

20. Only that it is a disgrace to be associated with such a ruinous trade; ruinous that is to a people that cannot resist the temptations of the drug.

JOHN RICE, M.B., C.M. Edin.
Church Missionary Society,
Kien-Ning Fu, Foochow,
China.

KINKIANG.

Her Majesty's Consulate, Kinkiang,
11th March, 1894.

In obedience to instructions from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking under date of 29th January last, I have the honour to enclose the answers of residents at this port, including my own, to the questions regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China.

I have, &c.

GEORGE BROWN,
Consul.

Consul Brown.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese of this province, Kiangsi. In the city and suburbs of Kinkiang, with a population roughly estimated at 50,000 souls, there are 537 licensed opium divans. To these may be added 200 illicit divans, making about 730 of all classes. Less opium is consumed among agriculturists than in the towns, but many small farmers grow their own little patch of the poppy for home use.

2. Beyond a hundred or so of Europeans, among whom an opium-smoker is very rarely found, the only race living in this province is Chinese. My opinion is that about 20 per cent. of Chinese adults are consumers. Women rarely consume the drug, children never.

3. Excessive consumption of opium undoubtedly causes a deterioration of the individual, morally, physi-

cally, and socially, but I do not believe that its habitual moderate use has any bad effect. Indian opium is said by Chinese connoisseurs to be stronger than the native article, and therefore it takes less of the former to satisfy the consumer, otherwise the effects are similar. The locally-grown opium however is said to have an unpleasant flavour.

4. Consumers in this district and in China generally smoke only. I have never heard of their eating the drug or drinking a decoction of it as a habit, although these are favourite forms of suicide.

5. From personal observation, necessarily of a somewhat superficial nature, because in ordinary life it is difficult to distinguish with certainty between those who smoke and those who do not, I should say that probably 80 out of every 100 smokers suffer no injury, 16 per cent. are slightly the worse, and 4 per cent. are seriously affected in health of soul, mind, and body.

6. It is very incorrect to say that there cannot be moderation in opium-smoking. A proof of this is that though so many of the natives smoke the drug, we European residents see little or nothing of it in ordinary life, while excessive opium-smoking would, if it were largely prevalent, be constantly coming to our notice in the daily intercourse we have with servants, work-people, tradesmen, officials, and acquaintances, for opium-smoking is common to all classes. The inference, therefore, is that there are very few smokers who are immoderate consumers. If moderation were impossible then 20 per cent. of the people, according to my estimate of the proportion of smokers, would be either excessive smokers already or in process of becoming so. In that case the fact would be made patent to us at every turn; yet in China, so far from having it constantly thrust under our eyes, we ordinary residents are obliged to go out of our way to learn anything at all about opium-smoking. What the state of affairs would be if the number of smokers among the population were really as large as some estimate it, and if excessive smoking were the rule among them, is hard to contemplate.

At the present time I know of several cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves. One is an official—shrewd, bright, and industrious. He is 56 years of age, having smoked opium in moderation, as far as I can learn, for 20 years and more. He has a fresh complexion with some colour in his cheeks, a sparkling eye, and well nourished body. He looks scarcely 40. Another is a clerk in constant employment. He is about 40 years of age, and has smoked opium for over 10 years. Although for a time I was in daily contact with him I should never have judged that he smoked had not the faint unpleasant odour of the drug in his clothes occasionally betrayed the fact and excited my curiosity on the subject. During a residence of 22 years in China I have only met one instance of an opium-smoker the ruin of whose life could clearly be set down to opium-smoking. He was a domestic servant, and for several years indulged the habit without detection. The craving, however, at last grew upon him so strongly and rapidly that he spent every available moment with his beloved pipe, and became a total wreck, utterly regardless of his duties, his personal appearance, and his family ties. Finally he took to petty stealing to supply means for his expensive indulgence, and was dismissed. When I last saw him he was living in penury. One other case I have known of an accountant whose constitution was, by common report, supposed to be prejudicially affected by the heavy indulgence in the drug, which he undoubtedly practised every night. It was, however, by no means certain that his weak health was caused by the smoking of opium. It might just as well have been set down to constitutional causes, for he was always of poor physique. In mental activity, energy of character, and capacity for work, he had few equals during the daytime, and, in these respects, was a marked contrast to one of his relations, who was engaged in the same office, and who did not smoke opium. Some years ago I personally knew two cases where opium-smoking was beneficial. Both were clerks, and suffered from serious pulmonary disease. The opium pipe acted with them as a stimulant to the flagging powers, and at the same time seemed to soothe the irritated air passages so that they were able with its help to get through a day's work and save themselves from being thrown out of employment. They were also strongly of opinion that the course of the disease itself was influenced for the better by the inhalation of the drug.

7. The smoking of opium is common among all classes in China. Probably among officials and their numberless retainers the habit would be found most prevalent. Taking the whole people the average of smokers does not, I believe, exceed 20 per cent. The general effect, whether on labourers, merchants, artisans, officials, or official followers, in their calling, is not appreciable by the ordinary unbiassed resident except in special cases. To quote from the Essay on Opium in Giles' Chinese Sketches: "In some parts of Formosa a great quantity is smoked by the well-paid chair-coolies, to enable them to perform the prodigies of endurance so often required of them. Two of these fellows will carry an ordinary Chinaman, with his box of clothes, 30 miles in from eight to ten hours on the hottest days in summer. They travel between five and six miles an hour, and on coming to a stage pass without a moment's delay to the place where food and opium are awaiting their arrival. After smoking their allowance, and snatching as much rest as the traveller will permit, they start once more upon the road, and the occupant of the chair cannot fail to perceive the lightness and elasticity of their tread as compared with the dull tired gait of half an hour before." The accuracy of this description I can bear witness to from personal experience.

Mr. Giles adds: "They die early, of course, but we have trades in civilised England in which a man 36 years of age is pointed at as a patriarch." It by no means follows that opium is responsible for the mortality. The constant rapid travelling with heavy weights in great heat for long distances would sufficiently account for it.

8. The use of alcohol in this district is not common. Its abuse is almost unknown. No comparison, therefore, is possible.

9. The opium habit is, no doubt, condemned as degrading and injurious by literate Chinese when they express an opinion on the subject, especially in conversation with Europeans. So also is Christianity, the introduction of missionaries, intercourse with Europeans, and the adoption of Western methods. Whether the professed antipathy to the drug will disappear when the home-grown article is good and plentiful enough to stop the import from India is very questionable. In some instances the expression of condemnation is doubtless sincere, but I have never heard of the Chinese starting an anti-opium society or giving any practical shape to the sentiment they profess. Most women would condemn it, because in the case of limited incomes it undoubtedly lessens the sum available for household expenses. The lower classes of Chinese are, I believe, quite indifferent on the subject.

10. I have no personal knowledge on this point.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off opium consumers would fly to the native article, which would instantly rise in value. The increased demand for the latter would stimulate the growth of the poppy not only in this district but throughout China. A smaller area of land would consequently be available for the growth of rice and agricultural produce, and the direct result would be that the cost of living would be considerably increased for the people. In course of time, as the supply over-passed the demand, its price would fall, and with cheapness its use would become more common.

12. Europeans in China rarely contract the habit of opium-smoking. The European lives more in public, is more inclined to take his pleasure in active exertion or excitement. The Oriental loves privacy and seclusion, as witness the way in which his dwelling is closed on the side of the street or thoroughfare; he is also inclined to indolence and quietude, all of which are necessary for the proper enjoyment of the opium pipe. It is a matter of temperament.

13. Some opium-smokers have been led to use the drug by the advice of friends or physicians to alleviate the severity of chest troubles or painful affections. In ordinary cases the habit has been probably acquired from curiosity, imitation, or persuasion, just as is the habit of tobacco-smoking. I have no knowledge of the value of opium as a prophylactic. In some parts of China where I have been stationed the inhabitants have largely regarded it as a prophylactic against malaria.

14. I have never heard the wish expressed. Opium-smoking, except in very rare cases, could be given up with little more difficulty than tobacco-smoking.

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15. Not to my knowledge, except amongst the official class, by whom such wishes are apt to be put forward as political makeweights.

16. Indian opium is consumed by all classes in China, but chiefly by the official and mercantile classes. It is said to be much more palatable than the native article, which is also regarded with prejudice in some districts because it is supposed to produce skin eruptions. The Indian drug is more expensive, and therefore the opium divans, to obtain greater profit, often substitute the native for it, their customers being for the most part of the lower classes, who do not readily distinguish the difference.

17.—(a.) Restricting the supply of Indian opium will not diminish opium-smoking among the Chinese. On the contrary, for the reasons given in answer to Question 11, a speedy increase might be looked for.

(b.) The cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium in China would receive a great stimulus.

(c.) The Chinese Government would probably make some effort to reorganise their system for the collection of internal duties on opium. The provincial authorities would warmly welcome the change, as now it is a great grievance with them that the whole of the revenue collected on Indian opium is accounted for by the Foreign Customs to Peking. That on native opium, of course, filters through many channels. Whatever changes the Imperial Government introduced for its own protection would certainly be so manipulated by the provincial authorities as to leave them some advantages of which they are deprived by present arrangements.

18. No. The annual out-turn in this province does not exceed 100,000 lbs. from an area of about 70 square miles partially under poppy cultivation.

19. It is impossible to say. The duty is collected by the native Custom houses and likin stations, which publish no returns. Much native opium is smuggled from place to place, and pays no duty.

(Signed) GEORGE BROWN,
H.B.M. Consul at Kinkiang.

4th March 1894.

SUB-PREFECT SHENG FU-HUAL.

1. Yes, commonly consumed.

2. Thirty per cent. of adult males are consumers. Some of the women consumers, but none of children.

3. Some of the consumers are somewhat clever. The effect of the Indian opium is much stronger than that of the Chinese.

4. Consumers do not eat opium, but have it decocted and generally smoke with a pipe.

5. Some consumers taking a small quantity of opium without any injury, while others just the opposite when taking too much.

6. Consumption of opium cannot be considered as an immoderation, unless it is being much used. Consumers do harm themselves if they smoke heartily. A greedy consumer will become very weak and feeble, and so it is of great injury.

7. Their efficiency in calling for opium is just the same as a man wants food in hunger and clothing in cold.

8. Both opium and alcohol are harmless, if people are not confined by them.

9. Great opium-smokers will hurt themselves very much. The habit of opium and alcohol are equal to each other.

10. If consumers eagerly wish to break their opium habit they can do so.

11. At present the Chinese-grown opium is sufficient for the use of consumers, and there is no heed if the supply of Indian opium be cut off. The habit of smoking Indian opium is much harder to get free than that of smoking Chinese opium.

12. Some of the Europeans do take opium, but not many, while the Asiatics getting deeper and deeper in their interest, cannot get rid of their old habit.

13. It derives from the old bad customariness to lead them to smoke opium. It appears rather cool when smoke opium in summer, and warm in winter.

14. Some desire and others not.

15. Some wish but not all.

16. Indian opium is chiefly used by the official departments, and a great quantity is to be seen in the provinces of Yunnan and Canton. Each province has its own native opium.

17.—(b.) Some Chinese consumers like to take Indian opium and reject the native drug.

(c.) The tax now levied on opium has already been raised to a high term, and cannot be considered as a light taxation.

18. ———.

19. The revenue of opium derived by the Chinese Government is hardly to be known, except by the Board of Revenue that keeps its account.

20. ———.

(Signed) SHENG FU-HUAL,
Sub-Prefect of Kinkiang, Province of Kiangsi.
7th March 1894.

Mr. SCHLEE.

1. No!

2. One in 20. Women do consume opium, but not to any great extent. Children do not that I am aware of.

3. The effects of opium morally appear to me to depend on the extent it is consumed. I cannot say that it has any special moral effect. Physically it appears to be beneficial under certain circumstances, and only detrimental when taken immoderately. Its effect then appears to be emaciation of the body, a general distaste for any exertion, bodily or mentally, and craving for more opium. Socially it has no particular effect that I have noticed. I cannot notice any difference of effect on consumers of different races. I do not know if there is any difference of the effects of Chinese and Indian grown opium.

4. My opinion is that consumers chiefly smoke opium when taking it for pleasure. The difference of effect in eating and smoking is different, and much depends on the amount taken, but I am not able to give an opinion as I have not studied it sufficiently.

5. ———.

6. I think it is certainly incorrect to say that opium cannot be taken in moderation. I think there can be as much moderation in smoking opium as in anything else. I know of as many cases where men have taken opium without harm to themselves for many years as I do of men who smoke tobacco or drink wine. I have observed that the consumption of it in immoderation always does injury in some shape or form, either physically or morally, but where taken moderately I have never known of any ill-effects.

7. A fair number of labourers, merchants, and artisans consume opium, but, taken as a whole, consume it very moderately. As regards the effect upon their calling, in the case of the labourer, I consider that the use of opium is beneficial. His work is so arduous at times, carrying heavy loads from daylight to all hours at night, that he is often so overtired and the stifling nights so unrefreshing that without his opium he could not get sufficient sleep to enable him to bear the fatigues of the day's work. The amount he takes is small but it induces sleep and soothes his overworked body. In the case of the merchant it tends to make him perhaps rather less active than he otherwise might be, but in many cases this is beneficial to him, as he often would otherwise overwork himself. It happens that they use it in immoderation, but this is when they do not use it but abuse it.

8. ———.

9. The habit of consuming opium is condemned as injurious and degrading, in the same way as the alcoholic habit is in our own country, but as with us the use and abuse are confounded. As alcohol is not condemned as injurious and degrading by those who use it with us, opium is not condemned by those who use it in China.

10. Certainly! just as much as any other person from other habits.

11. If the supply of opium were cut off I feel certain that they would resort to China-grown opium.

15. I think not.

20. With regard to opium-consumption I consider that, like wines, spirits, tobacco, and other stimulants

or sedatives, it is the abuse and not the use that harms, and further I think that the abuse of opium is not as great in China as the abuse of alcohol in European countries; that opium is a necessity to a large class of labourers, under the present amount of labour they undergo in their climate, and that if opium were not used more people would suffer from the want of it than those who at present suffer from the abuse of it.

CHAS. SCHLEE,
Of Messrs. Robert Anderson & Co.,
Tea Merchants, Kinkiang.

Rev. E. S. LITTLE.

1. Yes.

2. *Males*.—I am continually told by natives in the country where I travel and reside that at least seven-tenths smoke opium. *Women*.—Not very generally. *Children*.—Sometimes; rarely.

N.B.—Distinctions between various races are asked, but I would remark that there is only one race found in this neighbourhood—the Chinese—and it is to this race my answers refer in all cases.

3. *Moral*.—In very many cases the ruin is complete. A regular department of a number of opium dens is a brothel. But apart from this men who habitually take opium seem to lose character—they become untrustworthy, careless, more than usually dishonest and untruthful. *Physical*.—Chinese will say that they can tell by a man's face whether he be an opium-smoker or not. They are often emaciated, but whether this be due to the opium or to the fact that money which should have been used for the purchase of food has been used for opium, and hence an insufficient quantity of nourishment taken, I cannot say. Habitual opium-smokers seem unable to do a full day's work without stopping to take their regular smoke or in lieu of that an opium pill to swallow. I have frequently employed at the same time a number of men, smokers and non-smokers, and when a man has fallen out unable to keep up with the others, they have given me as an answer to my question as to the reason of his failure to keep up, "He is an opium-smoker." *Social*.—The habit is spreading and it is now quite customary to invite a guest or caller on business or otherwise to invite him to an opium couch and a smoke. I have known good men led by this practice into the habit and gradually bring moral and business ruin upon themselves.

4. They generally smoke it; I have had opium-smokers in my employ, and when the passion or craving has come upon them and they have been unable to go and get their smoke they swallow a pill which seems to satisfy the craving much in the same way as a smoke. The effect seems to be just about the same.

5. This is a difficulty question. Beyond well-to-do people I do not think there are many who take opium without injury to themselves. The tendency is to increase the quantity taken. I have met old men who have taken opium for 20 or 30 years and who seemed to be in health, but when questioned some have told me that they suffered, had disturbing dreams and restlessness at night, and were compelled to get up and take opium to quiet themselves. I am of opinion that well fed men can take opium moderately without seeming to suffer injury therefrom.

6. I think there can be moderation in opium-smoking, and I think there is in many cases.

A part of No. 5 above will answer the question as to men taking opium for a number of years without apparent injury, but a close inquiry would, I think, almost always prove some injury. I have known a number of cases of utter ruin through opium and could give 50 or more instances.

(a.) Was a well-to-do man owning land and his own house with a wife and two children. He commenced opium-smoking and soon the habit so grew upon him that he gave up everything for it. He was finally compelled to sell in turn his land, his house, and then his wife and children. The proceeds of these were all consumed, and he is now a loathsome beggar.

(b.) Was a literary man with a degree in my own employ. He was baptised by me and received into the Church. He led an exemplary life and was respected by all. During a sickness a native doctor

recommended opium-smoking. He contracted the habit, became dishonest, indeed a thief, his word could not be believed, and was not to be depended upon to do his ordinary work. Finally I was compelled to expel him from the Church and dismiss him from my employ. He finally died at an early age. His own relatives lost all respect and regard for him.

7. I think a majority* smoke opium. I know a man who had a good business, was himself a skilful mechanic and making a comfortable living, but took to opium, and has lost nearly all his trade, and only recently applied to me to find for him any, even the most menial, employment.

8. Alcohol seems to be almost without any effect beyond a temporary one, and totally different from that of opium.

9. I have spoken with thousands of people upon the subject of opium and have never found one person who did not condemn it. Often when preaching before large crowds who have not been sympathetic with my subject, and have then introduced opium-smoking, I have always secured attention and exclamations of consent when I condemned opium and stated its effects. Opium-smokers have invariably stated to me that the practice was an evil one.

Opium is condemned, and alcohol or "wine" drinking is regarded as harmless.

10. Hundreds of opium-smokers have told me they would like to break themselves of the habit, and it is the usual thing to be asked if I can cure the opium habit when I am on my journeys. Some may break themselves of the habit, and I know many purchase native drugs to assist themselves. I have known several opium smokers cured of opium, but they have always been in connexion with the Christian church or under treatment in a foreign hospital.

11. The probability is there would be no other effect than to substitute native for Indian opium.

12. I have only known one European smoke opium. I heard him strongly condemn the habit, and saw him give it up before he died.

13. They often get the habit through the social custom referred to in Answer 3. Others commence by taking it now and again for "fun," as they call it, and by degrees the habit grows upon them.

I have never known it taken as a prophylactic against these sicknesses, nor have I ever heard it referred to as any use in this connexion. It is frequently taken in lung troubles, blood spitting, and so on. Native doctors prescribe it, and many patients who have smoked opium when sick have clung to and continued the habit when the sickness has passed away.

14. I have found it so invariably, or at any rate this is the statement made to me in thousands of instances by opium-smokers themselves. I must confess I often doubt the sincerity of the statement, because I see no effort on their part to get rid of the habit. There is a universal idea that to give up the habit means serious and painful sickness and even death to the opium-smoker who should attempt it.

15. I have never heard the question discussed. I am always told when I preach that it is we foreign men who have introduced and continue to sell the drug in China, and I am frequently asked to have a pipe. Surprise is sometimes expressed when I state that I do not smoke.

16. As far as my information goes, I think it is consumed to a large extent all over China. Szchuen, Yunnan, and Hunan are, I believe, the provinces largely given to its cultivation. Here the better financial classes smoke the Indian drug, the poorer people take the native because it is cheaper. I have heard opium-smokers say they prefer the Indian drug, because it is better to smoke; I suppose they mean the taste or flavour is superior to the native.

17.—(a.) I imagine there would be no difference in the quantity consumed.

(b.) There would be a larger demand for the native drug, and I should imagine a larger area would be devoted to the cultivation of the poppy.

(c.) It is probable a heavier tax would be laid on the native cultivator and seller.

18. No.

* I cannot be certain of this; it is very difficult to obtain statistical information in China.

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19. I do not know.

20. The opium habit is growing upon the people, and in remote interior districts, even in the mountains and hills, and at solitary and lonely hamlets, opium dens are always to be found. The number of these is growing rapidly. The Christian church has a strict rule excluding opium-smokers from her pale, and it is common to expel members of the church when they contract the habit.

I have heard it stated again and again by the natives that opium is causing poverty and ruin to come upon China.

Personally I am anxious to see England's connexion with the trade cease. It will probably not cause opium-smoking to decrease, but it will wash a deep stain from our hands, and give reformers a much better opportunity for success in their efforts for the prohibition of the traffic. I regard opium, except when used medicinally, as an unmixed evil and an unspeakable hindrance to the rise and progress of the Chinese people.

E. S. LITTLE,
Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. J. JACKSON.

1. Yes.

2. It is difficult to form an opinion in the absence of statistics. I have often heard it said that one in ten of the adult male population are smokers. This is probably a low estimate. Many women smoke, but I believe few if any children. Boys in their early teens often contract the habit.

3. *Moral.*—I myself have little confidence in the integrity or honesty of a confirmed opium-smoker. The Chinese themselves regard such as being untrustworthy.

Physical.—The physical effects are very apparent in the general emaciation of the smoker. A coolie who uses opium is not equal to a non-smoker in ability to endure the hard work and continued strain. I would not set out on a long journey with an opium-smoking chair coolie.

Social.—The influence of opium-smoking on social life I regard as only evil. Opium shops are generally dens of infamy.

4. Smoke. But when unable through any circumstances to attain the regular smoke, opium pills are taken to satisfy the craving. I should think the effects are not greatly different.

5. I can give no satisfactory answer to this question. Among the wealthy and better fed classes less injury arises. I much doubt whether anyone can take opium habitually without injury.

6. I think that some take opium in moderation. I have not personally known any case of long use of opium without injury. I have known cases where great injury has been the result. A young Mr. Tsiang, a bright young fellow, educated in a mission school, took to smoking opium when about the age of 18. He was soon a beggar on the street, and died about the age of 22. A Mr. Li I have known for 11 years as a carpenter and contractor. He did well in his business, but taking to opium-smoking his business gradually declined until quite ruined, and he himself is now in such a condition physically as presages an early death.

7. I do not think that a majority use opium. Its effects upon those who do is to greatly decrease their efficiency.

8. There can be no comparison between the use of opium and alcohol in this part of China. I have known no cases where there has been a craving for alcohol at all like that for opium. The effects of the two are not comparable.

9. It is generally condemned. I never hear the use of opium commended. The use of wine is not regarded at all in the same light. An opium-smoker himself usually condemns the habit.

10. Some do break off the habit; but I am of opinion from my observation that comparatively few smokers are cured, if they have used the drug for any considerable length of time. I have seen many attempts to break off in the hospital, but of the number of those who have a real desire to be cured only a small proportion are willing to go through the ordeal. Many who profess to be cured relapse after leaving the hospital.

11. If the foreign drug were not procurable I think that the native article would be resorted to still more than at present. I fear that the cutting off of the Indian opium would have little effect in ultimately reducing the number of smokers. I do not think alcohol at all likely to take the place of opium.

12. Few Europeans resort to opium in China. So far as I know, I have known only one such case personally. The reason for this I am not able to state positively. I think it is largely a matter of temperament.

13. Many are now led to use opium in a social way. The pipe is often offered to guests in the same way that tea is offered. I believe this social use of opium is much on the increase. I do not know whether it is ever used as a prophylactic. It is often taken as a remedy for lung troubles, and I have been often told that the habit of using opium was first contracted in this way.

14. Many, indeed most that I have known profess a desire to be cured of the habit.

15. I have often heard great objection made to England's connexion with the trade. I believe that the Chinese generally regard this connexion with the Indian opium trade as discreditable to her.

16. Indian opium is consumed generally by smokers in this part of China, but more especially by the well-to-do classes. It is preferred to native opium by those who can afford it.

17. I do not think that there will be any permanent decrease in the use of opium by the cutting off of the Indian drug. I think it likely that in any case the cultivation of the poppy will increase.

20. I regard the use of opium in the Yang-tze Valley as a most serious drawback to the improvement of the condition of the people. It is the cause of great poverty and untold misery. No well-wisher of the Chinese can see without sorrow and dismay the inroads which opium is making among the people. If the habit continues to spread, I regard the Chinese race as doomed to decrepitude, there can be no hope of general social improvement or of physical and intellectual vigour among a race of opium-smokers.

JAS. JACKSON,
Kinkiang Institute, Kinkiang.

February 24, 1894.

Dr. UNDERWOOD.

1. Opium is commonly used by the Chinese in this part of China.

2. In the city of Kinkiang, about 10 per cent. of the adult males, and in the country around about 3 per cent. smoke opium daily. Less than 1 per cent. of women use the drug. These latter are usually the inmates of brothels and opium houses, though occasionally the ladies in official families smoke. Children rarely or never smoke in this part of China.

3. Amongst those who use opium to excess I have observed a moral degeneration just as complete as in the case of drunkards at home. My experience is that physically the habitual opium-smoker is weakened, and is not able to undergo an operation, or pass through a severe illness, with anything like the chances of a man who does not use the drug, or who uses it only occasionally. The social position of a heavy smoker depends on his financial position. A poor man taking the drug to excess must go down. I cannot draw a distinction between the effects on different races, nor between the effects of the Indian and Chinese grown drug.

4. Consumers here smoke the drug. I have known chair coolies, where there was no opportunity for smoking, swallow a small piece of the extract. This method of using the drug is uncommon.

5. I cannot give a direct answer to this question. My belief is that those who smoke only occasionally, in the great majority of cases they do so without injury. Very few of those who have smoked regularly for three years escape injury more or less. "Opium sores" must be a small per-centage, but I cannot even guess at their proportion.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. In Kinkiang it is quite customary for the pipe to be pro-

duced on the arrival of a guest, or other similar occasion, even in the houses of those who detest opium. A man takes a pipe at such a time, and may not again touch it for weeks. If one put the per-centage of habitual smokers at 10, the number of those who take it occasionally may be put at 50.

Of those who take the drug regularly, and have the craving for it, there are few who do not increase the quantity as time goes on. I know two men, the one a student who has smoked for nine years, and has not increased his daily consumption, and the other a caste who for 12 years has used the drug, and is much as he was when he began. On the other hand, a domestic servant whom I knew became a beggar; a second, a clerk in a yamen, got through all his means, and finally tried to sell his wife and child; and a third, a student, was when last I saw him living on money obtained by the prostitution of his wife.

7. Many labourers and artisans—but far from a majority—and of merchants only a few, smoke opium. The first two classes get very small wages, and cannot both buy opium and get good food. They must, if they lose much, by damaging their health, become inefficient. In going a long journey I would not knowingly take an opium-smoking chair coolie. He would be too apt to break down without the drug. Failure in punctuality is the usual reason for the dismissal of opium-smoking domestic servants in foreign employment. Merchants who smoke to excess become negligent of their business in the course of time.

8. Those using opium to excess in this part of China are to those using alcohol to excess as probably 300 to one. I do not remember to have seen six drunkards amongst 60,000 patients at the hospital during the past 12 years. There are habitual drunkards, though few. Crimes by violence are very rarely committed under the influence of alcohol in this neighbourhood.

9. The opium habit is condemned as degrading and injurious by the generally expressed opinion of the Chinese. The sincerity of this opinion is, in a very great number of cases, open to doubt. The opium habit is considered to be more serious than the alcohol habit.

10. Opium-smokers can and do break themselves of the habit. Few do so, and of those few many go back.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were stopped there would be an immediate increase in the consumption of native opium which is already largely used by the poorer classes. Those accustomed to the Indian drug would take to the home-grown, and not to alcohol, or some other narcotic. I do not think any would stop smoking.

12. I have known only one man in the course of 13 years' residence. The fact that opium-smoking is the vice of what he considers an inferior race would go a long way in preventing a European from smoking, and thus exposing himself to the contempt of his fellows.

13. Many are induced by social customs, others have begun by using the drug for diarrhoea, dysentery, and painful affections such as cancer. Opium is not within my knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria. It is not so regarded by the people of this part of China.

14. Some really desire to give up the habit. Many pretend to wish to get free from it.

15. Some of the best Chinese wish that there were no opium in the country, and these knew that the home opium is largely taking the place of the foreign. Many of the common people here do not know that opium is produced in China.

16. ———

17. On the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium (a) there will be no decrease in the consumption of opium in China; (b) the cultivation of the poppy will be increased in this country; and (c) the Chinese Government will more than make up for the loss of revenue from foreign opium by largely increasing the duty on the native-grown.

18. ———

19. ———

20. ———

Geo. R. UNDERWOOD, M.D.,
Kinkiang, Feb. 26th, 1894. Medical Officer.

MACAO (Supplementary).*

H.B.M. Consulate, Macao,
March 14th, 1894.

SIR,

REFERRING to my despatch of the 1st instant, I have the honour to enclose the replies kindly sent to me by Dr. Gomes da Silva, the Colonial Surgeon of this possession, by Mr. Nolasco da Silva, ex-chief interpreter to the Government here, and by Messrs. Milisch & Co., merchants of long standing in this colony.

These officials and merchants have been so long resident among the Chinese, and have reaped in their various professions so much experience, that their opinions are of great worth, especially so in the case of Mr. N. da Silva, who has gained a thorough insight into the Chinese character.

I have, &c.

H. BENCRAFT JOLY,
Vice-Consul.

P.S.—The papers are forwarded under separate cover.

Dr. JOSÉ GOMES DA SILVA (Translation).

1. Yes.

2. More than half, possibly two-thirds of the Chinese adult male population smoke opium. With women the vice is more rare, and with children exceptional.

3. The opium-smoker presents, more or less accentuated, the following physical, functional, and psychological symptoms: Emaciation, with earthy yellowness of the skin, curvation of the spinal cord, sinking of the eyes, considerable diminution of weight of body, anorexia, constipation of the bowels, impotence of the genital organs, muscular paralysis, tremulousness, abstraction, egotism, indolence. I only know the effects of opium-smoking on the Chinese inhabitants of Macao. The only opium imported and smoked in Macao is Indian.

4. The persons who have no sufficient means to purchase prepared opium make use of the residue which remains in the pipes, and mixing this with rice and forming it into a ball they masticate and wash it down with the help of tea. The wealthy people smoke the opium and sell the residue or give it to their servants. The opium-eater presents the identical symptoms as those of the smoker, more exaggerated, as his skin assumes a dark colour of a sombre yellow.

5. It is difficult to establish the proportions required. I believe, however, that the greater part of the smokers of opium in Macao belong to the number of those with whom the vice causes little harm.

6. As regards moderation, I know of a case which appears to me deserving of notice. John Situ, a Chinaman, a Catholic, and a resident of Macao, died at the age of 60. Ever since his youth he acquired the habit of smoking opium, but he only smoked on Sundays from the time he had finished hearing mass to night, getting up, after the interruptions imposed by sleep, to smoke as he woke up each time. On the return of 9 o'clock he went to sleep, and on the Monday morning he got up and proceeded to his shop (to this day a rice shop), feeling as fit for work as if he had not smoked at all. In this manner he went on during the rest of the week until the evening of the following Sunday, when he took again to smoking from the close of mass to night. He was a man healthy and robust, of a gay and communicative temperament, and he died of a disease entirely alien from the poisoning of opium. I also know of a few individuals who after smoking from the commencement of virility have been able to attain the age of 80 and 90 years.

7. In general labourers, workers in the fields, coolies, &c. only smoke after the hours of work, as they are aware that when under the effects of opium they would not be able to work.

8. The abuse in alcoholic drinks is relatively rare among the Chinese of this locality. I have not, however, at hand any facts in order to compare the effects of the use and abuse of the one and the other. The individuals who consume alcohol are exclusively to be found among the low classes, and the drinker of alcohol is, as a rule, no smoker of opium. I can, nevertheless, quote as an exception the case of a boy in my service, who, though he drank with a certain frequency, never gave up smoking opium. He stated that he had acquired the vice of drinking in order to cure himself of the habit

* For other papers from Macao see page 263.

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of smoking opium, which he considered more noxious, and that at present he finds it absolutely impossible to free himself of either of the two vices. During the day, even at dinner time, this servant attended to me with all diligence, much to my satisfaction, but at night I could not depend upon him for anything. The sole apparent effect of opium in him is tremulousness, which made him break many plates on account of a lack of firmness in the arms and hands.

9. No. The use or abuse of opium, like the use or abuse of alcohol, is not considered degrading or injurious by the Chinese. If the poor families oppose themselves generally to their head contracting either of these vices, it is principally because they know that the outlay for alcohol or opium will absorb the greater part of the common income.

10. I know only of one case well verified. Ah-on, of San-hui, a married man, not a Christian, promised to rid himself of the vice of opium-smoking if he got a son. From the age of 20 to 50 he got three daughters, during which time he continued the vice. But at 50 his wife gave birth to a son, and Ah-on at once and immediately gave up opium-smoking, though it brought him to the brink of the grave. By force of much strength of will, of an alimentation richly azotated, and of generous wines he managed to recoup himself after a period sufficiently long and painful. And he thus was able to see this child, whose birth caused him so tremendous a sacrifice, arrive to manhood.

11. The greatest peril for a smoker of opium is the sudden suppression of the vice. Admitting that they unexpectedly had to do without opium, the greater part of them would die of inertia. Others would still try the use of drugs to which they would attribute properties antagonistic to opium. But in my conviction all would have recourse to indigenous opium as soon as this drug will have been presented to them as such.

12. Of the Asiatic Portuguese (Macaists) there are many who acquire the vice of opium-smoking. Of European Portuguese I know of only one case. He was a soldier, who lived with a Chinese woman, whose brother, a native policeman, was an old smoker. Such scarcity can be explained by the fact that it is not the fashion or custom amongst us to smoke opium, such as it is with tobacco-smoking or snuff-taking. It is well known that those who begin to smoke tobacco feel some special uneasiness, and a certain intoxication accompanied with nausea, due to the nicotine. Nevertheless, the beginner, slave of the fashion or of the desire to imitate the greater number of his countrymen, succeeds at last to make his organism tolerate the nicotine, and acquires the custom of smoking tobacco. The same phenomena happens with opium-smoking, which is far from being agreeable to the beginner, so much so that it is only after some time that the smoker cannot dispense with opium. Nevertheless, opium-smokers are as abundant in China as tobacco-smokers in Europe.

13. Because it is a common custom, because it is the fashion, as I have said. I am not aware that opium is taken by Chinese as a prophylactic against any malady. I know, however, of several cases in which sick persons (such as consumptives and dyspeptics) have acquired the vice under the excuse that it was for healing purposes.

14. No, they do not think about it. They would prefer to die of hunger and inanition.

15. Only those who do not smoke would desire to see the importation of opium forbidden, as they know that opium enervates and renders useless for work, at least while the drug acts on the organism; or by those who would desire it for reasons mentioned in my answer to query No. 9.

16, 17, 18, 19, 20. As in Macao and its dependencies Indian opium is smoked exclusively and the poppy is not cultivated. I cannot answer the questions under these numbers.

JOSÉ GOMES DA SILVA,
Chief of the Health Service.

Macao, 6th March 1894.

Mr. P. DA SILVA.

1 and 2. Amongst the Chinese in Macao the vice of smoking opium is not very common. I cannot say what is the proportion between the inhabitants and

smokers, but I have seen that amongst artisans, shopkeepers, servants, workmen, and generally those that work for a living, there are few smokers; amongst the wealthy and well-to-do classes the use of opium-smoking is more general. Honest women, with rare exceptions, do not smoke, but old prostitutes generally smoke opium. Children never smoke.

3. Physical effects: The opium-smokers become emaciated, and their faces become yellow. Moral effects: In my dealings with Chinese I never met with facts that convince me that the vice of opium-smoking renders the men more immoral. Opium-smoking is expensive and repulsive to persons of clean habits, but does not seem to have any peculiar influence on morality. Some Chinese families in Macao like that their young men should take to opium-smoking in order to keep them at home, and to avoid them from going to brothels and gambling-houses. Social effects: Chinese opium-smokers are not despised by their countrymen, and do not lose influence and reputation. In business they are trusted as well as any other who does not smoke. Many merchants discuss their affairs between themselves while smoking opium.

4. In Macao there are no opium-eaters. The consumers smoke opium through the usual Chinese opium pipe.

5. Amongst the Chinese opium-smokers that I have known in Macao I believe that there are 60 per cent. that smoke it without injury, and 30 per cent. that smoke it with slight injury, and 10 per cent. that are really opium sots.

6. Amongst opium-consumers that I know to have smoked opium for a long time without harm I will mention specially two cases. The first case is of a Chinese writer that worked under me in my department. He smoked opium for more than 30 years, until he died at the old age of 60 years, but worked very well, was intelligent and clever. The other case is of a Portuguese that acted as Chinese interpreter, who is living yet. He is now 58 years old, having smoked opium for 40 years; he began when he was 18 years. He has been working and enjoying health the whole time. But I have seen also very sad cases of Chinese opium-smokers that become dissolute and died miserably.

10. I can mention a remarkable case. One Portuguese gentleman who attained great wealth, and became a nobleman, smoked opium for more than 20 years, but at last gave it up of his own free will; after that he lived for more 25 years, enjoying health, and died at the ripe age of 80 years.

12. The Portuguese population of Macao numbers 5,000 persons, and there are very few Portuguese opium-smokers; I believe their number does not exceed 10 or 12. They are held in bad repute and are considered degraded; that is the reason why everyone shuns the vice.

17. The prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium will stimulate the consumption of Chinese-grown opium, and will not abate the vice.

PEDRO M. CARCO DA SILVA.

Macao, 8th March 1894.

Mr. MILISCH.

1. Opium is pretty extensively consumed by the Chinese as I have observed during my 37 years of residence in China.

2. The greatest proportion which are consumers is amongst adult males, and to some extent women, but a very small per-centage. Children do not consume opium so far as I have observed.

3. The effects of opium morally and physically have their attendant evils; socially it is not considered degrading as all classes of people, more or less, smoke it. The effects are the same on consumers of each race, and smokers declare that Chinese-grown opium is less injurious than Indian.

4. Consumers smoke the drug.

5. As to proportions who use opium. (1.) Without injury. (2.) With slight injury. (3.) With great injury. The greatest number come under 1 and 2, while it is certain the number of smokers for whom the habit works great injury is very small indeed.

6. Moderation in the consumption of opium does exist as a great many smokers use a little daily as a stimulant, instead of alcoholic liquors. I have known smokers for years who used the drug in moderation, and it had no perceptible effect on them; but I have also seen cases where it was used in excess, causing dyspepsia and bowel complaints ending in sudden death, similar to that with people addicted to drink and use ardent spirits in excess.

7. A good many merchants, artisans, and labourers are in the habit of smoking, the effects tend to make the person indifferent to his calling.

8. The abuse of opium is predominating, as Chinese as a rule are moderate consumers of alcoholic liquors.

9. The habit of consuming opium is not condemned as degrading, and the general opinion amongst natives is that it is not so injurious as the alcohol habit.

10. Opium-smokers break themselves of the habit, but the per-centage is very small, and when cured of it resort to it again shortly after.

11. In case supplies of Indian opium were to be cut off, smokers would decidedly resort to Chinese-grown, and the deficiency would probably induce importation from Turkey and Persia in large quantities, notwithstanding Indian is preferred to both, and most general in favour.

12. People of the European race contract the habit just as well as it is known that in the United States and Australia where the prepared drug has been introduced from China, a great number of white men and women smoke it, and is spreading to an alarming extent.

13. Some consumers believe that opium-smoking acts as a medicine preventive of disease, but it is not the general opinion.

14. Only a limited number of opium-consumers themselves desire to get free of the opium habit.

15. I never heard amongst Chinese that they wish England should not allow opium to be exported from India.

16. The wealthy and good-to-do classes smoke Indian opium in the treaty ports and provinces adjacent to them, while the lower classes smoke drass opium (refuse from pipes), owing to its being cheaper than the original article.

17. Probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium.

(a.) Smokers could not do without opium, and would resort to Chinese-grown, or other foreign drug

(b.) It would stimulate the growth of the poppy, and production of opium in China, and as it is an excellent subject for taxation, growers no doubt would be induced to increase cultivation with a view of raising a larger revenue.

(c.) The opium revenue for the home product may be put down at taels 50 per picul = \$69-73—say \$70 as a pretty fair average, but there are great irregularities about the collection, and it may be less in one province and more in another.

18. The area under poppy cultivation in China must be very extensive indeed, as the plant is grown wherever it will thrive, and so far as is known in almost all the 18 provinces, as well as in Mangolia and Manchuria; however reliable statistics cannot be obtained respecting the total quantity produced, but the average annual out-turn of opium is estimated at 250,000 to 300,000 piculs.

19. The revenue derived from native-grown opium, calculated at \$70 per picul, would thus amount to \$17,500,000 to \$21,000,000 per annum.

Addenda.—If the lower estimate of production in China is taken, i.e., 250,000 piculs, and the average of 2 mace for a smoker of prepared opium daily, it would give above 3,800,000 smokers. When boiled down the raw drug loses about 30 per cent. in weight, and 250,000 piculs would produce 175,000 piculs of prepared, or 17,500,000 catties à 16 taels = 280,000,000 taels à 10 mace = 2,800,000,000 mace per annum, divided by the number of days in the year, would give per day 7,671,232 mace, and allowing 2 mace per day for an average smoker, 3,835,616 mace is the consumption daily. It is stated that the population of

u 82810.

China is above 300,000,000, but estimating it at 300,000,000, and opium-smokers at 3,835,616, the result is that 128 per cent. of the population smoke the home product.

C. MILLSCH,
Of Milisch & Co., Macao (China).
Macao, 13th March 1894.

APP. XXVI.
Ningpo.

NINGPO.

H.M. Consulate, Ningpo,
February 26, 1894.
SIR,
By direction of Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to forward herewith, in original, replies to the printed paper of questions regarding opium consumption in China, circulated by order of the Royal Commission on Opium.

I have, &c.

P. F. HAUSSER,
Acting Consul.

DR. MOLYNEUX.

1. Yes.

2. Judging by amount imported and manufactured, compared with number of adult males, the proportion in this province would be one in six, but making allowance for waste, abnormal individual expenditure, and quantity used in manufactures and medicines it would perhaps be nearer to say one adult male in every 10 consumes opium. No women (save some prostitutes) and no children use opium here.

3. Morally the effect of opium is, if used to excess, undoubtedly pernicious; it is to the Chinese almost as demoralising a drug as morphia is to people of more enlightened countries.

Physically, in moderation, I question if it be very injurious. In excess it interferes with digestion and nutrition, and undoubtedly enfeebles brain and body generally.

Socially it has the effect of making a man a careless, if not absolutely, useless member of the community if used to excess.

4. In this province smoking opium is the only form of consumption in common use.

5. Probably two-thirds of those who smoke opium do so with "slight injury," a number certainly smoke "without injury." "Opium sots" at the most do not number more than 2 per cent. of those who use the drug.

6. It is untrue to say that "there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium." There is a man of over 60 years of age in a position of trust in a public office in this town, who for many years has duly smoked the same small quantity—he himself states that he never exceeds or falls short of a fixed amount. I am assured by his employers that he is active, competent, and trustworthy. His is no isolated case; there are, I believe, numbers of men who habitually smoke a limited amount with so little visible effect that they are easily able to conceal the fact that they are familiar with the drug. An illustration of great injury is the local Chinese manufacturer of European boots. His opium habit has rendered him absolutely unreliable, and it is impossible to make use of him. His business, which should be an excellent one, is completely ruined by opium.

7. The labourers smoke very little for obvious reasons, firstly, the nature of their severe physical toil renders the drug undesirable; again, after a day's work they are generally content to sleep without narcotics; and, lastly, the cost of opium-smoking to excess is beyond the means of the average coolie. I should say the merchants smoke more than the other classes enumerated, and the artisans certainly more than the labourers.

Q q

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8. I am unfamiliar with the abuse of alcohol among the Chinese in this district; certainly it is an uncommon vice; probably the soldiers and a few men of other irregular occupations drink occasionally, but there is no comparison in the results of alcohol and opium here. I have seen no bad results from alcohol among the natives. Its use is not extensive, and its abuse distinctly rare.

9. The Chinese regard the habit of consuming opium as degrading and injurious, but I have never heard a Chinaman speak of it in stronger terms than to suggest that it was an unfortunate habit. I do not know of any total abstinence institutions, and do not believe for a moment that its suppression is a burning question with them. If Chinamen knew as much as we do of the alcohol habit they would regard the opium mischief as trivial beside alcohol.

10. I am assured that opium-smokers do break themselves of the habit. I never myself knew a case so cured. According to the missionaries (whose statistics should be received with the respect they deserve, and with the caution their natural bias compels) men are cured. Personally, I would not take the solemn affirmation of any so-called convert any more than I would believe the oath of a morphine maniac. A peculiarity of the drug is its effect on men originally truthful; on the question of cure they will lie and deceive with more than natural acumen and depravity.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, the immediate effect would naturally be a diminution in the quantity consumed until the Chinese had time to produce sufficient for the demand. The population would certainly resort to Chinese opium. The land under poppy would be vastly increased. The people would use alcohol until they could grow enough opium. Stopping Indian opium coming in would in no case lead to abstinence.

12. No. Any European known as an opium-smoker would be an object of contempt to Chinese or Europeans. Certainly Europeans do not contract the habit in number. If they do ever use the drug it is in the form of morphia (a secret habit, and one extremely common among the intelligent classes of every European city). The fact that Europeans consume alcohol is a factor against their abuse of opium. Asiatics contract the habit by heredity, and there is something more appropriate to Eastern taste in the exhilarating but soothing effects of the opium pipe than in the excitement and delirious action of alcohol.

13. By familiarity and, perhaps, also by hereditary taint. There is a strong belief that opium is a prophylactic against disease among its votaries. I am myself of opinion that it is to a certain extent prophylactic against fever and malaria. I am very certain that in medicine opium frequently prevents or cuts short a threatened catarrhal attack. The Chinese decidedly think it virtuous as a prophylactic.

14. Opium-consumers say they wish to get rid of the habit pretty much as old tobacco smokers say they wish that they had never commenced. In China the desire to leave off opium is generally based on the wish to retain the money which they have to spend to procure their gratification. It is not the smoking they wish to leave off, it is the cost they bemoan.

15. Not to my knowledge, unless it be among men who think they see their way to future successful poppy-planting locally.

17.—(a) No ultimate effect whatever. (b) Great increase of poppy cultivation and opium production in China.

20. When I first had charge of Chinese passengers at sea, the captain of the ship who had carried many thousands of Chinese through the tropics during a quarter of a century said to me, "Doctor, take a lesson from my experience, do not interfere with the opium-smoking among the Chinese forward. If you wish to have a comfortable voyage and want them to be in health, to stand the trying heat well, to be free from fever, and to be orderly, happy, and satisfied, let them smoke." I will conclude by saying that on many subsequent voyages I followed this, to me at first, curious advice, and never had reason to regret the smell of opium "between decks." To anyone

acquainted with Chinese quarters and discomforts on a tropical voyage my experience will convey more than my moral sense feels quite justified in stating.

(Signed) JOHN FRANCIS MOLYNEUX,
Surgeon to H.B.M. Consulate,
Ningpo.

Mr. MERRILL.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in Cheh-kiang province.

2. Probably about one in six of the adult males in this province consume opium. It is estimated that there are about 2,000,000 adult males in the province; the opium consumed is about 19,000 piculs, half foreign and half native; the average daily consumption, at a low estimate, for each smoker is $2\frac{1}{2}$ mace or 5.7 catties per year, so that 19,000 piculs would supply 333,333 smokers, or about one in six of the adult males. Neither women nor children consume opium to any considerable extent.

3. Opium used in excess (a) blunts the finer feelings, destroys the moral sense, kills all ambition, and prevents any effort or desire to advance; (b) it destroys the appetite for food, deranges the digestive and nervous system, wastes the tissues, emaciates the body; (c) the craving for opium becomes the controlling desire, to which daily occupation, business demands, and social and domestic obligations are subordinated. Indian and Chinese opium are commonly mixed together for smoking; in many places they are smoked separately. I do not think there is much difference in their effects. Chinese opium is said to take effect a little more quickly than Indian, and to be more liable to adulteration.

4. Opium is rarely taken otherwise than by smoking.

5. It is but a rough guess to say that of habitual opium-smokers a quarter use it without injury, half with slight injury, and a quarter with great injury.

6.—(a) It is not correct to say that there can be no such thing as moderation in opium-smoking. (b, c) I know of one case of a man over 50 years old, an official of vigorous mind and body, who has used opium moderately for several years. He shows no injury from the practice, and declares that he has no difficulty in keeping within moderate bounds. (d) I have seen, and am constantly seeing, victims of excessive indulgence, who bear the marks of the injury done them in their emaciated bodies, pallid faces, dull eyes, and listless manner.

7.—(a) Opium is not consumed by a majority of labourers, merchants, or artisans. Day labourers, having steady work, are rarely opium-smokers; labourers, whose work is not steady but casual, such as chair bearers, stevedores, &c., are apt to smoke. Amongst the mercantile classes principals rather than employees are addicted to the opium habit. (b) Opium-smokers are not generally so efficient in their callings as those who do not smoke; but moderate smokers, especially in callings where no great physical exertion is required, sometimes are not perceptibly affected as regards the efficiency of their work.

8. The abuse of alcohol is not prevalent amongst the people of this part of China.

9.—(a) The excessive consumption of opium is generally condemned by the Chinese as a degrading and injurious habit, and a moderate indulgence is held to be dangerous on account of the difficulty of avoiding a progressive increase in the quantity smoked, until it becomes excessive. (b) The excessive use of alcohol is not sufficiently common in China to invite comparison between its effects and those of opium-smoking; and of the evils of excessive drinking in Western countries the Chinese have no direct knowledge. Their comparisons, therefore, if made at all, would have little value. Foreigners resident in China have better opportunity for comparing the effects of the two habits, and it is generally the verdict of observers that the alcohol habit is the worse; for not only do its victims, as compared with those of the opium habit, suffer a similar moral degeneration, with physical evils somewhat different but not less serious, resulting in the same incapacity for attending adequately to their daily business, domestic and social duties; but alcohol has what opium

has not, the property of crazing its victims and making them irresponsible, leading to acts of violence and serious accidents and calamities, so that its effects are more injurious to the community at large than those of opium, which are chiefly confined to its devotees and their families.

10. Opium-smokers occasionally break themselves of the habit, usually by resorting to morphine, which is taken in daily diminishing doses. But in this way the morphine habit sometimes becomes established instead of the opium habit, leaving the victim no better off.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, opium-consumers would generally take to Chinese opium exclusively, and the supply of the latter would probably be increased until the demand was satisfied.

12. Europeans sometimes contract the habit of taking opium in the form of morphine, generally by subcutaneous injections. The habit usually begins by taking morphine medicinally in sickness.

13. Opium-smokers are generally led to use the drug just as boys learn to use tobacco, from a desire to find out what its attraction is, or to imitate their elders. Sometimes the use of the drug is resorted to as a palliative of lung disease, and the users profess to derive benefit from it. It is said that opium-smokers are less liable than others to malarial fevers, but of the truth of this I have no knowledge.

14. Opium-consumers would usually be glad to get free of the habit if they could do so without serious effort or inconvenience.

15. There is no desire amongst the Chinese in this part of China that England should not allow opium to be exported from India, though there would be such a desire amongst a considerable portion of the best element of the population, if India were the only source of supply.

16. Indian opium is more generally consumed in all coast provinces south of Kiangsu, though in Cheh-kiang Indian and Chinese opium are about equally used. In the provinces north of Kiangsu and in the interior provinces, Chinese opium is more largely used. Indian opium is more expensive than Chinese, and is used by the more well-to-do smokers generally.

17. The prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium would have no permanent effect on the consumption of opium in China. It might force smokers to reduce their daily allowances somewhat until the supply of Chinese opium became adequate to the demand. The cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium in China would be rapidly extended until enough opium was produced to make up for the quantity of Indian opium cut off.

18. No reliable estimate can be given of the area now under poppy in China, and the average annual out-turn of opium.

H. F. MIRBILL.

Ningpo, February 21, 1894.

Rev. F. GALPIN.

1. Yes.

2. I think about 5 per cent of adult males (in cities, towns, and villages). Cases of women smoking opium are much less, indeed rare. I have heard of a few instances of young children, born of opium-smoking parents, and being, as they usually are, very weak, having opium smoke blown up their nostrils to revive them.

3. Generally physical injury, destruction of family life, and, therefore, moral deterioration. I know only the effects of opium on the Chinese. I know of no difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. The consumers chiefly smoke, but when impoverished they eat opium for economic reasons.

5. As to the proportions of those who use opium, I do not know of any, saving a few, suffering from some chronic disease, who may be declared "opium-smokers" without injury." The majority, sooner or later, become "opium sots."

6. The virtue of "moderation" in the use of opium seems most difficult for the Chinese to observe. I only

remember one case, that of an aged Buddhist priest, who had smoked opium for 25 years, and seemed to be hale and hearty. After a close observation for more than 20 years, it seems to me the rule for the Chinese to injure themselves. I attach papers showing details of two instances, which I could easily multiply.

7. As far as I have observed, both Europeans and Chinese object to a servant, or clerk, or boatman, if they know that he smokes opium.

14. Yes, most of the smokers express a desire to be free from the habit, and ask if we know of any good method of cure.

15. There is a strong desire that foreign opium should not be brought to China.

17. I am of opinion that if no Indian opium were imported into China that many of the Chinese would of necessity have to give up its use; but I also think that native opium would rise in value and be largely cultivated by the Chinese in a few years.

20. I am under the impression that the people generally regard foreigners as largely responsible for the introduction, and they are looking to see if we are willing to adopt any measures by which this almost irresistible evil can be removed from their midst.

FREDERICK GALPIN.

Missionary,

Resident in Ningpo 26 years.

P.S.—The apparent contradiction between answers Nos. 17 and 20 is explained by the inconsistency between theory and practice, a condition not unknown in the enlightened West!

Case No. 1.

Mr. Isiu teih ts'ing, at the age of 22, began to smoke opium, and was then well-to-do, and about to succeed his father in the possession of a good business in the rice trade. He at first smoked in secret away from home, but when his father died he purchased an opium pipe and began to smoke at home. He soon became careless of his business, and things were going to the bad, so the shop was closed and Mr. Isiu did little else but look after his opium. His capital being exhausted he began to sell and pawn clothing, his father's, his own, and finally his wife's, and then to dispose of the furniture.

When these articles were sold he sold his only daughter, named Yuen-heang, 9 years of age, to a brothel keeper.

The next move was to mortgage the dwelling-house left him by his father for 140 dollars, 85 of which were seized by creditors to whom Mr. Isiu owed opium bills.

The balance of the money was soon disposed of, and the homeless man sold his wife as a concubine to a Mr. Ching, who lives outside the South Gate, Ningpo.

Mr. Isiu was now left with one son, and they both struggled for a time, the father earning a few cents a day as copying clerk, but only occasionally. The Chinese say he worked two days out of ten.

Mr. Isiu might earn 30 cents and then go to some dining room to feed the starving boy, and take the remainder of the money to some opium den. Next year the boy died and the father struggled along until the next year, when he died in an opium den at the age of 40.

This flourishing family was thus destroyed after a painful struggle of 18 years.

Mr. Isiu commenced the use of opium at 22 years of age. He died at 40.

FREDERICK GALPIN.

Ningpo, February 16, 1894.

Case No. 2.

I had in my school a few years ago a sharp lad, who left to learn the trade of a gem polisher and cutler.

He earned good wages, but soon took to opium-smoking, and the opium seemed to sap his strength and prevented him from regular work. He became very emaciated and weak, and died at the early age of about twenty-two years (22 years).

FREDERICK GALPIN.

Ningpo, February 16th, 1894.

APP. XXVI.

Rev. R. SWALLOW, M.D.

1. Yes, it is.
2. About 7 per cent. Women, a few. Occasionally children are met with.
3. "Morally" bad, physically emaciating, socially disintegrating.
4. They smoke chiefly. When they cannot satisfy their craving by smoking, then they eat too.
- 5.—(i.) "Without injury"?—I do not know of any.
(ii.) "With slight injury"?—When smoking is confined to, say, from the 27th to the 40th years of age.
(iii.) At least 50 per cent. sustain great injury. When they smoke much after, say, 40 years of age, with a few exceptions they go down under it.
6. I do not know of one man, woman, or child, who have consumed opium for years without harm to themselves. "Any, or many, cases of great injury" by smoking?—Examples: I have turned a man out cured (name, Tsiang Moh Sing) who had been an opium-smoker for 18 years. For 10 years or so he managed to live on the proceeds of his toil; for two years more his wife struggled on to support him; for the last six years he did no work, his wife driven to the city to provide funds for him. He got a little out of the country people by extortion. Now he has left work, his wife has returned to her home, he is able to live an honest life, but he will never be able to do hard work again. "Zi-yiu-ding" went on board a steamer when between 17 and 18 years of age. He commenced to smoke when he was 18 years of age. He lost his situation because he could not get out of bed to attend to his work, then he felt so feeble that he was called "lazy." He was dismissed. In three years he has spent more than \$1,000. He is now under my care. It will take a long time to get him strong. Morally he is a changed man, a "wonder" to his friends. "Shu-vu-Yuong" is a man, say, 30 years. He has been a servant in foreign employ, but discharged for opium-smoking. He left our hospital three months ago, and did well, though complaining of debility. He began smoking again. Yesterday, his two brothers and mother were in Ningpo asking me to try him again; if I could not then, they meant asking the mandarin to have him imprisoned for life. "Tsiang-o-Pong" began to smoke early in life, he became emaciated, unable to work. He opened a "den" in his native village. He began quarrelling with his visitors, killing two of them, bringing his relatives into straits over compensation paid to the murdered men's relatives. He came to Nypo for treatment, remaining in the hospital for two months, went home cured, closed his "den." I was in contact with him for 17 years. He was a grand character, but never fully recovered from the injury opium had done him. He died at the age of 56 years, lamented and loved by all who knew him.
7. I think the majority of smokers would be found among the artisans. It brings poverty to the family, often drives the smoker away from home. Daughters are sold very young. Sons are sent away to work to maintain the father.
8. I cannot answer that, as almost all opium-smokers are wine-drinkers too.
9. It is considered degrading by the Chinese. The man who smokes is said to be possessed by the opium demon. Very few Chinese condemn wine-drinking.
10. Some few do cure themselves. I have known a man ask to be tied to a tree when he knew the craving was coming on him, then ask to be loosed when the desire passed away.
11. I think where Indian opium could not be obtained they would have the native-grown.
12. Where Europeans are treated with opium in malarial diseases, they too often continue to be the victims of the habit.
13. Often it is taken for some abdominal trouble, often sexual desire is said to be excited by it, but soon leaves them worse than when they began to take it. So in abdominal trouble, it leaves many of them victims to its power. I am not certain about it being a prophylactic against fever, so reserve my opinion. I do not think it prevents rheumatism. It is not regarded as good in medicine by the natives beyond the second dose; if it does not cure then, it does injury, so say the natives.
14. They do so desire; I am having applications each day to come into hospital.

15. There is a wish that England would not send it, and that China would not grow it.

20. I believe the great power of opium is over the sympathetic nervous system. It does not make much difference to flesh forming how much food a man may eat. If he smokes long he is sure to get emaciated.

R. SWALLOW, M.D.

Nypo, China, 21st February 1894.

CONSUL HAUSSER.

1. Yes.
2. I estimate the proportion of adult male consumers in this district to be:—

In towns -	-	-	20-30 per cent.
In country -	-	-	5-10 per cent.

Women are not commonly consumers, though among the rich perhaps 1-2 per cent. smoke opium. I have never heard of children smoking.

3. Morally, the effect of opium is generally deteriorating. Foreigners seldom engage a servant known to be an opium-smoker, experience showing that such mostly prove lazy, slovenly, and dishonest.

Physically, the effects seem to be loss of appetite, want of energy, dull and sluggish intellect—except when fortified by the drug. Heavy smokers are always known by their excessive pallor and emaciation, and are said to suffer from derangements of the digestive organs.

Socially, the effect of opium is disastrous for the poor man who can afford neither the time nor the money required for the indulgence. His business suffers, and his family inevitably sinks in the scale of life. As far as the rich are concerned, I do not think that opium has any pernicious effect from a social point of view.

I cannot draw any distinction between the effects of opium on consumers of different races, nor do I know of any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium, except that the former being more carefully prepared and of better quality is considered the more efficacious and satisfying.

4. Consumers almost invariably smoke. Chair-bearers when on a journey and unable to stop for a smoke often eat the opium instead. When taken in this form, 1 caudareen of opium is said to be equal to 3 mace of opium smoked, and the effect lasts longer. Beggars also eat the refuse coverings of opium balls.

5. In some few cases opium may, I believe, be used in moderation not only without injury, but with positive benefit.

(ii.) Probably 90-95 per cent. use it with slight injury only, and (iii.) some 2-3 per cent. become "opium sots."

6. It is certainly not correct to say there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium, but there is a constant tendency to increase the quantity. I cannot give any specific instances.

7. In this district few agricultural labourers use opium, the bulk of the consumers being artisans, merchants, and gentry. Of the chair-bearer class, some 90 per cent. use opium. Though physically a sorry lot, they accomplish long and exhausting journeys; but to enable them to do this they require to have their smoke two or three times a day *en route*.

8. The abuse of alcohol being extremely rare in China, it is impossible to institute any comparison.

9. The opium habit is not generally regarded by the Chinese as degrading, except possibly in the case of officials who are liable to be denounced and dismissed from office in consequence, but it is considered as more or less injurious. The Chinese are not in a position to compare the effects of the opium habit with those of the alcohol habit, the latter being practically unknown here.

10. Opium-consumers can certainly break themselves of the opium habit, if they really determine to do so, in a period of about 10 days. Such cases are, however, rare.

11. Were the supply of Indian opium to be cut off, consumers would unquestionably resort to native-grown opium.

12. Europeans very seldom contract the opium habit, but the abuse of morphia, in the form of subcutaneous injections, is not so uncommon.

If Europeans had nothing better than Chinese tobacco, Chinese spirits, and opium to fall back on, they would very possibly take to the latter. That they do not do so is, I conjecture, due to the fact that foreign wines, spirits, tobacco, and medicinal tonics sufficiently satisfy the requirements of their physical system.

Asiatics are perhaps hereditarily predisposed to contract the habit, and in China, at all events, there is nothing to take the place of opium. Climatic causes may also have some influence.

13. Consumers are in some cases led to use the drug by the force of example, as a form of fashionable dissipation; in other cases as a palliative of bodily pain. It is not, to my knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, &c., but is undoubtedly more commonly used in the feverish and malarious parts of China, *e.g.*, Formosa, where the bulk of the population, including the women, all smoke more or less.

14. In some cases consumers themselves are anxious to get free of the opium habit, generally when they find it too expensive for them.

15. Professions are sometimes made to this effect, but only by non-consumers.

16. Indian opium is used all over China by those who can afford it. In this province about half the opium consumed is native-grown.

17. The prohibition of the export of Indian opium would probably result:—

- (a.) In a temporarily diminished consumption of opium by the Chinese till the demand was met by the increased output of native-grown opium.
- (b.) In greatly extended cultivation of the poppy, and large increase in the production of native opium.
- (c.) It is said that the Chinese Government would in such case endeavour to suppress the cultivation of opium altogether. The result would probably be a complete failure.

18. Owing to the absence of statistics it is impossible to give any accurate estimate of the area now under poppy cultivation in the several provinces of China, or of the annual out-turn of opium. In this province, however, some 60 per cent. of the cultivated area of the Hsiang-Shan and Taichow districts, south of Ningpo, is under opium cultivation, and the annual out-turn for the whole of the province is estimated at not less than 10,000 piculs (= cwt. 11,905).

19. The revenue derived by the Chinese Government from foreign opium at the treaty ports of China amounted in 1893 to Hk. taels 7,246,596, or 1,088,931*l.* sterling.

The taxation on native opium varies in different provinces. In this province it amounts to about half that levied on Indian opium, being \$96 (1*l.* 12*s.*) per 100 catties. Much of the opium grown escapes taxation altogether, owing to the duty on it being collected, not at the place of production, but at the large centres of consumption. On that locally consumed, therefore, no duty whatever is paid.

20. The conflict of evidence regarding the effects of opium is, in my opinion, greatly due to the different classes of consumers referred to by different witnesses. The evidence of missionaries chiefly relates to the poorer classes, with whom only they generally come in contact. When a man is so poor that he has to choose between his opium pipe and his bowl of rice, the choice of the former, to which he is predisposed by the loss of appetite consequent on the use of opium, will infallibly result in malnutrition and physical incapacity, with consequent poverty and misery for himself and his family. The evil aggravates itself, for the more he smokes the more he requires, and the less he can afford to expend on proper nourishment, this in its turn leading him to have still further recourse to the soothing narcotic, the cheap and adulterated varieties of which are admittedly more pernicious than the pure and high-priced drug. Hence it is that the worst examples of the evil effects of opium are to be found among those in a low rank of life, such as chair-bearers, &c., who earn a precarious existence by irregular day labour. On the other hand, the well-to-do native merchant or compradore of a foreign hong—invariably a keen man of business—smokes his opium year after year with no perceptible result to the non-medical eye, provided always that he does not go to excess. In their case the moderate use of the drug seems to have little or no effect, whether morally, physically, or socially.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration it appears to me that the abuse of alcohol in Western countries is infinitely more pernicious and degrading both to the individual as well as to the community at large than can ever be the case with regard to opium in the East.

P. F. HAUSER,
H.B.M.'s Acting-Consul,
Ningpo.
H.B.M. Consulate,
Ningpo,
24th February 1894.

APP. XXV.
Amoy

AMOY.

Her Majesty's Consulate,
Amoy, China, 2nd March 1894.

SIR,
HAVING, in obedience to instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, distributed amongst those of the residents at this port who I considered would be likely to give trustworthy information, copies of the questions, regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China, forwarded by the Royal Commission on Opium to Mr. O'Connor, I have now the honour to transmit copies of the replies I have received from seven of those applied to.

In so doing I beg to submit the following remarks, as the results of my own observation, during a residence of 26 years in this country.

1. I have some experience of nearly all the open Treaty Ports of China, and I have found that opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in all the parts of China with which I am acquainted.

2. I estimate that of adult male Chinese in those parts that I know perhaps 10 or 12 per cent. are consumers of opium. I have heard occasionally of women using it; of children, so far as I can recall, never.

3. Those who consume opium to excess become utterly degraded, both morally and physically, and, as a consequence, sink in the social scale. When not used to excess no such results are perceptible. I have no knowledge of any distinction in the effects produced by consumers of different races. I have already understood that Chinese-grown opium, from its inferior quality, is more deleterious in its effects than the Indian drug.

4. In China consumers chiefly smoke opium. Suicide by opium is not at all an infrequent occurrence in China, when used for this purpose, in all the cases that I have heard of, the opium has been swallowed, either solid, or in the form of a decoction. Seeing that, in such cases, the object sought is death, and that generally a sufficient quantity is taken to attain that object, the distinction in the effects produced is very marked and readily perceived.

5. I cannot pretend to give any accurate statistics in reply to this question, but I shall judge that of the consumers, who, as I have stated above, are about 10 or 12 per cent. of the adult male population,

- (i.) perhaps 30 per cent. use it without any injury,
- (ii.) forty per cent. with but slight injury, and
- (iii.) thirty per cent. with great injury.

6. To say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium is not only incorrect, but it is absurd; it would be just as reasonable to assert that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the use of wine, or of tobacco. I have known many cases of consumers who have taken opium regularly for years, apparently without any harm to themselves. One case more particularly present to my mind at the moment is that of the man who was Compradore of the British Consulate at Shanghai for nearly 30 years. I knew him well for over 20 years, and during that time—from early in 1883 till the end of 1886—when I was in charge of the Shipping Department of the Shanghai Consulate, I had business relations with him nearly every day of every week. To my knowledge he smoked opium regularly all that time, and I never once found him affected deleteriously, either in his bodily health or in his capacity for business in consequence. Indeed he gave me to understand that his health was benefited by the habit, as he was very subject to fever, which he used to say the opium always gave him relief from. The present Viceroy of the Two Kiang Provinces, His Excellency Liu K'imi, who holds perhaps the most important post in the Empire after that filled by the Grand Secretary Li Hung Chang, is well known to be addicted to the opium habit. He now holds that appointment, if I mistake not, for the third time, and the fact that he has been more than once selected for

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the post, and that he is now at the age of nearly 70, capable of efficiently performing the duties of the post, speak for themselves. There was a story current in Nanking at the time when he was last appointed to the post in 1891, that he endeavoured to be excused from taking it up on the plea that he was a habitual opium-smoker, and therefore debarred by law from filling so high an office, but that his services were deemed so valuable by the Empress Dowager that he was granted special imperial license to consume a certain quantity daily. I, of course, cannot say how much truth there may be in this story, but its very existence showed how common was the knowledge of the fact that he is habitually addicted to opium. On the other hand, one cannot live in China long without coming across many cases where excessive use of opium has produced the most grievous and deplorable injury.

7. If by this question is meant "whether a majority of each class named are consumers of opium"? I say decidedly, No. If it is meant "to which of the three classes do the majority of consumers belong"? an answer is more difficult. I should say that the majority of those who are most injuriously affected by the consumption of opium belong to the labouring and artisan classes, because, being poorer, it is they who are compelled to consume the inferior qualities of the drug, and who are less able, from spending a part of their earnings on opium, to provide themselves with sufficient food, and consequently, through want of proper nourishment, are more liable to be injuriously affected. The effect of the habit on the efficiency of consumers in each calling depends upon whether they use it to excess or not, not upon the nature of their calling, so far as I know.

8. In every part of China with which I am at all conversant alcohol is, comparatively speaking, very little used, and still less abused. When a Chinese is addicted to the excessive use of alcohol he is a very much worse and more dangerous character than a man who consumes opium to excess.

9. I should say not, by the opinion of Chinese in general. Of course there are many Chinese who do not condemn the habit as both degrading and injurious. Were the Chinese, as a nation, in a position (which they are not) to form any adequate conception of the deplorable effects produced by the alcohol habit in the places, in Europe and elsewhere, where that habit is prevalent, I have not the slightest doubt as to which they would consider the worse of the two.

10. I believe that they have done so, but I have always understood that it is with great difficulty they can do so.

11. Consumers would take to Chinese-grown opium, and failing that, to some other narcotic. They certainly would not abstain altogether.

12. No, hardly ever. Their food, constitution, education, and habits generally do not predispose them to it, while there seems to be something in the constitution and food of Asiatics that makes the use of some narcotic almost a necessity.

13. To the questions under this head I can give no answers from my own knowledge.

14. Many of those who from excess are conscious of injury undoubtedly do desire to get free of the habit; applications at missionary hospitals are too numerous for that to be doubted; but I do not believe that there is any desire among moderate smokers generally to do so.

15. There may be, and very probably is, such a wish amongst certain Chinese of the official class; but I greatly doubt if there are many amongst those who may have that wish in whom it is prompted by motives either of humanity or of patriotism.

17.—(a.) The consumption of native opium will tend to increase, as will

(b.) the cultivation of the poppy and the production of native opium, unless the cultivation is as rigorously prohibited as the export of Indian drug would be; and this is not likely, as thereby

(c.) the Chinese Government would have to find some other source from which to derive the revenue of which it would, by the combined prohibition of the import of Indian and of the production of native opium, be deprived.

16, 18, and 19. These questions could only be adequately answered after a more thorough study of the statistics available than the time at present at my

disposal will allow. Information on the points therein referred to can be found in many of the valuable reports issued from time to time by the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, notably in the volume of Decennial Reports, published in the end of 1893, and in the Reports on Opium, Nos. 4, 9, 10, 13, and 14 of the Customs' "Special Series," copies of which documents will, I have little doubt, have been made accessible to the Commissioners.

Of the seven persons who have been good enough to furnish me with replies to the questions, four, Messrs. Case, Leyburn, Price, and Sangar are merchants, whose business has naturally brought them into contact chiefly with the mercantile classes. The two former have resided in this part of China for over 20 years, Mr. Price has been in Amoy for nearly 17 years, and Mr. Sangar, who is the representative of one of the Parsee firms established here, the principal business of which has been connected with the import of Indian opium and Bombay yam, can reckon a residence at the port of nearly 30 years. Messrs. Macgowan and Sadler are missionaries, whose experience extends over a still longer period, and whose work has lain more specially amongst the labouring and artisan classes; while Mr. Hu liyuan is an intelligent Chinaman educated in Hong Kong, who has filled various lesser official positions, and is now interpreter to the intendant of the territorial circuit in which Amoy is situated. I sent the questions to him with the view of getting an opinion from the standpoint of a Chinese official who is sufficiently acquainted with the English language to understand their purport, which I am disappointed in finding he has not, in regard to all of them, done.

I have, &c.

COLIN M. FORD,
H.B.M. Consul, Officiating.

Mr. F. Cass.

Amoy, February 23, 1894.

1. Opium is commonly used in this district.

2. Very difficult to arrive at; in the cities it is estimated that three men in 10 use opium. In the country a far smaller proportion. It is seldom used by women and children.

3. The general effect of the use of opium is degrading from all three standpoints. There is but little difference in the effect of native and Indian opium.

4. Consumers, as a rule, smoke opium.

5. I do not know the various proportions. I know many men who use it without apparent injury. On the other hand, I have known men bright, intelligent, and upright before they have contracted the habit become both moral and physical wrecks after they have contracted it.

6. I think it wrong to say there is no such thing as moderation possible in the consumption of opium. I know the reverse to be the case. I know men who have used it moderately for years, while I know cases where the immoderate use of the drug has caused infinite misery and the break-up of prosperous businesses and happy homes.

7. A majority of the natives that I am acquainted with certainly do not use opium. I think that such people as boatmen, labourers, &c., in country take it in small quantities as a specific, and without injury. I have known officials use it moderately, and with apparent intellectual benefit at the moment. As a rule, I consider that merchants that use it do so to the detriment of their business.

8. Much the same.

9. The habit is generally thought badly of by natives. At the same time, the outcry against it is based far more on political than on moral motives.

10. I have known cases where men have broken themselves of the habit, but they are very rare.

11. If Indian opium were cut off, native-grown opium would very soon supply the deficiency. The officials encourage the growth of native opium, or certainly do nothing to discourage it. Persian opium is very popular.

12. Europeans seldom contract the habit.

13. I have no medical knowledge. Most certainly many very respectable Chinese firmly believe the drug to be a prophylactic against disease.

14. Immoderate consumers—yes. Moderate consumers feeling and knowing no harm are thankful for their pipe of opium. To those suffering from disease and pain it is difficult to believe that they would rather be without the relief the drug affords.

15. Only where the idea has been suggested to them by agitators.

16. By all classes, and practically all over China as at present known.

17. I do not believe that the prohibition of Indian opium will curtail the use of opium amongst the Chinese, as I believe that the native opium and Persian opium will readily supply its place. If the Chinese Government cared to do so it could easily close all the opium dens in China, and so prevent the facilities they afford for the contraction and excessive adoption of the habit. They exhibit no such desire, and to every unbigoted person who has resided in China for any length of time it is absolutely patent that the Government are only making a pretext of the opium question to cover their own treaty delinquencies, and care little or nothing in reality whether India sends the drug here or not. It will be time enough to prohibit the importation of Indian opium when opium dens are closed and the growth of the drug stopped in earnest by the Central Government.

(Signed) FRANCIS CASS.

Mr. F. LEYBURN.

SIR, Amoy, China, February 22, 1894.
I BEG to answer the questions you have put to me regarding the opium consumption and revenue.

1. Yes.
2. Fifty per cent. adult males. Women rarely. Children no.
3. Moderation harmless. Excess ruinous, morally and physically. Can draw no distinction in effects on consumers of different races. Am unaware of any difference in the effect of native and Indian drug.
4. Chiefly smoke, but in certain districts morphia pills and powders are used.
- 5.—(i.) A large proportion; (ii.) a larger proportion; (iii.) a small proportion.
6. There can be moderation. My compradore, a clever business man, aged 64, has smoked freely for 30 years. Know a few who have utterly degenerated from excess.
7. Majority consume to some extent. No effect on their efficiency.
8. Opium preferable to alcohol. Wife-beating almost unknown. Opium a sedative, alcohol an excitant.
9. Not considered degrading.
10. They can rarely do so.
11. If Indian supply cut off China opium will increase more rapidly. They would hardly take to alcohol, as there would be no necessity for so doing with Chinese opium cultivation rapidly increasing. With positively no opium, alcohol might come in as a substitute.
12. Europeans rarely contract the opium-smoking habit, possibly because early bringing up makes it seem degrading. Asiatics regard it as a custom, as Westerns do tobacco or gin.
13. Begin as English boys begin smoking, from force of example. Considered by Chinese as a prophylactic against fever.
- 14 and 15. No.
16. Cannot answer.
- 17.—(a) Consumption temporarily checked until Chinese drug increased in supply; (b) cultivation of Chinese drug will widely increase; (c) do not know.

18. No.

19. Chinese opium taxed about one-fourth of what Indian opium is.

20. No.

Yours, &c.

FRANK LEYBURN.
Agent for Jardine, Matheson, & Co.

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Amoy.

Mr. G. W. PRICE.

SIR, Amoy, February 26, 1894.
WITH reference to the questions asked by the Royal Commission now sitting in India regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China, I beg to reply as follows:—

1. Yes.
- 2.—(a.) 20 per cent. hard smokers; 40 per cent. moderate.
(b.) Trifling extent.
(c.) No.
- 3.—(a.) Depends on quantity taken.
(b.) Yes.
(c.) Yes.
- 4.—(a.) Smoke.
(b.) Taken otherwise than through a pipe one-twentieth part would suffice, and consequently except at this ratio any injurious effects would be more rapid.
- 5.—(i. and ii.) Depends on constitution, see reply 2.
(iii.) Probably not more than 2 per cent.
- 6.—(a.) No.
(b.) Yes.
- 7.—(a.) Depends on "pocket" and leisure.
(b.) Not unless opium is taken to excess.
8. Intoxication is rare.
- 9.—(a.) Those who do not smoke "plume" themselves on the fact, and no doubt with some reason, for it has its dangers.
(b.) Nobody could wish for the opium dens of Chinese cities to be replaced by the gin palaces of our own country.
10. Rarely.
- 11.—(a.) Bad.
(b.) Native opium.
- 12.—(a.) No.
(b.) Alcohol and tobacco suit their temperaments better.
(c.) Happens to be the Asiatic form of indulgence.
- 13.—(a.) Force of example chiefly and sometimes in alleviation of pain.
(b.) No, but am inclined to think so.
(c.) Opinions are divided.
14. Not as a class.
15. Consumers, no; cultivators, probably yes.
- 16.—(a.) All classes.
(b.) Chinese opium would not enter into competition if it were not for price.
- 17.—(a.) Increase as soon as the supply could meet the demand, which doubtless it could quickly do.
(b.) Stimulate.
(c.) Facilitate.
18. Unknown.
19. I believe the attempt to tax land under poppy cultivation has hitherto proved unsuccessful. Some three or four years ago the local authorities decided to get some revenue out of native opium, and they based their tax on a rough estimate as to the quantity of it mixed with foreign drug, levying same on the opium shops according to the volume of their business.
20. The consumption of Chinese opium is increasing rapidly, and with improved quality and lighter taxation it must in time prove a formidable rival to the foreign drug. The restriction or prohibition of the export of Indian opium to China will only hasten the

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day when China will say to India opium "no wantchee."

I have, &c.
GEORGE PRICE.

Mr. P. M. SANGER.

1. Yes, the Chinese commonly consume opium in the part of China where I live.

2. Out of 100 there must be about 40 persons of the adult males consumers of opium. Yes, there are some women also who consume opium. I am sure children never consume any opium.

3. As far as my knowledge goes, opium does not produce any bad effects on morality of its consumers, nor does it tend to reduce their physical strength in any way, or lead them to deviate from the path of their social duties. I am not aware of opium making different effects on consumers of different races, and therefore cannot draw any distinction between them, but am of opinion that the effects must be the same on all the consumers of whatever race they be. Chinese-grown opium is generally not consumed alone on account of its bad taste, and therefore it is to be mixed with the Indian or other foreign opium by some people who seek to economise the expense, but, not minding the taste of the two kinds, the effects of the Indian and Chinese grown opiums cannot be different I think, for opium is opium after all.

4. The consumers mostly smoke opium, and there may be one or two persons among 1,000 who lick boiled or prepared opium and drink tea after it when there is some emergency for them to go out, and they have no time to spare after smoking. The refuse of smoked opium is eaten by some persons of penury, but that is only to satisfy their hankering without giving any effect on such consumers I think.

5. Any case or cases suffering with slight injury or with great injury through the use of opium have not come before me, and I have noticed that opium is always used without any injury on its consumers who wisely take care to take it in moderate and proportionately necessary doses.

6. No, it cannot be said that there is no such thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. There may be many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves, and I have never heard a complaint from any of my Chinese neighbours or acquaintances who observe moderation in their use of opium of any harm done to them; though I cannot name here any particular example giving full description of same in detail without inquiring, and, if it be inquired for, I am sure many such cases will be found.

7. I cannot say whether there is a "majority" or what of the opium-consumers among the labourers, or the merchants, or the artisans around me, but this much is certain, that the effects of the opium habit on the consumers of these classes has never proved to be ruinous in their calling, and they have always pursued their career with efficiency.

8. Men given up to alcohol habit do commit various sorts of mischief and sometimes lose their senses, while the opium habit creates quite a contrary effect on its consumers, gives some sort of vigour and activity to them in the performance of their duties, and if they miss their usual doses, they become quite inactive and disregard their work, and sometimes become ill and their lives are in danger.

9. The Chinese never condemn the opium habit as degrading or injurious. On the contrary, for the sake of respect to their callers, friends, and acquaintances who visit them, they offer a smoke of opium just in the same way as European or other civilised nations offer a glass of wine to their visitors. I have not known that they ever offered wine or liquor to their callers, and my belief is that they do condemn the alcohol habit and hate its consumers.

10. It is seldom the opium-consumers leave their habit of opium, and if they want to break themselves of

the habit of course they can do so, but not without first suffering in their health and loss of appetite.

11. If prohibition of the supply of Indian opium be put into effect, the consumers will have of necessity to purchase other foreign opiums, such as Turkey and Persian, at much dearer prices (as these opiums must, of course, rise in prices at the scarcity of the Indian drug), and thus, doubtless, they will be entailing misery upon themselves. Also it is quite natural that they would resort to Chinese-grown opium and other alcoholic drinks more injurious in consequences.

12. European people do not contract the opium habit because this drug is or was never grown and reared on their own soil, and therefore of course they must be unlucky from not knowing what are the beneficial effects of such thing (originally so foreign and new to them) if judiciously and rightly used. European races do know and are keenly aware of the bad results of alcoholic drinks, and yet they blindly and deeply plunge themselves in great numbers into these miseries and make extensively free use of alcohols, and that is why? Only because these narcotics are made and produced in their own soil, and therefore they do not think it degrading or injurious to contract the alcohol habit (though they will have prudence enough to meddle with the affairs of their Asiatic brothers, and advise them to abstain from opium whose real effects and benefits they have scarcely the least knowledge of). Besides, unfortunately, the Asiatics are not blessed with the sanitary arrangements and regulations in the construction of their houses, streets, towns, and cities, which are generally always filthy, close, marshy places, having no drains, that, had it not been for the mercy of God in providing them with such invaluable drug as "opium," there would have been thousands of deaths, and destruction, darkness, and confusion in almost the whole of Asia, and particularly in China, where filthiness knows no bounds and people do not understand what is sanitation.

13. Yes, to my knowledge it is true, and it is also regarded commonly by the Chinese in this part of China where I live, that opium is a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, and malaria, and it is this firm and true impression that leads them to use the drug.

14. No, I have never known so.

15. In this part of China with which I am acquainted I have never noticed any such wish among the Chinese that England should stop opium to be exported from India. Nay, they have not the least thought of it, or of the things going on at present in England in connexion with this foolish agitation, and they would sooner curse England than be glad if the export of Indian opium is prohibited.

16. Indian opium is usually consumed by all classes of people in Amoy, Shanghai, Foochow, and various other parts situated in the north of China (save Taiwanfoo, where almost the whole consumption is of Persian drug). Chinese-grown opium has not yet so improved in taste as it can be taken alone, yet it is certain that it is improving every year, and its use is gradually and steadily increasing day by day.

17.—(a.) If the export of Indian opium will be prohibited or restricted, it cannot materially reduce the consumption of opium by the Chinese, because they will surely make use of other foreign opiums, Persian, Turkey, &c., and also of their own Chinese-grown opium.

(b.) The prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium will undoubtedly increase the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China.

(c.) The revenue of the Chinese Government will surely suffer a great deal by the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium.

18. The area under poppy in the several provinces of China is very extensively great, and the out-turn of opium is also large, but I cannot give any estimate of the same, but am aware that more light will be thrown on this subject by the various British Consuls of China, who always inquire into these things.

19. The extent of the revenue of the Chinese Government from opium will best be ascertained by looking into the Customs Annual Trade Reports, and also perhaps from the reports of the various H.B.M.'s

Consuls. The taxation on Indian opium is about \$200 per picul, while the same on Chinese-grown opium is about \$40 or 50 per picul.

PESTONJEE M. SANGAR
(29 years resident in China).

Amoy, 2nd March 1894.

Rev. J. MACGOWAN.

1. Yes.

2. In the town of Amoy fully 20 per cent. of the adult male population, that is, from 16 years old and upwards, smoke opium. In the country districts the proportion as a rule is considerably less, though there are places where it rises as high as that of the city. I have obtained reliable statistics of three villages; first, contains 1,000 adults and 40 smoke; second, 140, of whom eight smoke; third, 700, of whom 150 smoke.

3. An opium-smoker deteriorates morally. He becomes more untruthful, and in all cases where there is a struggle to get the opium his keen sense of right vanishes, and he will do anything almost to get the means of satisfying the intolerable craving from which he suffers. A very large proportion of the thieves and vagabonds of any place are recruited from the ranks of those who have not sufficient money to buy their daily supply of opium.

He also deteriorates physically. If a man is in easy circumstances, and has some very light employment, and has good health generally, he may go on for years apparently without injury.

4. Smoking is the most common form; when a man exhausts all his resources, and is in extreme poverty, he will buy the scrapings of the opium pipes and swallow them. This form of opium indulgence is the most difficult to cure.

5. I cannot conceive of any case in which a man has become a confirmed opium-smoker—and with steady smoking it takes less than two months to become so—where there is absolutely no injury done to him. This may be minimised by the circumstances mentioned in Answer 3. With the mass of the people who have to earn their daily bread the case is different. One has only to look at the experience of an opium-smoker to see how this must be so. After the habit has got hold of him he loses his keen relish for his ordinary food. He now gets a liking for sweets, and cakes, and fruit. Again, until he has taken his pipe he cannot swallow his meal; it would stick in his throat. This abnormal taste and bondage to the pipe interferes with his regular labour and tells in time on his general health.

6. That there are moderate smokers is true, but that they are exceedingly rare is just as true. A Chinaman who had smoked for 20 years declared to me that in all his large experience he had known only one man that had consistently remained a moderate smoker. It must be remembered that, even in such a case, abstinence from opium for a day or two now and then, as might be the case with moderate drinkers, would be an impossibility. The examples of men that have injured themselves by the use of opium are exceedingly numerous. A man who was my cook took to opium. He was dismissed for the sufficient reason that one loses faith in such a man, and does not like to have him a resident in his family. After a short time he sold his little son, then his wife, to both of whom he was much attached, and finally he disappeared from sight, amongst the great submerged, to spend his life in one long struggle with the enemy that had ruined his home. Such examples are legion in their numbers.

7. All classes smoke. The effect on the most of smokers is to render them less efficient in their work. All things being equal, a smoker is not equal to a non-smoker. A large employer of labour has informed me that the smokers amongst his men were not able to do the same amount of work as those who did not indulge in opium. They were not up to time, and when the effect of the last smoke began to wane they were not as active. He employed such because of exceptional ability, but otherwise he would never have a smoker on any of his works. When one considers the time

necessarily spent on the pipe, one can see why he should not be up to time. A man smokes say at daylight before he goes to work. At the very least to fill his pipe a number of times would take half an hour. This would allow no sleep after. To do so would require another half hour. At midday a similar length of time is demanded. This taken from his dinner hour is a serious loss of time. When the day is over the same experience is repeated, only now having more leisure more time is spent in the process. He smokes and sleeps, and will often rise and smoke several pipes during the night. His rest is thus broken into, and next day he is not fit for a full day's work.

9. Opium-smoking is looked upon as a disgrace, and no man will willingly confess that he is a smoker, indeed he will deny that he is until convicted by evidence that he cannot refute. The public estimate of those engaged in either the sale or smoking of opium will be understood from the following incident. One day, accompanied by a Chinaman, I went round amongst the native merchants for subscriptions to a hospital. In the round he took me into a fine looking shop on one of the main streets. I found a respectable looking man sitting behind a counter. On entering, my companion, who evidently knew him, said to him, "We are coming for a subscription to the hospital." "Now it is only right that you, who have done such an injury to your fellow-men, should ease your conscience by giving something to save the sick." The man smiled a sickly smile and handed us a donation. I found that we had gone into an opium merchant's establishment.

10. Some do, but they are very few. My experience is that opium-smokers generally have a superstitious dread that if they give up the pipe they will die. This has a strong deterrent effect, and prevents very many from attempting deliverance.

11. The result would be that they would smoke native opium. In this region the growth during the last six years has largely increased, and will continue to do so steadily, for the very strong reason that at present the farmers get at least 500 per cent. more for their opium crop than for any other.

12. No. The reason why the Chinese take to opium is because of the luxury and comfort with which the vice can be enjoyed. The Chinese ideal is rest—inaction. He cannot understand why the Englishman should take exercise, or play at cricket, or dance, &c. The Buddhist heaven is nirvana—absolute quietude—where even thought is not required. In smoking opium a man reclines, he can talk to his neighbour, he slowly imbibes, and his senses are gradually soothed. It is a ban ideal way of indulging in a luxury. If to take opium it were necessary to stand up it would never have become popular in China.

13. At the present time 30 per cent. of the smokers take opium to ease their cough in consumption, and to help them in other diseases. The remaining 70 per cent. smoke because they are vicious. I have never heard of its being taken as a preventative against fever. I do not believe the English doctors in this region at least ever prescribe it as a cure for that disease.

14. Very many do, but for the reason given under No. 10, few ever realise their desire.

15. In travelling in the interior and preaching to heathen audiences the missionary is continually being twitted with the charge that his practice is not consistent with his teaching. They say that his countrymen having brought opium to destroy the Chinese, he is so far involved in their wrong. The masses know nothing about India, or the exportation of opium from that country to China. They believe it comes from England, and that Englishmen bring it from there to sell for gain, without any regard to the morality of the question at all.

17. The restriction of the Indian opium will result in—

- (a.) The widespread use of native opium.
- (b.) In the more extensive growth of it throughout China.
- (c.) The Chinese authorities at present do not wish to restrict opium. They want the revenue. Let the articles in the English Treaty in regard to this question be repealed, and we shall then see what the honest desires of the Government are. Give China a chance to act without the fear of coming

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APP. XXVI.
Amoy.

in collision with England. It would then have the ability to stop the use of opium throughout the Empire. An absolute Government like the present could in the course of a comparatively short time sweep the whole from the country if it were really in earnest.

J. MACGOWAN.

Amoy,
February 27, 1894.

Rev. J. SADLER.

1. Yes.
2. These answers bear on Chinese. In the cities many men smoke, say, a tenth of adult population. In the near villages fewer. The farther inland the more. A few women smoke, e.g., women in mandarin houses and in brothels. Children seldom. In rich families a few youths play with, and neglected ones.
3. Morals destroyed. A man becomes covetous and deceitful and unreliable. As to the body, the man becomes thin and disinclined to eat, he cannot have regular motions, may go several days without a stool. Sterility is often caused. Families are ruined in every way.
4. Smoking the common. If poor, they will swallow, and if no time to smoke. Swallowing is less agreeable.
5. The great majority are greatly injured; only when very strong and able to get good food is injury lessened.
6. The rule is that those who meddle with it sooner or later become enslaved. Every hurt is suffered, to the selling of wife and children, selling self to slavery, becoming utterly heartless, and even self-murder.
7. All classes smoke. The evils are laziness, late to bed and late up, uncertainty in work. Honest men shirk the smokers, and they are not liked for any employment or for marriage.
8. The mischief of opium is more insidious and more enthralling.
9. Yes. There is more fear of opium.
10. Few, and with enormous difficulty. Illness has often to be met.
11. If the growth were forbidden, good. If not a lessening of Indian opium would probably mean a greater growth and a greater price.
12. Asiatics like it because it suits their tendency to a quiet life.
13. Many through idleness, many through self-indulgence and gay company. It is a relief to rheumatic people and sufferers from intestinal troubles, and from certain private troubles.
14. Many would like to be free, yet feel it is a great need, especially in the difficulty of cure.
15. Yes; especially would the non-smokers rejoice; they suffer in endless ways.
16. Every class are said to use Indian opium. Only the poor buy the inferior. Eight-tenths used is said to be Indian. The smokers yearly increase. It is only through native growth that price of Indian opium is not increased.
- 17.—(a.) It would be dearer, and thus less used.
(b.) But more would be grown.
(c.) The Government must "grin and bear it" so far as the people are concerned.
18. Can only say it seems to be everywhere on the increase.

J. SADLER.

HU LI YÜAN.

1. Yes.
2. Male, about one-tenth of the population. Women, few. Children, none.
- 3.—(1.) Physical. (2.) No distinction. (3.) Indian opium stronger.

4. Smoke. Never eat. Sometimes drink to commit suicide.

5.—(i.) One or two out of 10. (ii.) 80 per cent. (iii.) 1 or 2 per cent.

6.—(a.) Very correct. (b.) Few cases. Impossible to give. (c.) Cases few. Impossible to give.

7. Yes. Effect, weak and lazy. Impossible to give.

8. Opium worse.

9. More injurious than degrading. Opium habit worse.

10. Yes, but very few.

11. Effect immaterial. Resort to Chinese opium. No. No.

12. None, because they consider it degrading, but Chinamen not.

13. Generally as a matter of pleasure and refreshment.

14. Sometimes.

15. Yes, among the literary class.

16. In all the Treaty Ports and their neighbourhood. Competition equal.

17. Consequences (a) less; (b) more; (c) cannot answer.

18. Impossible to give.

19. Impossible to answer.

20. None.

Answers unsigned. Sent in by Hu Li Yüan, interpreter to the Intendant of Amoy district.

R. WILLIS,
Assistant, H.B.M. Consulate.

PAGODA ISLAND.

H.M. Vice-Consulate,
Pagoda Island,

March 2, 1894.

SIR,

In accordance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister in Peking, I have the honour to inclose herewith a paper by Dr. Underwood, medical practitioner in this district, containing answers to the questions regarding opium consumption in China, put by the Royal Commission on Opium. To these answers, which, generally speaking, I agree with, I will add a few remarks.

The word "consumer" seems to give opening for variety in statements of opinion according as the word is understood. "Consumers" may be divided into three well-defined classes, those who only smoke occasionally as on a festive occasion, those who smoke regularly but in small quantities, and those who have contracted what is called the "yin" or craving. Dr. Underwood seems to refer to the last class only when he says that "at least 5 per cent. of the adult males are consumers." I should say that, including the second class, 20 per cent. might be taken as a rough estimate, and, including all three, nearly 50 per cent. It is only on the class that have contracted the craving that bad effects are produced, and, as the doctor says, these effects are often greatly due to the fact the smoker is obliged to reduce his regular food in consequence of his having spent the money that he should have bought it with on opium.

As a rule, labourers and artisans are more given to the habit than shopkeepers.

With regard to Question 8, I do not think that any comparison can be instituted between the use of opium and alcohol by the Chinese. Although it is possible, as Dr. Underwood says, that they get drunk oftener than they are supposed to, it is quite evident that they have no natural impulse towards alcohol such as drives Europeans to the habit. A parallel impulse may exist with them towards opium, but, as yet, it has not shown itself productive of anything like such disastrous effects as that towards alcohol has in the West.

I have, &c.

OCT. JOHNSON,
Vice-Consul.

Dr. UNDERWOOD.

1. Yes.

2. The consumption of opium has increased here during the last six years, owing to the drug being cheaper and the officials less strict in suppressing its sale. It is difficult to give an average, but I should say that at least 5 per cent. of the adult males are consumers. Only a very few old women take it, and it is never given to children except perhaps in case of sickness.

3. The effects of opium on the consumer depend very much on his social position, means, and the quantity taken. If he is able to live well, and smokes a good quality of the drug in moderation, tolerance is established; it seems to affect him very little in any way, but there is undoubtedly a tendency to increase the dose. On the other hand, if a man is poor, and stints his food and other necessaries to enable him to buy opium, he naturally becomes weak and emaciated. He is less inclined to exert himself, works slower, and is not considered so trustworthy generally as a non-smoker. Personally an opium-smoker is usually a quiet, inoffensive individual; it does not arouse the fiercer passions, and one seldom hears of a confirmed one being a wife-beater, a gambler, or a frequenter of the brothel. The evil, socially, arises from the habit causing a man to neglect his business, and thus bring poverty on himself and family. The Chinese opium is objected to by smokers on account of its disagreeable smell and taste, and it is always mixed, in some proportion, with the Indian article. The effects of the two kinds are the same, but the Indian is much stronger and less does. I have no experience of opium-smoking in any other race except the Chinese.

4. Consumers nearly always smoke the opium, although in some rare cases they eat it, when it is much more injurious to the digestive and secreting organs generally. It is not used in a liquid form.

5. It is difficult to say how many can use opium without injury, but I consider that more than half the consumers do so. At first sight, to foreign medical men, the number of "sots" appears large in proportion, because they are the only consumers who are likely to be brought to his notice. He is never, as a rule, consulted by the moderate smokers, who are in the majority.

6. Many Chinamen use opium in moderation without harm to themselves. I know a Tingchai or office-boy who has, to my knowledge, smoked opium for 14 years, during which he has been in the same situation, and still continues to give satisfaction to his employer. A Chinese gentleman with whom I am acquainted about six years ago was suffering from severe chronic diarrhoea of a nervous character, which both foreign and native medicines failed to cure. Amongst other things he informed me he took four teaspoonfuls of chlorodyne daily. His friends advised him to try smoking opium, with the result that he recovered in a very short time. He has had no relapse, and has gained 30 lbs. in weight. He has continued the habit and now smokes twice daily. This gentleman holds a good position in the Chinese service, is very able in his profession, a good linguist, and is highly esteemed by his own people and the foreigners who know him. There are many Chinamen one meets who smoke moderately, and yet one may never learn they do so except by accident. On the other hand, it is not difficult to recollect cases of Chinese who have fallen victims to over-indulgence in the habit, because, as I have already mentioned, these are the ones most likely to be forced under one's observation. I attended lately a Chinese gentleman who was formerly a very able draughtsman. He had smoked opium for 20 years, and it affected his working powers so much that his wages were reduced. He continued to increase the amount consumed, and finally became very poor. Two months ago he was seized with an attack of pneumonia, of which he died on the fifth day, and no doubt the fact of his being a smoker told against him by reducing his physical strength.

7. A number of labourers, merchants, and artisans in this place smoke opium, but certainly not the majority of them. The opium-consuming and other artisans and labourers here are less liable to meet with accidents while at work than the corresponding class in England who indulge in alcohol; but this may be partly due to the more cautious and slower nature of the Chinese people. There is a large Government dockyard at this port where, at one time, 3,000 hands

were employed, but now the number is less. The usual work in such places is carried on, and some 33 gunboats and other men-of-war have been turned out. Yet serious accidents amongst the men have been extremely rare in the 14 years I have known the place, certainly not more than one a year, and I cannot recall a case where the injured man has died, so comparatively slight have the accidents been. If the proportion of workmen who take opium indulged in alcohol instead I think it may be safely said that the number of accidents would have been much greater. Workmen who consume opium are not considered to be so active as they who do not. Nearly all the coasting steamers carry Chinese firemen, and for some reason the majority of them do consume opium. The captains of many of the home-trading steamers prefer these firemen on account of their being quieter, less quarrelsome, more amenable to discipline, and less liable to get drunk than Europeans.

8. The Chinese drink native wine, or samshoo, but they seldom become habitual drunkards, although they do get drunk much oftener than many foreigners suppose, but they do so quietly at home. If a man should be found drunk and incapable in the streets, with no friends to protect him, he is liable to be robbed by the passers-by. A drunken Chinaman is a much more objectionable individual to meet with than one under the influence of opium. Young natives are more likely to be rude to foreigners when in this state; they are bolder, and have less self-control, and are more inclined to be quarrelsome and aggressive. Opium, on the contrary, has a soothing influence on the consumer, he becomes less active, quieter, and better tempered.

9. The Chinese in conversation condemn generally the habit of opium-smoking, and they are always more or less ashamed to confess that they indulge in it. They also nearly always understate the quantity they consume. A man's family will object to his smoking because it was his substance, which they rightly consider should be spent in other ways. Besides it may lead to his neglecting his work, losing his situation, and thus land them in poverty and want. All the Chinese I have spoken with on the subject agree in saying that it is less degrading to drink wine as they do than to smoke opium, but they are totally unacquainted amongst themselves with the aggravated forms of alcoholism that occur in Europe.

10. Yes; but I do not think in very great numbers, unless compelled to do so by circumstances.

11. If the importation of Indian opium were stopped consumers here would feel the deprivation very acutely at first. Some moderate smokers and new beginners might give up the habit rather than use the unpalatable native stuff, but the greater number would try and console themselves with it. I do not think they would resort to alcohol to any great extent, as it does not suit the quiet, contemplative nature of the people. They do not care for any foreign drinks except sweet champagne, liqueurs, and port. But there is a great danger that they might take to the morphia habit and the hypodermic syringe. Last year it was found in the colony of Hong Kong that some men were doing a thriving business by keeping shops where they injected a solution of morphia into the native coolies at two or three cents a head. The Hong Kong Government has now made this illegal, but it might readily be introduced into China by unscrupulous Chinese or even foreigners anxious to make money, and the custom might be very extensively adopted by the people before the Chinese Government took steps to stop it. There would be the risk of spreading other blood diseases with the syringe as well as the morphia habit. There is little doubt that the consumption of tobacco would be greatly increased if the Indian supply of opium were stopped.

12. Europeans very seldom contract the habit of smoking opium in China, but I know of one case. It does not suit an active race, the having to lie in a recumbent position, the troublesome preparations and time it requires make Europeans averse to it. The subsequent headache which foreigners that have tried it complain of is not to be forgotten. The Chinese have very few social amusements compared with foreigners, such as reading, music, sports, and the like. Life is dull and materialistic to them, and their homes are uncomfortable and squalid, especially so in wet weather. It assists for the time to make their surroundings bearable. It warms them in cold weather, checks the pangs of hunger, and makes them "feel good." Then there is the force of example and custom.

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13. Opium-consumers begin to use the drug very often in the same way that European boys learn to smoke tobacco. The young are curious to try it. Friends meeting together and having nothing to do often smoke a pipe to pass the time. After a Chinese dinner it is a very common custom to offer a pipe to the guests. Some begin to take it because they are worried or in pain. I do not know if it is taken as a prophylactic, but it is very much used for rheumatism and pain generally. One can see any day on the street natives with opium plasters on the face for neuralgic pains. Quinine is preferred by the people here for fever.

14. Yes; many of the older smokers do. I have been consulted, for instance, by an official who wished to regain his virile power, which the continued use of opium destroys.

15. I believe the common people are perfectly indifferent on the subject. The better educated know that it takes away a great deal of money which they would like to see retained in their own country, and I have heard some of them express a desire to see the importation stopped.

16. Indian opium is usually consumed by the wealthier classes only on account of its cost. Chinese cannot compete with Indian opium, except amongst the poorest class of consumers. It has to be mixed with Indian.

17.—(a.) It will decrease the consumption at first. (b.) It will lead to increased cultivation in China, and probably they may try to improve the quality of their own drug. I have heard an educated Chinaman suggest that Indian natives, well acquainted with the cultivation of the poppy, should be introduced into China to instruct the Chinese growers, in much the same way as the Chinese showed them the method of preparing tea. (c.) To make up the deficit the Chinese Government would most probably increase the tax on native opium.

20. It is probable that the increased consumption of opium in this immediate district, as shown by the greater number of shops, may, in addition to the reasons given, be partly due to the constant employment of a large number of hands on the construction of a new graving dock which is being made by the Government.

J. J. UNDERWOOD, M.B., C.M., L.R.C.S.E.,
Medical attendant to H.B.M. Vice-
Consulate, Pagoda Island.

Hoihow.

HOIHOW.

Kiungchow (Hoihow).

March 6, 1894.

Mr. E. H. Parker (H.M. Consul) presents his compliments to the Secretary of the Royal Commission on Opium and begs to forward his own and the only other replies obtainable (within the limit of time given) to the series of printed questions transmitted through Mr. O'Connor.

The 10 European officers in Chinese employ here decline to make answers without Sir Robert Hart's consent, and Mr. O'Connor was informed of this by telegraph over a week ago. One missionary is sending his replies to the Anti-Opium Society. The others are either new arrivals or are up country.

Consul PARKER.

1. Yes; all nine provinces I know.

2. Average, perhaps 30 per cent. Women, only prostitutes, say, 2 per mille. Children, never.

3. Moral and social, no harm. Physical, deterioration in staying powers. Effect same on all. Indian effects greater.

4. Smoke, never drink. Eat when they cannot smoke. Cannot distinguish; know nothing of eating-drinking effects.

5. 50 per cent.; 49 per cent. (conjecture).

6. Yes. (1.) My official servant here. (2.) The late comprador, Shanghai Consulate. Both steady smokers and brainy men. Never saw great injury with own eyes.

7. Nowhere a majority, except perhaps Sz ch'wan. No bad effect on merchants or artisans beyond waste of money and (perhaps) time. Chair and boat coolies lose time and staying powers.

8. No abuse of alcohol in China. In rare cases, where rich men or soldiers drink too much, they quarrel, which opium-smokers do not.

9. Yes. They know nothing of alcohol habit. To get drunk is a complimentary act to the host, on a par with gorging and eructating. No disgrace. The magistrates of this city got dead drunk in this house on the Queen's birthday as a compliment to my predecessor, and I have known other similar cases; it is no habit, and does no harm in their eyes.

10. Yes. They are obliged to when in our prisons. But voluntary act is hard.

11. They would move heaven and earth to get it, and not resort to kinds they did not like until absolutely forced. They would certainly not take alcohol, and most positively not abstain altogether.

12. Never heard of any but French in Tonquin. It is so serious there that officials have just been officially warned. Asiatics have fewer distractions, never take exercise, are never pressed for time, are more stay-at-home, &c., &c.

13.—(1.) For company. (3.) To assuage pain, and, it is thought, keep off malaria. I know nothing of it except that I once tried a pipe.

14. Yes, if they have an object. Not, if not.

15. None but officials know much about it, and with officials the cry is generally clap-trap. The Governor of this island, who has just left, was a heavy smoker, and has been superseded for joining the Chinese Consul-General at Singapore (who is a confidant of the Chinese Minister in London) to defraud the opium revenue and put \$20,000 in his own pocket. The Chinese Consul-General has been forced by the Singapore Government to disgorge \$35,000 of opium revenue squeezed. The previous Governor of this island wrote to me once (quite irrelevantly) upbraiding England for selling opium; but he was a furious anti-foreign man, and I told him to mind his own business. The present Viceroy at Nanking is a heavy opium-smoker.

16. All classes. Coast provinces. Where the two are readily obtainable Chinese drives Indian almost utterly away.

17.—(a.) None whatever. (b.) Immediate extension. (c.) Disastrous.

18. No. But with my own eyes I have seen the whole country covered with it in Sz Ch'wan; to a less extent in Kweichow, Fuh Kien, and Chên Kiang. I estimate the Chinese out-turn at not under 100,000 piculs. But this is mere conjecture.

19. Over 1,000,000 a year. For exact amount consult published Customs Reports. The taxation on native opium is evaded, falsified, and persistently opposed by the local officials, most of whom are bribed by those interested, and put as much as possible of what they collect into their own pockets.

20. No. But I may observe that I have published a book called "Chinese Account of the Opium War;" also one called "Chinese Intercourse with Europe." I sent both to the Foreign Office in 1891, and they can also be purchased at Kelly, Walsh, & Co.'s in China. I have also published a book called "Up the Yangtse," which describes opium-growing provinces. This can also be purchased at Kelly, Walsh, & Co.'s.

Kiungchow, March 2, 1894.

E. H. PARKER,
Consul.

Mr. JÜDELL.

1. Yes, it is very commonly used.

2. In towns about 50 per cent. of the male adults smoke opium; in the country 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. Women very rarely smoke; children never.

3. When smoked in moderation, opium-smoking does not seem to have any deleterious effects, and neither moral, physical, or social changes are noticeable. I have only come into contact with Chinese opium-smokers, and cannot say whether the effects are different with regard to other races, Indian opium being much stronger, if therefore smoked in excess, the effects are sooner noticeable.

4. It is chiefly smoked in these parts. If eaten, it is heated, made into pills, and taken with tea, congee (rice water), or hot water. I have not noticed any difference in the effects if smoked or eaten. If eaten, smaller quantities suffice, and it is taken to economise.

5.—(i.) 80 per cent. ; (ii.) 15 per cent. ; (iii.) 5 per cent.

6. I know any number of Chinese who have smoked opium in moderation for quite a number of years. I know that a Ting Chai in the service of the H.B.M. Consul has smoked opium to rather a large extent since 1876, and is an excellent servant. One of my own employees has been smoking for many years in moderation, and I have not noticed any change in him, although he seems to have only a feeble constitution.

7. Yes, all classes smoke opium. In most cases it does not prevent them from doing their work properly.

8. It is by no means so deleterious as the abuse of alcohol.

9. No, not unless a man becomes a perfect opium sot. A man who takes often alcohol in excess is much more looked down upon than a man who indulges too much in opium.

10. I have known a few cases where people have gradually given up smoking opium. It was, however, only taken by them in moderation before.

11. They would take to Chinese opium. They would neither resort to alcohol or other narcotics, nor abstain altogether. When I arrived here in 1876 hardly any native drug was smoked here. Now at least one-half of the opium consumed is Chinese-grown.

12. Europeans in China do rarely contract the habit. They use alcohol as a stimulant. In Tonquin, among the French people quite a number have taken to opium, and it is becoming quite a curse there. I believe that Asiatics take easier to opium-smoking, because they are a quieter set of people, not so much given to conviviality and any noisy kind of entertainment, which alcohol almost invariably produces.

13. Very much the same way as Europeans and others take to tobacco. Curiosity may also have a good deal to do with it. Many Chinese believe in the opium pipe as being a preventative against fever and malaria.

14. No; I only once came into contact with a petty military official, who wanted to get rid of the habit. He was a very heavy smoker, and suffered from the effects; was also mentioning that it cost him too much money. I did not hear whether he was cured.

15. They never express a wish to this effect either one way or the other.

16. Indian opium is only smoked purely by the wealthier classes. Most of the consumers mix it to a large extent with Chinese-grown opium.

17.—(a) Opium will be just as much consumed as hitherto; (b) there will probably be more cultivation of the poppy and opium production in China; (c) naturally the Chinese Government will derive a larger revenue from Chinese-grown opium.

18. No cultivation of the poppy takes place here. The opium used comes from Tunvan Szchuen, and of late also from Kow Chow (Kwang Tsing).

19. I am unable to give any answer on this point.

20. I believe that the habit of opium-smoking prevents, to a certain extent, Chinese from drinking alcoholic stimulants. I have noticed often that as soon as a Chinese began smoking he invariably refused to take alcoholic drinks, and have been told that alcohol disagrees with opium-smoking.

(Signed) L. JÜDELL.

Hoihow, 6th March 1894.

Mr. Jüdel is the oldest resident.

Rev. C. JEREMIASSEN.

Kiangchow, Island of Hainan,
March 8, 1894.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese throughout the various parts of China which I have visited during my 25 years of experience and residence, from Hainan, the south-western part of the Chinese Empire, to Newchang, the north-western part.

2 and 3. The proportion of those who use opium varies very much, from 3 or 4 to 95 per cent. Generally only women of the lowest class (prostitutes) and of the highest class use it. In two towns in the interior of

Hainan, which I have visited several times, out of the 80 families of which the town consists there cannot be found one family in which some member does not smoke opium. This is on the authority of a well-to-do man, who had come to me to be treated for the habit, a resident of the town, and is also confirmed by the testimonies of those of our missionaries who have visited the place. The general estimate of smokers in this town is from one to five in each family, and my informant also testified that he had seen children of one or two years of age who, while they could not smoke themselves, would lay down beside their parents on the opium-couch, the opium being administered by blowing the smoke from the pipe into the child's mouth, the child swallowing it. This man had smoked opium since he was 17. He is now 45. He was not so emaciated as most opium-smokers are, being a man of means who could afford to live well. You should have seen the change in this man, morally, physically, and socially, after three months. He had been a dirty, filthy, and morally-destroyed opium-smoker, but is now clean and decent. His self-respect has returned. A friend meeting him who had not seen him since he stopped smoking did not recognise him, so great was the change. What a man he would have been had he never taken to the opium pipe? He is of course still weak in body, and will no doubt never recover fully from the injury to his system. In the town mentioned above the demoralising and deadening effect is seen in all its darkness, and is most clearly shown in the children. The death-rate among children is very great. The people being partly blind to the true cause (opium), ascribe it to climatic influences.

4. In this island opium is only consumed by smoking, but in some parts of China the morphine habit has been of late years increasing at a most alarming rate, occasioning much discussion, and in Hong Kong legislative measures.

5. The overwhelming evidence at home and abroad of the baneful and awful effects of opium ought to be sufficient to give the death-blow to so indefensible a traffic—a traffic truly described as “providing a revenue for India out of the blood of Chinamen.” By Act of Parliament opium has been declared a poison, and its use is limited under severe restrictions. How can that which has been declared a poison in England and civilised countries generally, and which not less than one thousand missionaries in India, fifteen hundred missionaries, and the entire Christian church (50,000) in China, five thousand medical men in Great Britain, have declared a poison, and stamped as morally and physically debasing; how can it be stated to be harmless to the Chinese? With this overwhelming evidence, is it still possible to believe in the sincerity of those who say that opium used in moderation is not injurious? We must declare the traffic as wicked and indefensible, and as the nation has declared it a poison, it ought also to prohibit the growth and manufacture, except to supply the need for medical purposes.

7 and 16. It is smoked by all classes, and it affects each and all in a greater or less degree. We have had workmen and teachers who were very efficient before taking to opium-smoking, but who had to be dismissed as almost useless, untrustworthy, and unfit for the least physical or mental exertion. Officials, merchants, and persons in general are wholly demoralised and ruined by the misuse of this otherwise efficient drug. Persons, high and low in rank, come to us to consult concerning breaking off the habit, as they all see how, sooner or later, it must work its deadly effects. Chair-bearers are nearly all opium-smokers, and experience has taught us never, if possible, to engage opium-smokers, but to take non-smokers, who are in every way more satisfactory.

8 and 9. The opium habit is condemned by all persons alike, smokers and non-smokers. I have never met a Chinaman who did not acknowledge its low and degrading effects, its ruining the health, and lowering the social standing. Those who smoke generally, when asked, deny it, the answer often given in a hurt and shame-faced manner. But if told by certain undeniable signs that he does use the drug, his answer is, “I sometimes play a little with it” (a common Chinese expression). Wine (alcohol) is used by the Chinese, but no one would think of denying it, for it is not considered an evil.

13. Having had an extensive practice in malarial and fever regions, I positively deny that opium is a

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prophylactic against fever or malaria. The therapeutic value is well known, and does not need discussion. Opium-smoking is sometimes taken up as a remedy in certain diseases, but more generally it is considered in the same way as people in England take to smoking tobacco. The evil has, however, now become so firmly rooted in some places that it may be considered a social evil. The cup of tea presented to the visitor is in a fair way to be surpassed by the opium pipe. Now very often visitors are invited to what is known as a social smoke, and in this way contract the habit.

15. The time given (10 days) is very inadequate for preparing a reply for so great and important a subject, but I hope at no distant time to send you directly the opinion of the natives in reply to Question 15 and others.

17. It is difficult to say what will be the probable consequences of the prohibition of the export of Indian opium, but one thing is certain, that it will, at least to some extent, erase the just reproach of the Chinese. It will show that England is a true Christian nation, with a faithful Christian principle, and does not desire to live on the life-blood of semi-civilised nations. The duty and honour of the nation which claims that "the Bible is the secret cause of its greatness," together with the commandment of the Book, "Do unto others as we wish it to be done to ourselves," demands it.

20. The friends of opium have no intention of encouraging or making it more easy for their wife, children, or friends to use the fascinating drug, for they now more carefully than ever seek to restrict as extremely dangerous for Britishers, but contend that it is by no means a dangerous drug to the Chinese. I have only during about half of my residence in China been a missionary, and therefore have seen the opium question from various view-points. I remember the time quite well when, like others, in my ignorance might have been ready to say that not much mischief is done by opium-smoking, and that very few people are smokers. Opium dens and opium-smoking are not paraded as the drinking saloons and public-houses, nay, on the contrary, they are in the darkness, and would not be noticed by an occasional observer, or one who is not introduced to real Chinese life. Most persons who proclaim opium harmless do so really because they are ignorant on the subject. As a missionary, I have on my travels, and among the sick in the hospital, met face to face with the dreadful calamity and misery caused by opium, and as an eye-witness of all the horrors of opium, pray that the Commission will do their utmost to erase this great evil, with its attending destruction of human life.

(Signed) CARL C. JEREMIASSEN.

Mr. Jeremiasen is a Danish missionary, once in the out-door staff of the Customs, with great experience of Hainan.

H.B.M. CONSUL, HOIHOW.

I heartily agree to the views and statements here made by Mr. C. C. Jeremiasen.

(Signed) P. W. McCLINTOCK.

Mr. McClintock is a young American missionary who has been a year in China (Hainan).

H.B.M. CONSUL, HOIHOW.

I believe that Mr. Jeremiasen has rather underestimated than over-estimated the evil effects of opium-smoking.

(Signed) CHAS. S. TENILL, M.D.

Mr. Tenill is a qualified medical man (United States) who has spent two years in Persia and six months in China (Hainan).

H.B.M. CONSUL, HOIHOW.

Korea.

CHEMULPO.

H.M. Vice-Consulate,

SIR, Chemulpo, Corea, March 1, 1894.

UNDER instructions from Her Majesty's Minister I have the honour to enclose a reply to the questions put by the Royal Commission on Opium regarding opium consumption in China.

I have, &c.

W. H. WILKINSON,
Acting Vice-Consul.

Vice-Consul, WILKINSON.

It should be premised that opium, except medicinal opium, is contraband in Corea. When any portions of the drug or the implements used in smoking it are discovered by the officers of the Corean Customs, these are seized and confiscated. Nevertheless opium does find its way into the country, smuggled, it is said, chiefly with the aid or connivance of the crews of Chinese men-of-war. Englishmen, and indeed foreigners at large, have nothing to do with it. The smugglers are all Chinese, and, as I am informed by the Commissioner of Customs at this port, the opium hitherto seized has been all Chinese-grown, and not Indian opium.

The majority of the Chinese settlers in Chemulpo (and in Corea generally) come from the neighbouring province of Shantung. The information obtained as to the habits and opinions of the Chinese here in regard to the consumption of opium would appear, therefore, to occupy part of the ground more fitly to be covered by Her Majesty's Consul at Chefoo.

From replies to certain of the questions of Her Majesty's Commissioners kindly furnished to me by Dr. Landis, an American physician in charge of the English Church Mission Hospital here, it will be seen that a proportion of Coreans are becoming addicted to the consumption of opium. It should, by the way, be borne in mind when considering the report of Dr. Landis that he, in common with all hospital physicians in the far East, sees necessarily only the worst phases of the practice and its results.

1. Dr. Landis affirms that at Chemulpo "opium is consumed to quite a large extent by the Chinese, and by a smaller but increasing number of Coreans." In the ports of China at which I have myself been stationed, Swatow, Amoy, Tamsai, Foochow, Wenchow, Ningpo, Hankow, and in Peking, its consumption is accepted as a matter of course. By this I mean that each of those places is admitted to contain a considerable proportion of consumers. I have not heard during my 14 years' residence in China of any part of the country of which much the same statement could not be made. If, however, by "commonly" is meant "by a majority," then I should not venture to make this assertion of any province except Ssuchuan, though I believe it to be true of many other districts, notably South Chekiang.

2. Dr. Landis replies: "Between 80 and 100 Coreans in Chemulpo, and at least two-fifths of the Chinese males consume opium." At Wenchow in 1892 I was informed by a reliable authority that 60 per cent. of the males, and 30 to 40 per cent. of the females smoked the drug. I have never heard of children smoking unless it be in seats of native luxury and vice, such as Shanghai or Peking. It is not usual to begin the practice before the age of 18 or 19.

3. "The effect of opium on the Coreans," says Dr. Landis, "is more decided than on the Chinese. It ruins morally and physically at least 90 per cent. of all Coreans who use it. The ruin caused among the Chinese is not so great, but yet it is extensive." The Corean is more lethargic than the Chinaman, and of less tough fibre. Among the Chinese of Shantung it is estimated (by themselves) that 70 per cent. are injured morally by the practice. Physically, they declare, about the same number become attenuated; some 10 per cent. remain unaffected, while the rest (20 per cent.) are the better—at any rate the stouter—for it. With regard to the different effects of the Indian and China drugs, I am informed that a smoker for three years of the former would require three months at the least to break himself of the habit, whereas a smoker of the latter could do so in one month. Indian is however universally regarded as the better, purer, as well as more potent, variety.

4. Dr. Landis answers that "opium is only consumed by smoking." A Chinaman, however, having upon him the yin or craving will occasionally mix opium with water and so drink it. It is never (that I am aware) eaten by the Chinese. The drinking of opium is regarded as worse than the smoking of it, as it is almost impossible to break off the habit.

5. Dr. Landis refers in his reply to Question 3. My Chinese informant (a Shantung man) states (i.) 33 per cent. to 4 per cent.; (ii.) 20 per cent.; (iii.) 76 per cent. or 77 per cent. In the entire absence of reliable statistics I should say that the proportions he gives are very wide indeed of the mark. At Wenchow

opium is offered as a matter of course at official dinners, and is a constant accompaniment of all large mercantile bargainings. I have never yet even seen an opium "sot," but if the proportions here alleged were true, one-half of the male population of Wenchow would be "sots," and three-fourths of those of Western China. In taking the evidence of natives in responsible or respectable positions very large allowances must be made, for (a) the effect of the old fulminations against opium [due primarily to the dread of the drain of silver from the country] has not yet evaporated; (b) it is a fact that an opium-smoker is, by reason of the thefts he is tempted to commit to raise the means for smoking, less trusted than a non-smoker. Hence Chinamen in the employment of others (particularly of foreigners) are tempted to paint the practice in the darkest possible colours, so that they may not themselves be suspected of addiction to it.

6. Says Dr. Landis: "I have never seen a single case of 'moderation' in the use of opium. The ultimate end is the same in every case which I have seen, although the rapidity of the course varies. During last year there were 15 cases of attempted suicide by opium, in 14 of which the unfortunate people were opium *habitues* who had been made desperate by inability to get rid of the habit, or by having no means to purchase the drug. The 14 cases were all Korean." I would draw attention to Dr. Landis's last sentence. The Korean has not the stamina to resist (or rather, to successfully practice) vice, possessed by the Chinaman. As regards the latter I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that there must be a very large number of cases of "moderation." If time allowed, particulars could easily be collected. My amah's father, she tells me, a Kiangsu man, was a Chinese doctor and an habitual smoker. Her mother used to prepare the drug, which in this way cost her father \$4 a month, as against the \$8 he would have had to pay at a divan. He was always a strong hearty man in appearance, and died at what in China is reckoned the respectable age of 63. My boy is well acquainted with a man of 40, who has smoked continuously for 17 years and is none the worse for it. His custom was to confine himself to one mace a day, and so on. On the other hand there have been no doubt a very large number of instances of great injury. None of these have passed under my personal observation, whereas from the nature of the case they would be precisely those which would most fall under the notice of a medical missionary.

7. Dr. Landis: "Among the Chinese here the *habitues* are chiefly from the labouring classes and petty shopkeepers, probably because they constitute the greater part of the Chinese population. Among the Korean consumers are numbered chiefly merchants and those who come in contact with the Chinese. It eventually in all cases renders them unfit for business, and so leads them to their ruin. Example: Hong, a prosperous and well-to-do merchant, and a good Chinese scholar, having a good business, was persuaded by a Chinaman to take a few whiffs of opium for indigestion. He gradually took more and more and finally neglected his business, and is now ruined and practically a beggar, though he should be in the prime of life, as he is only 34." In Shantung only three or four per mille of the agricultural labourers smoke (they are very poor and opium is dear), but some 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. of the merchants, 30 per cent. to 40 per cent. of the artisans, and 50 per cent. and upwards of the officials and their underlings. As regards the artisans, says my Chinese informant, their efficiency is not affected; they lose money because they lose time and have to buy the opium. Among merchants the practice, he affirms, is positively advantageous, for a pipe much facilitates business transactions. It keeps the seller's head clear and soothes the bargainer, who will deal more readily where he shares a pipe of opium than where only tea is taken.

8. Dr. Landis: "The effects of opium on Koreans cannot be compared with the effects of alcohol," which is rather vague. Abuse of alcohol is rare among the Chinese, but exceedingly common among the Koreans.

9. "Almost all Koreans," says Dr. Landis, "except those that come from the borders of China, regard opium with horror, and its importation and sale are forbidden by the Treaties, although the Chinese smuggle it in large quantities, chiefly through

"Chinese bluejackets. The opium habit is regarded as ruinous, while the alcohol habit is not." In China a certain sentiment of letters and art is associated with the wine (or rather, the samshoo) cup, whereas, as I have already said, the echoes of past fulminations against those who would barter the goodly silver of the cultured land for the dirty drugs of the outer barbarian, have not yet quite died away. Hence in China as well as in Korea, opium-smoking is spoken of as less respectable than dram-drinking. An opium-smoker is not, however, at any great pains to conceal the fact (I met one carrying his pipe yesterday) — a sufficient proof of the real drift of public opinion.

10. "Opium consumers are very rarely broken of their habit. In China cases, I believe, do occur, but in Korea I have not yet met with any who have broken themselves. This, however, may probably be due to the fact that the number of *habitues* has scarcely as yet reached a hundred." My Chinaman estimates the number of those who break themselves of the habit at 4 to 5 per cent. It should be remembered that a very large proportion do not honestly desire to break themselves any more than did the toppers of Whitfield's time.

11. "This does not," says Dr. Landis, "refer to Korea, as the opium is smuggled into the country." The doctor's idea evidently is that as the Chinese here provide themselves with opium, despite all Treaties and prohibition, they would contrive to provide themselves with the drug, even were Indian sources dammed. As a matter of fact, all but a very insignificant proportion of the opium smoked by Shantung men does not come from India, but from Ss'u-ch'uan, Shansi, and Manchuria. The stoppage of the Indian opium trade would have no noticeable effect on Shantung consumption.

12. Europeans do not contract the habit in China or Korea in any numbers. I have only heard of one case—a barkeeper. Dr. Landis can give no medical reason why they should not; and my Chinaman's theory that "the hearts of Europeans are more even," their dispositions less flighty than those of the Chinese, is I fear, far too flattering. It is not because opium-smoking is a solitary rather than a social vice, for in Wenchow non-smokers often find pleasure in attending opium divans. Among Asiatics Japanese rarely contract the habit.

13. "Coreans," says Dr. Landis, "are led to contract the habit by the Chinese, who recommend it for petty sicknesses, usually giving it gratis for the first few times and afterwards selling it to them. Opium, in my opinion, is not a prophylactic against any disease." My Chinese informant says that the habit is usually acquired in houses of ill-fame; but I should venture to differ from him in this, and from Dr. Landis in his view of its uselessness as a prophylactic. By the testimony of all travellers in Western China its use enables coolies to undergo labour which would otherwise be impossible for them, and it is accepted (it may be, of course, without warrant) by the Chinese generally as in moderation a defence, if not a cure, for stomach troubles.

14. Dr. Landis "has never met with an *habitue* who has not desired to get rid of the habit." My Chinaman affirms that 80 per cent. wish to do so, but in my opinion very considerable deductions should be made from both statements. A Chinaman, and to a very large extent a Korean, will always tell a foreigner on whom he is in away dependent that which he imagines the foreigner desires to hear; moreover, Dr. Landis' informants were patients who, ex hypothesi, desired to get rid of the habit. One-half the total number of smokers may have a genuine desire to abstain, but hardly, I think, more than one-half.

15. The Shantung Chinese are absolutely indifferent. Even popular legend in China does not generally endorse your Justin McCarthy's amazing assertion that England forced opium on China, while careful native historians, such as the author of the "Shêng Wu Chi," record that "it was the closing of trade, and not the forced surrender of the opium, that brought on the Canton War [1840-2], the events leading up to which were the objections, generally, to sign away the lives of opium traders, and, specifically, to deliver up the homicide." [See S. H. Parker, "Pagoda Library," No. 1, p. 38.] Of course, polemical writers are as glad in China as in England to make out, at any cost to truth, a case against their successful opponents.

16. Indian opium is consumed almost entirely by the wealthy classes. The question of the competition between it and native opium has been dealt with care-

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fully in the volume of "Decennial Reports," lately issued by the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. Speaking generally, the tendency is to restrict the consumption of Indian opium to the Treaty Ports, and a few large centres of trade or luxury, and to confine it there to the rich or spendthrift class.

17. Almost certainly the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium would

- (a) not, after a few months, affect consumption, for
- (b) the production of opium in China, Persia, and Turkey would be increased; while
- (c) the Chinese Government would proceed more openly than even now to raise excise from the native drug, and at the same time, owing to the weakness of Persia and Turkey, to impose as much duty and *likin* on the foreign drug as the trade could stand.

18, 19. I would again refer to the "Decennial Reports," particularly to that on Chungking. I need merely repeat that opium is contraband in Corea, whence China has not only the right but the power to exclude it. Yet those who are pressing it on the Coreans are Chinese only, and the opium they bring was all grown in China.

M. H. WILKINSON,
Acting Vice-Consul.

H.M. Vice-Consulate,
Chemulpo, Corea, February 23, 1894.

Formosa.

FORMOSA.

H.M. Consulate,
Tamsui, March 5, 1894.

SIR,
In accordance with instructions from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith two sets of answers to the paper of questions relating to opium, which I received on the 23rd ultimo. The present opportunity is the first available since that date for despatching them.

I regret that the number of answers is so limited. Tamsui contains at any time but few foreign residents, and at present it happens that their number is unusually reduced. Two gentlemen to whom I applied, including the only resident medical man, begged to be excused, and Dr. Mackay, of the Canadian Mission, whose opinions would have been valuable, as he has an unrivalled knowledge of the island, is absent in Canada, and his substitute is a new comer.

I have, &c.
L. C. HOPKINS,
Acting Consul.

The Secretary,
Royal Commission on Opium,
India.

CONSUL HOPKINS.

1. Opium is commonly consumed in every part of China in which I have been, including my present post in North Formosa.

2. The following answer applies to this neighbourhood. It is founded on information obtained locally, with much care, mainly from keepers of opium shops, in conversation with my agent, himself an opium consumer. The element of wilful misrepresentation may therefore be eliminated. If by "consumers" it is intended to include occasional as well as habitual smokers, 90 per cent. of the adult male population of this neighbourhood are consumers, and about 16 per cent. of the women, but no children. But if habitual, that is daily, consumers only are meant, the figures will be 33 per cent. for adult males, and about 6 per cent. for women.

3. In answering the first branch of this question I must promise that though it is partly based on personal observation, my opinion is also, in great part, the result of accumulated information, derived from incidents, conversations, and statements, during my residence of nearly 20 years in China, and to that extent is not direct observation.

I think that opium-smoking *per se* has no moral effect one way or the other. But indirectly, with heavy smokers of limited means, it often becomes the temptation to theft. Compared however with the disastrous effects of alcoholic excess, those of opium seem insignificant.

The physical effects of opium-smoking, apart from the temporary stimulus, are of course in proportion to the habitual dose, but these symptoms are the common

ones. Dryness of the eyelids, and of the lining membrane of the nose; falling away in flesh to some extent, and sallowness in complexion; considerable sensitiveness to cold and chill; more or less constipation; some weakening of the powers of endurance, unless aided by a few whiffs of the opium pipe; gradual disinclination to sexual intercourse, and gradual loss also of procreative powers. On the other hand, both mental and physical powers seem to answer well to all ordinary calls, with ordinary smokers, except I think that the call must not be too prolonged. So far as I can see, provided the daily stimulus is given, the effect does not fail, and does not decrease.

The social effect is of more than one kind. Where the smokers are poor and abuse the practice, there must be a certain number constantly falling into acts of dishonesty and becoming generally worthless and hopeless—useless, but not dangerous—members of the community.

Otherwise, the regular opium-smoker is a peaceable and quiet person, disinclined by his habit to take part in stirring or dangerous enterprises, and ranging himself on the side of public law and order.

But the most important element in the social effects of habitual opium-smoking is its tendency to reduce the birth-rate.

Seeing how extremely prolific the Chinese race is, how almost universal early marriage is, and how large is the proportion of those who have to live on, or only just above, the irreducible minimum required to support life, this tendency to check increase of population might be considered beneficial rather than otherwise.

With regard to the question, "Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, &c.," I can only speak of the effect on Chinese with any detail, having known personally only one occidental (an Englishman) who was an habitual opium-smoker, and the circumstances of the case were such as to prevent my alluding to the matter with him.

So far as my experience goes, in other parts of China as well as here, very little Chinese-grown opium is smoked unmixed, but I have never been in the West, which is the great producing area for Chinese opium. I understand that to those who are accustomed to other kinds, Indian, Persian, or Turkey, the Chinese drug is insipid, and a larger quantity is needed to produce the desired results.

4. Smoking is the invariable way of consuming opium here.

5. The answer to this depends on whether occasional smokers are or are not included. Of the very large number of occasional consumers, I should say that practically none receive any injury from such occasional indulgence, probably, indeed, while they remain in that class, some benefit. Coming then to habitual smokers, my answer, based on a careful estimate by Chinese informants, is that of every 100 such habitual smokers, 30 to 35 suffer serious injury; 35 to 30, some, but not grave injury; and 30 no practical injury, this total being made up of 20 who smoke regularly but very lightly, and 10 who derive positive benefit, viz., persons suffering from very serious and wasting complaints.

6. Certainly it is not correct to say that "there cannot be such thing as moderation in the consumption of opium." Not to mention that all occasional smokers, nearly 60 per cent. of the total here, must be considered "moderate" consumers, if we take the class of habitual smokers, about 50 per cent. of their number must be reckoned among the moderate consumers.

Personally, I know of only one case where an opium-smoker has smoked regularly for years without any injury to himself. He is one of the native staff of this Consulate and has for years been suffering from a very serious lung complaint, which causes him to spit blood. He has been examined by three European medical men, Drs. Ringer, Johanson, and Rennie, who took such a grave view of his case that the latter told his friends some six or seven years ago that the sufferer had barely three months to live. He not only lives, however, but works regularly, and his health is no worse now than when condemned to death by the doctors. He lives carefully, smokes very moderately, once in the middle of the day, once at night. I believe that what his friends say is correct, that opium has kept him alive.

No doubt there are many cases of great injury done by excessive smoking, but I have not myself been brought into personal contact with such cases closely enough to describe their features.

My experience and belief is that the majority of regular opium-smokers belong to the class who do receive some injury, but that that injury is usually not very serious, and of such a nature that it may easily escape the detection of any observer unless the latter has unusual opportunities of knowing all the facts, and this cannot often be had. I venture therefore to detail the case of a man who has been in my service for eight years as a body servant, and who has thus been under close daily observation without interruption, except during the time I have been on leave in Europe. He has also in the course of that period told me from time to time those details which I could not possibly have learnt otherwise.

His age is now 42, and he is a well-grown and well-developed man of sound constitution. Even now he has not a single unsound tooth, and ever since he has been with me, has enjoyed almost unbroken good health. He seems to have, for a Chinese, rather highly strung nerves and is more energetic than the average. Thus I often hear him running up stairs, two steps at a time, and his movements are generally brisk and rapid. When he stops opium-smoking, which he has done twice in the above eight years, he at once puts on flesh and gains colour in the face, he being of the ruddy-complexioned Shanghai race. Speaking generally, he is illiterate but very intelligent, willing, and active, has quick observation, and a very good and accurate memory. He married at 19, his first child was born when he was 21, he has three others, the last born in 1884, since which year he has had no more children. He began smoking, at first occasionally only, when he was 24, and has smoked regularly since with the two interruptions mentioned above, but has always been a light smoker. Women were the motive for his beginning the habit. Considers regular opium-smoking a bad habit, because of the expense, because it makes a man sallow and thin in the face, and because his wife always dislikes it, besides, without his opium, he cannot walk far without feeling soon tired; and because he feels lazy in the early morning. These are the grounds volunteered by him for his opinion. He is quite sure that the opium habit gradually indisposes a man from sexual intercourse, and in the end takes away the power of having children. I will conclude this reply by saying that without these admissions on his own part, I should have been obliged to say that so far as his work and habits were concerned, opium appeared to have done him no appreciable harm.

7. A majority of town labourers, that is, chair-coolies and carrying-coolies, smoke regularly. A majority also, but rather a smaller one, of merchants. A minority of artisans. The following per-centage is probably not far from the truth. All agree that the country farmers and their labourers are less addicted to the habit than any other class.

Farmers and their hired hands		
probably not	-	10 per cent.
Fishermen, probably not	-	20 "
Smiths, " "	-	30 "
Tailors, " "	-	30 "
Shop assistants, " "	-	30 "
Carpenters, masons, &c.,		
probably not	-	40 "
Merchants, probably not	-	70 "
Coolies in town, probably not	-	80 "
Literary men (in Formosa, contrary to the usual rule, generally well-to-do)	-	80 "
Officials and their secretaries, clerks, police, runners, &c., at least	-	80 "

The northern troops garrisoned in Tai-peh-fu and round here are very strictly looked after, and seem not to be regular smokers. In the more malarious inland posts, however, the rule has to be relaxed, and smoking is allowed and usually practised.

8. The comparison is impossible to make as there is no abuse of alcohol here or anywhere else in China where I have been.

9. I think that the general opinion of Chinese is that all heavy opium-smoking is injurious, and that nearly all regular smoking is more or less injurious or objectionable. I have not sufficient data for answering the latter part of this question.

10. Yes, rather frequently, when a strong motive, usually the need for economy, exists.

11. The effect would be almost *nil* in North Formosa. The consumption of Indian drug here is almost con-

finied to the wealthy, and to the Cantonese colony. All the rest smoke Persian opium, and if the supply of Indian drug were cut off from here an increase in the import of the Persian kind would probably be the sole result.

12. Very rarely indeed. I have only known one instance of a European opium-smoker, and have heard of two or three more.

I feel nearly sure that the true reason for the great prevalence of the opium habit among Chinese is *ennui*. The classes among whom smoking prevails most are those which include persons having a good deal of spare time, whether they are rich landowners, or officials and their followers, or the literary, or merchants, or poor men whose work is irregular and liable to interruption, such as chair-coolies. As Chinese do not care for sport, detest exercise, seldom have hobbies, and are much less generally given to study or literature than one might suppose, leisure time hangs very heavily on their hands, and the opium pipe, under these circumstances, supplies a long felt want, for it fills a void and affords a stimulus.

13. The following estimate I believe to be fairly trustworthy with regard to the causes for the acquirement of the opium habit. Of those who smoke regularly, 4 or 5 per cent. are led to do so through ill-health, and in this locality especially opium seems to be regarded as a medicine of almost magic power. Some, perhaps 10 per cent., begin from associating with friends who are smokers. Others, perhaps 15 per cent., take to it to enable them to work overtime, to keep awake, or to make extra physical exertions. This category mainly applies to coolies or others whose calling is laborious.

The rest, at least 70 per cent., acquire the habit through associating with public women. I cannot say of my own knowledge whether opium is a prophylactic against fever or rheumatism. What I do know is, that it is commonly regarded in North Formosa as the only means of avoiding malarial fever, which unfortunately is very rife. And this is especially true of the more newly opened places in the densely wooded regions of the interior, such as Sau-O-Bay, Tokoham, Sak-kak-eng, and others, where I am told that almost everyone smokes, as the only means of withstanding the deadly miasma.

14. I think they often perhaps usually do in a vague and fitful way. Where the desire or motive is really strong and persistent, the average smoker, I think, can and does abandon the habit.

15. For the reason given in answer to Question 11, the export or non-export of Indian opium is a matter of indifference to the North Formosan population.

16. I have never made special inquiries, but I believe that the Canton provinces, and the Cantonese colonies throughout China, are pre-eminently the consumers of Indian opium, together with the wealthy men in whatever province they may live. I believe also that Chinese-grown drug is more usually mixed with Indian than smoked alone.

17.—(a.) I should conjecture that in so far as Indian opium was restricted, the Chinese would endeavour to supply its place from Persia, Turkey, and any other country not under British rule, experiments being made in French Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies, Africa, and other countries to supply its place. I should suppose that if the Indian supply were suddenly cut off, there would be some diminution of smoking, at any rate during the period of dislocation, and an immense stimulus to the sale of morphia pills and such forms of "opium-curing" medicine.

(b.) To say the least, a considerable stimulus.

(c.) It is very hard to guess. But the Chinese Government is so much in need of money that it cannot afford the loss of the revenue derived from the import of the foreign drug. I believe that they could not, and would not try to, raise the equivalent by further taxing the native drug, and that in one way or another they would endeavour to raise it from foreign trade.

18. I can only say that no opium is raised in Formosa.

19. _____

20. I have nothing further to add.

L. C. HOPKINS,
Tamsui, 3rd March 1894. Acting Consul.

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Formosa.
(Tamsui).

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Mr. ASHTON.

1. Yes.
2. Sixty-six per cent. males, 20 per cent. females, children under 15 years of age, none.
3. Its moral, physical, and social effects when indulged in moderately appear to be beneficial just as in the case in the moderate use of alcohol, but like alcohol the abuse of opium is attended with very disastrous, but by no means so repulsive results. I have not observed any difference in the results of the use of opium on consumers of different races. I believe there is no difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.
4. They chiefly smoke it.
5. I estimate that the proportions of those who use opium to be—
 - (i.) Without injury, 50 per cent.
 - (ii.) With slight injury, 30 per cent.
 - (iii.) With great injury, 20 per cent. opium sots.
6. No, many consume opium in moderation. Yes, several. (A.) is a compradore employed by a firm of merchants at this place. I have known him intimately for several years, for 10 of which he has been a consumer with to all appearance beneficial results. He is a bright, keen, and successful man of business. (B.) is a Chinese clerk in foreign employ, has been a moderate smoker for six years, and says he has found much benefit therefrom; suffers from asthma and is consumptive, but is a bright smart man and most attentive to his duties. (C.) is a sedan chair-bearer in my own employ for the last five years, has used opium daily for that time, and is reported to have used opium for over 20 years. The man is a fine active and powerful fellow and most attentive to his duties. I could enumerate many more cases that I have an intimate personal knowledge of, persons with whom I have had to do during the 25 years I have resided in China and Formosa.
7. The majority of labourers and agriculturists do not consume opium. Merchants and artisans do. The merchants I am acquainted with seem little or not at all affected by the opium habit, but the artisans deteriorate much and it is amongst this class that opium sots are most frequently met with.
8. Alcohol does not seem to be used to any noticeable extent in North Formosa, I am therefore unable to make any comparison as to its effects.
9. I should say that in the opinion of the Chinese the opium habit would scarcely be condemned as degrading, but its abuse is certainly regarded as injurious. I do not know how they would regard the alcohol habit, I think with disgust, and would consider the opium habit much more refined as a vice.
10. They can, and occasionally do, break themselves of the opium habit.
11. If the supply of Indian opium was entirely cut off from North Formosa the effect upon opium-consumers here would be nil, as more than 90 per cent. of all the opium imported is Persian, Turkey, and Wenchow. Indian opium is being almost entirely dispensed with in favour of the above named, consequently there would be no need for the people to forego their opium.
12. I have never known an European take to using opium. I think firstly because they do not consider it fashionable, and secondly because it is distasteful; were it fashionable the primary distaste and nausea would soon be got over. The converse of this I consider the reason why Asiatics are more liable to contract the habit than Europeans.
13. Again, fashion, together with the desire for some kind of stimulant, natural to most men, leads the Asiatic to try opium.
Of my own knowledge I do not know if opium is a prophylactic against fever or rheumatism or malaria, but it is most certainly regarded as such by the people hereabout.
14. They do not usually desire to get free.
15. I have never heard a Chinaman express such a wish.
16. I do not know.
- 17.—(a.) It would not in any way interfere with the consumption of opium here.

(b.) I do not know, but think that it would only tend to increase the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China.

(c.) I cannot tell.

18, 19. I can give no estimate. I do not know.

20. None.

I, Francis Ashton, agent for the firm of Lapraik Cass and Company, state that the foregoing replies are made by me, without having had time to devote that attention I should like to have given to him; as they stand, however, they are the result of 25 years of almost daily intercourse with Chinese consumers of opium in Southern China and Formosa.

(Signed) FRANCIS ASHTON.

Tamsui, Formosa,
March 2, 1894.

Tainan,

Sir, Formosa, March 6, 1894.

IN accordance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to forward herewith four replies to the papers set by the Royal Commission on Opium from the following persons:—

1. From myself.
2. From Mr. Perkins, of Her Majesty's Consular Service.
3. From Dr. Wykeham Myers, surgeon to His Imperial Chinese Majesty's Customs Service, Tainan.
4. Mr. Julius Mannich, merchant, Tainan.

I would draw special attention to Dr. Myers's contribution, as he has long devoted much study to the subject of opium-smoking.

I have, &c.

The Secretary, (Signed) R. W. HURST,
Royal Commission on Opium, Consul.
India.

Consul HURST.

1. My observation of opium-smoking chiefly extends to the ports of Wenchow, Foochow, and Tainan, at which places opium is commonly smoked.

2. At Wenchow I conjecture that 30 per cent. of the adult male population smoke, while in Foochow I should say the proportion was less. In Tainan the habit is most widely spread. I am told by a well-informed Chinese that here in Formosa 50 per cent. of the men and 7 per cent. of the women smoke. I have not heard of children contracting the habit.

3. Moderate opium-smoking is said to exert a soothing influence on the smoker, and to make him comfortable and contented, but excessive opium-smoking deteriorates the race both morally and physically. Morally, I think servants who are opium-smokers are more prone to steal, as opium being an expensive luxury their wages are often insufficient to afford them the indulgence. The effect of the drug on the physique of a confirmed smoker (one who has the "yin" or craving) is very apparent. He loses flesh, looks pale and emaciated, and he is incapable of prolonged physical exertion. Socially, I do not think the consumer suffers in any way. It is a common practice for merchants when making contracts to meet together over the opium pipe, and its sedative influence is found to conduce to the settlement of differences and to the promotion of business.

I know of no distinction in the effects of opium-smoking on consumers of different races, nor in the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium except that Indian is a somewhat more powerful drug.

4. Opium is almost universally smoked, cases of eating the drug being very rare. The effects in whichever form it was taken would probably not differ materially in character, though the latter would unquestionably be more noxious.

5. I should roughly estimate the proportion of those who smoke—

- (1.) Without injury, at 70 per cent.
- (2.) With slight injury, at 25 per cent.
- (3.) With great injury, at 5 per cent.

6. The habit of opium-smoking is undoubtedly very insidious, and it is difficult to use it within the bounds of moderation. The tendency is gradually to increase the consumption in order to produce an equivalent effect. When a man has once acquired the "craving" the habit is most difficult to throw off.

The moderate consumption of opium does not seem to affect the efficiency of the official and compradoric classes, who are generally possessed of keen intellects; probably their powers of restraint are greater than those of the labouring classes. I have heard it frequently stated (with what truth I know not) that coolies employed in arduous tasks are sometimes stimulated when jaded by a whiff of the opium pipe; a friend informs me, on the contrary, that when travelling in Szechuan for a period of six months he carefully weeded out the opium-smokers from his chair-bearers, as he found them less capable of the arduous physical labour involved than the bearers who did not smoke.

Confirmed smokers (those who have the "craving") when not under the influence of the drug are most helpless and good-for-nothing. I have known the case of a literary man who, if he had any work to do, had first to reinforce himself with an opium pipe before he felt himself equal to the task.

8. The effects of excessive opium-smoking are widely different from those of alcoholism. The former renders its victims effeminate and indolent, and unfit for exertion of any kind.

As long as China remains a nation of opium-smokers there is not the least reason to fear that she will bear a military power of any importance, as the habit saps the energies and vitality of the nation. It also tends to render those who have the "craving" impotent, and so checks the growth of the population.

9. The abuse of opium is generally regarded as degrading by the Chinese, though, when smoked within moderate limits, it is probably not so regarded. A drunkard is almost unknown in China, and would meet with universal execration.

10. Those who have the "yin" or "craving" can only break themselves of the habit with the greatest difficulty. They do so in a small percentage of cases by the help of anti-opium pills, but the cure is a long and painful one, producing colic and stomachic pains, for the relief of which they too often fall back on the drug.

11. Persian opium is more fancied in Tainan than the Indian drug on account of its comparative cheapness; last year the value of Persian opium imported amounted to 190,917*l.*, as against 13,630*l.* of Indian; Chinese opium is not grown in Formosa, nor is it imported into Tainan unless smuggled.

If the supply of the Indian drug were suddenly cut off, I am of opinion that the first effect would be a rise in price with a temporarily diminished consumption; that larger tracts of country in China would be devoted to the growth of the poppy, with the ultimate result that the consumption would go on as before. It is possible that the Chinese Government might be stimulated by the Indian Government to take vigorous measures to repress the growth of the drug, but having in view the large revenue it derives from opium, I think such a step improbable. Numerous proclamations against opium-smoking have been fulminated from time to time, but they have generally remained a dead letter. I do not think the Chinese would take largely to alcohol in any case.

12. I have heard of one or two instances of Europeans contracting the habit, but the temptation in their case seems less, as it induces an indolent frame of mind which is foreign to their natures. Its effects are probably less prejudicial to the Chinese than to other races. Living, as they do, chiefly on rice and a vegetable diet, it is said to prevent rapid digestion, and thus retards the feeling of hunger. Poorly-fed people like the Chinese would thus take more naturally to opium than well-fed Europeans.

13. It is probably taken originally as a remedy for some illness, or to while away a vacant hour. It is reputed to be a prophylactic against malaria, and this would account for its very common use in Formosa where malaria is much dreaded.

14. No, as a rule, I am assured that opium-smokers wish to continue the habit; though doubtless those who are ruining themselves by excess would like to free themselves from it.

15. The Chinese dealers would regret the stoppage of the importation from India; the non-smoking popu-

lation would approve of the step, while the smoker would object to it as likely to increase the price.

The idea of India's relinquishing the opium revenue is regarded by the officials as unintelligible and Quixotic.

16. Indian opium is chiefly affected by the affluent; the official and compradoric classes, by whom it is valued for its finer flavour; its high cost causes the poor artisans and labourers to resort to Persian or the Chinese-grown drug.

17.—(a) The consumption would be temporarily reduced, but it is doubtful whether the reduction would be permanent.

(b) The poppy would probably be more extensively grown in China.

(c) Impossible to say.

18. No.

19. On Indian and Persian opium the Chinese Government levies a tax of taels 110, say 2*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* per picul of 133½ lbs., being taels 30 import duty and taels 80 likin tax. Any native opium which finds its way here is "smuggled," as otherwise it cannot compete with Persian.

20. No.

H.M. Consulate,
Tainan, February 28, 1894.

R. W. HURST,
H.B.M. Consul.

Mr. B. M. PERKINS.

1. Yes, very commonly.

2. The number of adult males is difficult to conjecture, but probably 5 per cent will not be a bad estimate amongst the poorer classes of Peking, concerning whom I can best speak.

Women of a certain class smoke a good deal of opium, it being a fashionable vice with the young rakes of the city, and the girls from attending on them get to smoke themselves.

I have never heard of children smoking opium, except that occasionally their parents give them one pull at a pipe as a form of medicine.

3. I have seen opium-smokers of various kinds, but have never noticed any "moral" deterioration, unless in the case of an inveterate smoker suddenly deprived of his pipe, who might not improbably be thereby tempted to steal.

This does not apply to "opium sots," a class that I have never come across except in missionary literature, where the smoker is represented smoking in an erect position.

Physically the effects of opium seem to depend entirely on the quantity consumed, being, on the whole, beneficial up to a certain point; and, in the case of the poor, who are just able to smoke a little, appears to be a comfort and benefit, similar to but greater than the virtues which the "poor man" in England ascribes to his pipe.

Socially, have always found opium-smokers sociable and pleasant, and the effect of the drug has always seemed to be a humanising one. An opium-smoker will never cause a riot.

4. Have only seen opium smoked, though sometimes taken medicinally in other forms.

5.—(i.) and (ii.), but chiefly (i.) comprise, as far as I am concerned, all the smokers I have ever seen.

6. Certainly not; know several cases of opium-smoking without any apparent injury. One, in particular, a friend of mine, has been smoking for years, and his intellect, a brilliant one, is as good as ever. His name is K'uang; he was at one time employed in British Legation, Peking.

8. Alcohol when taken in excess has results which, compared with opium, are simply deplorable, but such excess in alcohol is comparatively rare—a Chinese drunkard is, like most others, noisy and highly objectionable.

9. By a small portion it is perhaps disapproved of, but the alcohol habit is certainly regarded as much more injurious.

10. Yes. Have known cases, one coming under my frequent observation being that of a girl, aged about 18, who had been smoking a great deal for two years, and succeeded in breaking it off, but suffered from

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great irritability at times during the progress of the renunciation, which was very gradually done.

11. None, except an increased growth of Chinese opium, and probably largely increased adulteration. Abstinence would certainly not result from it, unless enforced by a stronger Government than China possesses.

13. Partly answered under Question 2. It is also regarded as a solace for most ills, and apparently is so, as poor people, whose existence would otherwise seem to be intolerable, appear to derive great consolation and resignation from it, and so the habit spreads by force of example. It is certainly regarded as a prophylactic against various diseases by the Chinese, and, as a cure for colic, is also frequently taken.

14. Not in my experience; quite the reverse.

15. Never heard such a thing suggested, though the subject of opium is one that frequently arises in conversation.

16. By the richer classes; the poorer chiefly use Persian or native. (This applies to Peking only.)

17—(a.) Probably very little; in my knowledge, that is except it may be for a year or two, when China will grow sufficient for her needs, or get it from Persia; (b) it follows from the last that an increase may be expected.

20. Indian opium is generally regarded as the purest and best. In the country round Peking native-grown would appear to be most commonly used.

Dr. W. W. MYERS.

Takow, South Formosa,

March 1, 1894.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your note of to-day's date, enclosing a series of questions issued by the Royal Commission on Opium, regarding the consumption of and revenue from that drug in China, and requesting my reply thereto.

Soon after my arrival in China in 1870, feeling that the general independence of my position should enable me to approach the investigation, at least free from suspicion of personal bias, whether ascribed to sectarian antagonism or tribal partiality, I commenced to utilise the opportunities afforded by my close relations with the people generally to make observations and inquiries as to the effects produced by the use, and, or abuse of opium.

These investigations were continued for 10 years, during which time I had been stationed at Chefoo, in the Province of Shantung, Wenchow, in Chehkiang, and finally at South Formosa.

In 1881 the results of my inquiries were embodied in my routine report to the Inspector-General of Customs, and as this, in great part, gives much of the information desired by the Commission, so far as I can afford same, I venture to append the said report, as extracted from the Service Volume published by order of the Inspector-General.

During the 13 years that have elapsed since the issue of this report my relations with the people in this island have been of the most intimate nature, and I have not failed to avail myself of the further opportunities thus afforded for continuing the inquiry.

As to the result of such, the answers I now have the honour to give below to the questions you have sent me will, I trust, be deemed sufficient indication.

The numbers at the beginning of each answer correspond with those of their respective questions, as set forth on the printed list.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

1. I should say yes, certainly.

2. Even speaking solely for Formosa, it seems almost impossible to hazard a conjecture, as the proportion of smokers so obviously and materially differs in the large cities and towns from the country places. For instance, the proportion of adult males that smoke in Tainanfu and the Treaty Port may most probably be fairly put at 75 per cent.; while if one extends the calculation for the whole island, notwithstanding that I believe it to be larger for Formosa than any other distinct portion of the empire, the per-centage will, no doubt, fall within the limits of the fraction which the Inspector-General of Customs, after careful calculation,

based on the best and most reliable data, gives as expressing the per-centage of the entire Chinese population who smoke opium, *i.e.*, " $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1 per cent."

With reference to women, it is probable that those living in the country districts seldom or never smoke, but in the city and Treaty Port there can be no doubt that an annually increasing number of the married women indulge; indeed I am inclined to say that possibly 40 per cent., as against 25 per cent. of a few years ago, consume the drug in the pipe. As far as my own experience goes, I should say that children very rarely smoke. I can only recall two instances during my 25 years' residence in China; but it is only fair to state, however, that others, whose experience commands respect, have informed me that they have met with several cases where lads, from 12 to 16 years of age, have acquired the habit.

3. The summary of my experience goes to show that opium taken in reasonable moderation, or even somewhat beyond this limit, does not seem to have any marked moral, physical, or social effect on the consumer.

It must be noted, however, that this remark solely applies to the inhalation of the drug, as if taken either by the stomach or hypodermically the converse happens.

I have had no experience of the effects from smoking on any other race than Chinese, as no foreigners or aborigines use the opium pipe.

Beyond the fact that Chinese-grown opium seems to be, bulk for bulk, less powerful than Indian, and therefore has to be taken in larger quantities, this latter necessity being compensated for by its relative cheapness, I am not aware of any practical difference in the physiological effects of either.

4. Except as a temporary substitute, occasionally taken when time or other conditions do not permit of the pipe being used, the Chinese certainly do not habitually eat opium, decidedly preferring to smoke it, believing the latter method to be less likely to do injury. In this they are undoubtedly right. For suicidal purposes solutions of opium are used, but not as far as I am aware, in any other case.

Although as above shown I have little or no experience with Chinese opium-eaters, unfortunately I have had to deal with several others (non-Chinese) who have consumed opium, or I should say, morphia, by mouth, or hypodermically. Judging from such cases the difference between eating and smoking may be approximately indicated by comparing the effects of a noxious drug when used as a lotion and what would happen were the same to be swallowed in equivalent quantities.

5. Adopting the Chinese method for expressing proportions, my reply is as follows:—

To (i.) 7 out of 10.
 " (ii.) $\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{30}$ "
 " (iii.) $\frac{1}{30}$ "

These figures are 'only approximate, as there are no convenient means for obtaining data from which absolutely accurate conclusions could be got.

6. It seems to me that it would be as decidedly, indeed far more incorrect to say there can be no moderation in the consumption of opium smoked, as to affirm the same with regard to tobacco or alcohol; and I have, as a fact, met very many cases of smokers who have contented themselves with a limited quantity of opium for years without any apparent injury.

For detailed instance, and further particulars on this point, see appended Report (p.).

In this paper I have also attempted to describe a case typical of extreme indulgence (p.).

7. I think a majority of the labouring class in Formosa do indulge in opium, but very moderately; probably nearly all the merchants, and great numbers of the artisans, though I am of opinion that the great majority of these also do so with comparative impunity.

This question has been gone into at greater length on p. 63 of Report.

8. The Chinese are most abstemious in the consumption of a comparatively weak kind of alcohol (Samshu), and the only cases in which I have ever seen alcohol abused systematically was when natives have been induced by foreigners to indulge in Western spirits and wines.

In all these instances, fortunately few, the result has been most disastrous and speedy, showing up well how much more rapid and ruinous alcoholism is than even

the worst cases of opium excesses. (See Report, p. 64, par 3.)

9. I think the general opinion of the Chinese is that opium can be injurious, and in the end, not infrequently, is apt to provoke an excess which they deprecate, though they all seem to say that it generally takes from 15 to 20 years to attain such a condition.

I feel sure they do not look on the habit as "degrading," however much they may admit that abstinence is best, but there can be no doubt of the opinion they hold about the drunkard, and that they look at him as utterly degraded and useless. Indulgence in alcohol is, however, so uncommon, save perhaps during the New Year festivities, that it is difficult to fix on any specially illustrative case, and so one must be content with what seems to be an universally prevalent opinion. There is no trait they more openly despise and remark on in foreigners than the latter's tendency to exceed in this respect, nor do they conceal the strong views they hold as to the comparative innocence of even the worst form of opium excess.

10. Opium-smokers undoubtedly can and do break themselves of the habit, and I have obtained from the debtors' gaol in several yâmens curious corroboration of the Hong Kong Colonial Surgeon's statements as to the ease and benefit with which prisoners submit to the gaol deprivation.

Of course in any yâmen prisoners affluent enough to pay for it could still continue the use of the drug, but there are a sufficient proportion of the debtors whose poverty affords instances of the ability to suddenly stop, and the complete harmlessness of doing so.

11. If Indian opium were to stop to-morrow I do not think there can be any doubt but that Chinese opium would pour into the island, and probably before very long be as generally cultivated as it is on the mainland.

Formosa happens now to be nearly the last instance in China of a place where foreign opium is chiefly or almost entirely used.

On the mainland the latter, save for mixing with native-grown drug, has been considerably ousted, and *vis à vis* Indian, Persian has very materially taken its place in Formosa. The following comparative tables of Indian (Benares) opium and Persian or "Turkey," which latter, I am informed, is merely a trade name in Formosa for the same variety of drug, covering the period from 1882 to 1891 inclusive, will show how the Indian article is gradually giving place to its Persian competitor.

TABLES showing comparative AMOUNTS of INDIAN and PERSIAN OPIUM imported into TAINAN for a period of 10 Years from 1882 to 1891 (inclusive).

—	Benares	Persian.
	Piculs.	Piculs.
1882 - - -	1,213.20	2,039.81
1883 - - -	804.89	2,003.33
1884 - - -	550.88	1,725.34
1885 - - -	516.00	1,883.09
1886 - - -	535.77	1,489.06
1887 - - -	573.61	2,061.34
1888 - - -	674.58	2,114.57
1889 - - -	531.36	2,259.82
1890 - - -	522.78	2,691.15
1891 - - -	372.65	3,213.09
	6,295.72	21,480.60

From this it appears that whereas in 1882 the import of Persian was only 826.61 piculs more than Benares, in 1891 it was 2,840.44 piculs ahead, or for the whole decade, 15,184.88 piculs in excess.

Thus, by a natural process of competition, Indian drug is slowly but surely being driven out by Persian. In its turn, however, if the vendors continue to show the same strong inclination to "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs," by keeping up an artificially high price, *i.e.*, raising it to the standard of its ousted competitor, there are already visible many signs that native opium is vigilantly on the "stand-by," and will rush in at the first chance. China-grown opium was, up to three or four years ago, unknown in Formosa, but in this time, owing to the artificial fluctuations

alluded to, this drug has undoubtedly obtained an entrance, if not quite a footing, while various attempts have been and no doubt will be further made to establish its local cultivation.

We may thus see at least as far as Formosa is concerned, that in the event of Indian drug being driven out or prohibited, Persian will for a timetake its place, *i.e.*, for so long as the vendors consent to reasonably compete with the native production; but that one or other kind of opium will be available there cannot be the slightest doubt. It is equally sure that the Chinese will have opium, and certainly not take either to alcohol nor any other narcotic, and it need scarcely be said would never, save under circumstances of compulsion, almost impossible to imagine, think of total abstinence.

12. If by "opium habit" is meant smoking the drug, my answer must be that Europeans very rarely, if ever, thus indulge. In all my experience I have only known of two instances, both of whom, however, carried the practice to great excess. They eventually broke it off abruptly, informing me that the deprivation did not seem to cause more discomfort than that experienced by tobacco-smokers under similar circumstances.

In the cases to which I allude it may be interesting to state that both attributed the commencement of the indulgence to an unavoidable absence of all medical aid at a time of severe illness.

Judging, however, from the avidity and persistence which Europeans often exhibit (when subjected to temptation) for taking morphia by mouth or hypodermically, it would seem that there is no inherent individual obstacle to their acquiring the "opium habit"; but as the associations and procedure connected with opium-smoking are, *primi facie*, distasteful and incongruous with their general habits, it is possible that this does, in great part, account for the absence of European participation in the local and prevailing form of indulgence. Again, both from hereditary tendency, and everyday custom, Westerners are strongly prompted to satisfy any craving or call for stimulation by means of alcohol, which latter produces results more consonant with their constitutional activity. The Asiatic, on the contrary, finds in the soothing and comparatively gentle exhilaration of opium a stimulant more in keeping with his naturally apathetic and indolent nature. Here, too, we have an example of those peculiar contrasts in thought and act so frequently met with between Chinese and Westerners; for whereas the European is inclined to show leniency and forbearance to a very great extent towards those who display some amount of recklessness in the use of alcohol, the man who is known to habitually subject himself to the effects of opium or other narcotic drug would assuredly have to submit to a considerable amount of public disapproval. As shown under Question 9, the very converse is the case with Chinese.

In further illustration of the suggestion that choice of stimulant is generally regulated by racial proclivities, inherent or induced, it may be mentioned that the aborigines of this island (probably belonging to the Malayan family) will on no account touch opium although it could and would be readily supplied to them by the Chinese, if desired. On the other hand they lose no opportunity of obtaining Chinese wine, organising prolonged orgies whenever possible. They despise the Chinese habit of opium-smoking, saying "that wine is the only suitable excitant for men."

Another Chinese peculiarity is the general and intense horror of scenes, or any form of violent or ridiculous display, all of which they rightly assert alcohol has an irresistible tendency to produce.

What applies to the Chinese may, no doubt, *mutatis mutandis*, be said of other Asiatics.

13. The great majority of consumers assert that they began the habit first in order to relieve pain or discomfort from sickness, and considering the very poor resources at their command for alleviating, at any rate, immediate suffering, there is in all probability a good deal to be said for the statement, indeed when analysed such might in a certain sense be said to be the rationale of the therapeutical use of the drug in Western lands.

Having once discovered its pleasant properties, and, as I believe, to a great extent protected themselves, by their method of using it, from many of its evil consequences, they can continue for long to indulge with comparative impunity, soon finding out the limit of safety, and being perfectly able if they choose to avoid exceeding this. There is no doubt that opium is universally regarded by the people in this island as

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Formosa
(Takow).

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being prophylactic against malaria and curative of fevers and other diseases, but I know of no evidence which would be sufficient to disprove the assertion (if made) that such belief is in reality only based on the subjective sensations of the sufferer, most prominent to his mind, and the relief of which, therefore, is apt to confer undue merit on the alleviating medium. Though it must be admitted that, even thus modified, the popular belief is not devoid of some justification, though not wholly true. Therefore, while I cannot say from our medical standpoint, possessing as we do better means for determining the nature and course of disease, and also to some extent for directly treating it, that opium should be looked on in any other light than a possible and even useful adjunct, still, with a people practically so much bereft of what we consider the commonest medicinal advantages, I imagine that opium consumption may in many cases of sickness, if not always in health, offer facilities for favourable argument which those in daily contact with the consumers can readily understand.

14. Those who have gone to great or inconvenient excess certainly desire to be assisted in reducing the amount consumed, but that there is any sincere or general wish to be freed of the habit, because it is a bad or injurious one, I am inclined to think should not be universally affirmed. For fuller details on this point, see appended report, par. 3.

15. I should most decidedly say that it is now-a-days a matter of supreme indifference to the people of China who supplies the drug, so long as it is available; and I think it may be taken for granted that the only interest shown by them, and this no doubt is very great, is in all that tends to keep down price and preserve quality.

16. This question has been already answered, so far as I am personally able to afford information, in the reply to Question 11.

As to classification of smokers, see appended report, P.

I would also beg to refer to the following Customs publications:—

“New Series, No. 14, Opium Trade, March Quarter, 1889, Explanation of Decline in Import of Foreign Opium.”

“New Series, No. 9, Native Opium, Production of, in each Province, &c., 1888.”

17.—(a.) Save in so far as any temporary scarcity of drug, and consequent elevation in price enforces, during the period of recovery, reduced consumption, I do not think the prohibition or restriction of Indian opium will for long affect the habits of the people, as—

(b.) The cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China will no doubt be thereby immensely stimulated, and in a very short time, if indeed it is not at present, be quite capable of meeting all possible demands, and this too at probably much cheaper rate than now obtains.

(c.) I am quite unable to say what the Chinese Government are likely to do under the circumstances suggested, but assume that they would, no doubt, take means for adjusting any deficiency in revenue consequent on the withdrawal of that previously obtained from foreign drug.

It seems, however, from a general point of view, highly probable that the present very uncertain and light tax levied on native opium would be increased, and its collection superintended and organised.

I know of no reason for supposing that the production would be otherwise interfered with.

18. Customs' publication “New Series, No. 9, Native Opium, Production in each Province, &c., 1888,” supplies the best and most reliable information available on the point raised in this question.

19. The Revenue obtained by the Chinese Government for the year 1892 (including Lekim) and collected through the Imperial Maritime Customs amounted to:—
Haikwan taels 7,793,134, mace 4, candareens 5, and cash 9.

In calculating the above into sterling the Hkwan tael may be taken at 4s. 4½d., being the rate of exchange for that year.

In the same year, Hkwan taels 161,280, mace 4, candareens 4, and no cash were collected from native opium by the Customs.

It must be stated that native opium, over which the Imperial Maritime Customs has control, is solely that which chances to be conveyed in foreign bottoms, and it only pays the tariff duty of Hkwan taels 30 per picul. The Lekim is not collected by the Customs, as it is assumed to have been paid at the native barriers.

It must be noted that in the above return of revenue for 1892 the figures represent the return from “foreign” opium, and so includes Persian, but as the amount of this, going to other places than Formosa, is very small, the revenue from Indian drug can easily be got at. The great bulk of Chinese-grown opium, of course, passes through native channels, and, by reason of the ease with which it can be smuggled, or even when declared to the Lekim officials, the leniency shown towards it (two and often more “catties” being allowed to count as one) the rate actually levied is not only nominally very much lower than that imposed on its foreign competitor but, on account of the irregularities indicated, may be said to be practically insignificant. Of course, all native drug which is not forced by occasional exigencies to be shipped in foreign bottoms avoids the tariff-duty. In accord with Treaty and Convention every atom of foreign drug has not only to pay the tariff-duty, but also Hk. taels 80, which, under the head of Lekim, is simultaneously collected by the Imperial Maritime Customs, through which this opium is bound to pass.

It may thus be seen that native opium is at present (accidentally or otherwise) favoured by a protective system of taxation levied on its foreign competitor.

20. In conclusion, I would remark that, although nothing I have been able to observe during my long residence in the country seems to point, either on moral or fiscal grounds, to any need for national penitence or financial sacrifice, still I do willingly bear testimony to the sincerity of those with whom I have come in contact (especially missionaries) and who hold very different opinions to those I am constrained to express.

I think that in many cases, at least, there has no doubt been much exaggeration, and a certain amount of equally unintentional submission to pre-acquired bias, but that this has been deliberately brought about by any desire or indeed necessity for covering personal or corporate shortcomings in other respects, I believe to be an absolute and wrongful calumny most justly resented by those chiefly assailed.

In investigating this matter, which certainly, on the face of it, calls for the most careful and conscientious examination, there are bound to be varying opinions, and it is highly confusing, to say the least, if either side, by imputing improper and irrelevant motives to their opponents, does that which can only complicate the inquiry.

Trusting that the foregoing may be of some use—
I have, &c.

W. WYKEHAM MYERS, M.B., &c.,
Medical Officer,
H. I. Ch. M.'s Customs,
Tainan, South Formosa.

EXTRACT appended to CUSTOMS MEDICAL OFFICER'S (Tainan) reply to ROYAL COMMISSION QUESTIONS.

Opium-smoking.—I am aware that in trenching on this subject I enter very debatable ground, and I am not unmindful of the strong opinions held on both sides of the question; but I can at least say that I have neglected no opportunity during the past 10 years of closely investigating the matter, while circumstances have more than once been particularly favourable for making the necessary observations.

Looking back at many of the various arguments produced on either side, it has often struck me that their force has in several instances been modified by the uncontrolled enthusiasm of the disputants. Thus, those who argue from the “no injury” point of view are very apt to run into the extreme of asserting “positive benefit,” while those again who urge that the use of opium is noxious to health and prosperity too frequently ascribe to it a universality of destructiveness which cannot be borne out, save in cases where intemperance in the use of the drug is as marked as is the violence of language adopted by its critics.

I think I may fairly claim to rank among those who speak from an entirely disinterested point of view, and therefore for the purpose of this report I put for a moment aside the moral aspect of the question, and, confining myself simply to the professional bearing of the subject, narrate as shortly as possible the observations I have made, and leave in great part to others the task of drawing what conclusions they think proper from the data I shall attempt to lay before them.

In Formosa the use of opium is indulged in by a great proportion of those of the inhabitants who are either

themselves immigrants or the descendants of colonists originally coming from the mainland. In the south part of Chéhkiang, where I was before coming here, the opium pipe is also in very general requisition. It would seem to me that both here and generally over China the smokers may be divided into two classes: (1) a minority, who, being either officials or well-to-do persons, can afford to give vent to their passion, and indulge to an extent which would in many cases quite justify the worst that has been said as to the effects and consequences of the vice; and (2) the majority, consisting of persons who are obliged to work hard for a living, and among whom moderation is the rule. I am bound to say, however, that even among the former the use of the drug is usually for a considerable time tempered with more or less moderation, and that many years of unimpaired usefulness are thus enjoyed ere that condition is attained which so justly calls for commiseration.

Here as elsewhere the grand prompter to excess is the co-existence of that idleness which in many parts of the world is often thought to be the privilege of wealth. Hence, as far as my inquiries go, we do not meet the extreme effects of over-indulgence so frequently among officials, or at any rate so early a manifestation of its most baneful effects, as among those who, independent of exertion, give themselves up entirely to that indolence which is prone to seek among the vices generally for relief from otherwise unbearable *ennui*. On the other hand, it is not quite fair always to attribute to opium-smoking those fearful concomitant vices which are often depicted as its consequences. That they are frequently coincidences, or that they sometimes precede and at others follow extreme indulgence in opium I am aware, but still, though excessive smoking may hasten the effects of a general moral depravity, I am inclined to think it is much more often rather a sequence than the cause.

Taking one from this class as a type of opium-smoking carried to its dire end, we shall find that probably he began smoking from 10 to 20 or 30 years previously. When young, and before becoming entirely enslaved, he smoked from 1 to 2 mace* weight per diem. The increase in quantity was probably gradual during the first 10 years, until at the end of that time it reached, say, 3 to 4 mace in the day. During this period he did not feel much the worse for his habit. He smokes thrice daily, once in the forenoon, again after the mid-day meal, and finally in the evening. This latter extends more or less far into the night, in proportion to the degree of his infatuation.

I presume him to be an official, or a man who, though well off, is still engaged in some business occupation, and so long as the requirements of his business necessitate diurnal briskness, he may not exceed the maximum I have stated; but should either the advance of his prospects render further excess possible, or an inability or disinclination to resist the allurements of the drug prompt him, the progress is rapid, until he reaches a daily consumption of from 7 mace even up to 1 tael.† With this advance begin those outward manifestations of decaying mind and enfeebled body which have been so often depicted. The pipe is seldom out of his mouth; his hours of mental lucidity become fewer and fewer; he scarcely ever obtains natural sleep; he wakes dull and heavy, to be briefly flashed into temporary consciousness by the first whiff of his pipe, quickly relapsing into semi-stupor. His bowels are constipated for periods sometimes of 10 days; his appetite is almost gone, his digestion of the weakest; he becomes sexually impotent, and so on, until at last, intensely anæmic, extreme debility is further aggravated by the characteristic diarrhoea, and he finally passes away unregretted from the world in which for so long he can scarcely be said to have mixed.

Opium-smokers will tell you that there is a point (varying with different men, and regulated by the general energy of their lives) up to which they can go with impunity. One very intelligent old gentleman, who said he had smoked for 30 years, and at that time seemed to be, as he said he was, tolerably healthy, told me that he never exceeded a certain quantity, in fact, that this was the maximum that he allowed himself on festive occasions; but that there was a lower rate, which was quite sufficient to give him all the satisfaction he required, and this was his ordinary allowance. He had varied but little, he said, for the last 15 years, and felt no irresistible temptation to do

so. He was 50 years of age, and was engaged in active mental occupation as a large merchant. He thoroughly enjoyed his pipe, and admitted he could not do without it. He suffered from constipation to a greater extent than non-smokers do (the Chinese generally are much subject to this) but he was not aware that it affected him. He ate well, and after his evening pipes had sound and refreshing sleep, rising about 11 o'clock each day. He was not by any means impotent either as to desire or efficacy, and pointed to a son aged four years as a proof of this. He said that, as far as he knew, many others were like him, and that although, of course, there were several who made no effort to control the amount of opium used, still he did not think until the evening of life came it was by any means the rule for opium-smokers to abstain from doing so. He instanced officials who, he said, often adjusted their indulgence by the leisure available, *i.e.*, the rank or appointment they held. Of course there were many cases of persons who rushed deeply into the bonds of opium; "with them there was no thought of what amount could be borne, but rather, it would seem, what quantity could be consumed in the time vouchsafed."

Not taking all my friend said as being literally exact, still I found it a very good standard for comparing my own observations, and I have been struck by the amount of truth there was in the statement. That point of there being the safe and satisfying maximum to which every man might with comparative impunity indulge seems curious, but I have been repeatedly assured of it by many most confirmed opium-smokers. Several that have admittedly gone far beyond it, and were exhibiting all the consequences of their imprudence, have told me the same, and in their own cases have named the date from which they reckoned their downfall. I have also made a point on many occasions of closely questioning and examining those who have avowedly kept within the alleged limits of immunity, and I have seen no reason to question their assertions. I may here mention an interesting fact, and that is that in the case of the poorer classes, to be hereafter spoken of, under pressure due to reduction of means, a comparatively small amount of opium suffices to overcome or satisfactorily modify the craving and other unpleasantness which, as far as I could discover, invariably follows a sudden cessation of the accustomed indulgence. The highest amount smoked in a single day with alleged safety was 5, while the lowest rate quoted was 3 mace; but it must be remembered that Chinese of this class would scarcely notice anything that did not interfere with, say, six or eight hours' attention to duties, shorten life, or set up some marked manifestation of illness, and thus, probably, if we contrasted the condition they call perfect with that we should describe as belonging to the typically healthy, we should find several shortcomings. Again, it must be remembered in quoting these quantities that the manner of smoking has to be taken into account; the affluent rapidly refilling the bowl, and not nearly exhausting the charge, which often affords considerable enjoyment to humbler votaries, who re-smoke it.

To turn to the other class (and this includes a vast proportion of the general public), one will be really surprised to find how comparatively few there are who indulge to disastrous excess. Case after case will be met of men, even in the lowest ranks of life, who have smoked regularly for from 10 up to 20 or even 30 years, and who, as far as we can discover, show little or no signs of mental or physical degeneration. Taking the average amount of opium consumed by these, I found it to be from 1 to 2 mace per diem. Here in Southern Formosa there is a class of men, including the coolies, chair-bearers, and couriers, who daily do an amount of physical work that is remarkable in its extent. These have for years been in the habit of taking a certain quantity of opium during the day, seldom or never varying it; and they assert that by so doing they at least attain a greater degree of comfort in carrying on their labours, and, with but very rare exceptions, I must admit that I have failed to obtain evidence which would justify me in attributing any marked harm to their habit.

Of course, among every class of men there are those to whom moderation is impossible, and who, in the gratification of their desires, will drag themselves and those dependent on them to the lowest misery. This we find one of the greatest evils connected with alcoholic intemperance; but I must say that my experience both here and in other parts of China would go to support the statement that the use of opium through the

* 1 mace = (say) grains lxxviii.

† 1 tael = 10 mace (say) grains dxxx.

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medium of a pipe does not, at least up to a certain point, so irresistibly and inherently tend to provoke excess as undoubtedly is very often the case with the stimulants commonly indulged in by foreigners. Were the seductive powers of opium so great and cumulatively overwhelming as has sometimes been asserted, I cannot but think that among the class of which I am now speaking, dependent as most of them are for a livelihood on their exertions, we should have a very much greater number of instances of its disastrous effects on purse and person; but I do most conscientiously state that although I have met with instances in which the effects were most marked and deplorable, still, when considered in numerical relation to the numbers who smoke opium, I have been struck with their paucity, and my preconceived prejudices with reference to the universally baneful effects of the drug have been severely shaken.

If I were asked the question as to whether I believed the use of opium necessary or even harmless, I should be inclined to reply that both queries required specific and relative answers. We know in medicine that under certain conditions the exhibition of opium is not only gratefully but beneficially borne, and that this is in direct relation to the cause which called for the administration, e.g., pain. Without going deeply into the rationale of the process, the physiologist could perhaps imagine a condition, such as might be induced by arduous physical or mental toil, where the moderate use of opium might be even beneficial, or where at least by imparting comfort its injurious effects (if any) might be neutralised. We know well that the population of China—I am now alluding to that portion which, while forming the vast majority, would be those who could least afford to indulge in a practice materially affecting either their health or their fortunes—I say we know that these are, as a rule, industrious and laborious to a degree. Whether they could get along just as well—nay, perhaps better—if for opium was substituted some less suspicious restorative—e.g., better and more nourishing food—is a suggestion that would undoubtedly admit of interesting consideration, but as I am at present only dealing with the state of affairs as we find them, I need not dwell further on the question of possibilities.

Again, whether in view of the enormously preponderating amount of opium cultivated in China, Indian drug should ruffle the sensitiveness of our national conscience to the extent some would seem to think proper, or whether the obstacles (if any) to international *entente* are so much supported by the import of opium, *per se*, as by the various unpleasant incidents of a past, when other articles of import had little or no chance of acting as irritants, I take it does not concern me at present.

As contrasted with the drunkard, the opium sot decidedly has the advantage, that is as far as his bearing to his fellow-beings goes; for whereas one, under the influence of liquor, is noisy, quarrelsome, and often dangerous, the druggard (if I may for convenience coin a word) is at least quiet and orderly. That abuse of alcohol is a marked factor in the production of crime of the most heinous nature all will admit, while, as far as I can learn, opium comparatively seldom leads to crime, and even then this rarely, if ever, attains to higher dignity than petty theft.

Dr. Tanner, in his standard work on practice of medicine, suggests, in the case of confirmed dipsomaniacs, the substitution of opium-eating for wine-bibbing as the lesser of the two evils. Opium-eating, however, seems to me to stand on a very different footing from smoking. It would appear that when taken by the stomach incessant and cumulative craving is much sooner set up; that rapid increase of dose is absolutely necessary; and that the drug soon obtains the mastery, concentrating, both in time and vigour, its most disastrous effects. Except at advanced stages of the opium-smoker's career, one does not hear of sufferings and other manifestations such as have been so graphically depicted by De Quincey; but at a very early period the opium-eater begins to complain and show marked symptoms of the sad effects of his vice. I have had some opportunity of contrasting the two effects, and I feel justified in asserting that smoking as compared with eating opium is as different as the excesses of the *bon vivant* are from chronic, hopeless dipsomania. The smoker may after a comparatively long period reap the painful fruits of his indiscretion; with the eater the consequences begin almost directly.

We must also consider the difference between the two modes of introduction into the system, the one process by which but a small proportion of the drug consumed can obtain access, and the other by which not an atom of the poison can escape, added to which are the local derangements set up in the alimentary canal by repeated calls for an exercise of its functions on that which by mere contact proves injuriously obstructive to the natural processes exerted for its assimilation.

This brings me to the subject of remedies for the cure of opium-smoking, and the question as to whether it is advisable, to however slight an extent, to substitute for the inhalation of the drug its administration in solid form.

Medical men in China have, as far as I know, as a rule, followed the plan of giving opium or morphia combined with some strong tonic such as quinine or strychnine, gradually and rapidly decreasing the amount of opium and increasing the dose of tonic, adding iron or some similar medicine, until the patient has lost the desire and been strengthened by the remedies administered. The late Dr. Osgood, of Foochow, was, I am told, the first to commence the cure of opium-smoking by immediate and total deprivation of the drug, substituting for it chloral hydrate, which, with tonics, he gave in the form of pill. Dr. Dudgeon, of Peking, from his recent strong denunciations of the use of opium in the system of cure, I assume also disapproves of the old method, and I observe that Dr. Lyall, of Swatow, treats all his cases without opium. I myself have hitherto followed the beaten track, and provided, of course, the patient is watched and the opium rapidly diminished, good results have followed the treatment. I have, however, been led to fear that the number of smokers really desirous of being cured is very small, and too often application to the foreign physician is merely to tide over some temporary inability to procure the drug, to which they return as soon as circumstances prove favourable.

One of the greatest obstacles to the permanent cure of opium-smoking in individuals, as I am convinced it will prove the great bar to all efforts at putting down the general use of opium in China, is the despotism of the tyrant Fashion. To present the pipe, to join in its participation, has become the almost universal sign of courtesy and hospitality. No business can be completed nor acquaintanceship inaugurated without its aid, and, in fact, it would be a tremendous strain on the not unlimited moral courage of the native were he to refuse to present or join in the fashionable civility. In some few instances a show of privacy is kept up, but I have reason to think that even this semblance of deference to those theoretical moral platitudes Chinese know so well how to write and utter is fast passing away; and I am bound to admit that although I have in my time had a considerable number of applicants for treatment, and many have undoubtedly been "cured," I cannot recall a single instance where I was sure relapse after a longer or shorter time did not take place, and it was ever the same excuse—"I can't help it; my friends all smoke, and if I do not they will leave me, and I shall lose my business," or "face," as the case might be.

I think all medical men agree that unless patients are under immediate observation little can be done; and if the remedy used contains opium, and this be dispensed to all and sundry, facilities are offered for setting up the greater evil of opium-eating. As a fact, this has actually happened in Formosa. Several years ago, at the missionary hospital at Taiwan-fu, the cure of opium-smoking used to be effected by pills in the first instance containing opium combined with strong tonics. Of course the patients obtaining the pills were kept under the supervision of the doctor and had their doses of opium rapidly diminished until total deprivation was arrived at; in a word, they were treated in the usual and rational way. Observing, however, that opium administered by the mouth proved for the time as effectual as smoking, and naturally ignorant of the more speedy disaster liable to follow its habitual use in this form, having also its great cheapness to support it some of the old employees of the hospital have by means of their agents instituted an enormous sale of so-called "great foreign opium pills." In some cases these pills are made from crude opium purchased in the native shops, but in the majority of instances are manufactured with the pulvis opii of the Pharmacopoeia or with muriate of morphia. The opium pills contain from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 grain, made up with some aromatic mass obtained in the Chinese medicine shops, and the

morphia pills from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ grain of the alkaloid, prepared in a similar way. The first are sold at about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent, and the others at 1 cent. each. They are dispensed indiscriminately by natives all over the country, though the chief depôt is at Taiwan-fu. I need hardly say that this is done entirely without the cognizance, still less approval, of those whose name is audaciously appropriated. The result is that opium-eating is now becoming very common in the south of Formosa; and although it does not by any means supersede the use of the pipe, still, whenever from pecuniary or other causes this would not be convenient or available, resort is had to the pill. One grain of morphia or 2 grains of opium swallowed is found to be equivalent to 1 mace of the preparation smoked; 1 mace = about 58 grains.

To give an idea of the consumption of morphia, I may state that one man in Taiwan-fu alone imports upwards of 100 ounces of morphia per annum, which he uses in the manufacture of these pills.

Applicants at either the Taiwan-fu or Takow Hospital are now treated without either opium or its alkaloid; but, in my experience at least, as soon as the patients discover the absence of their favourite drug the anxiety for cure vanishes, as does also the *soi-disant* penitent.

True Extract—
(Signed) W. WYKEHAM MYERS, M.B., &c.,
Surgeon H.I.M. Customs Service,
Tainan (S. Formosa), and
Takow, S. Formosa, Port Medical Officer.
March 1, 1894.

Mr. MANNICH.

Taiwanfoo,
February 23, 1894.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in Formosa.
2. I consider that one-half of the male populace of Formosa smoke opium. I do not know of opium being smoked by children or women.
3. I do not know of bad effects of opium being smoked. To a certain class of Chinese (such as carriers, chair-bearers, and rice farmers' hands) I consider opium-smoking of beneficial effect physically, as the moderate use of the drug assists them to overcome the hard work which their occupation on the road and ricefield entails upon them.
4. As far as I know, consumers in Formosa smoke only.
5. I cannot say, since I met no injurious cases.
6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. During my 25 years' residence in China I met but Chinese who smoked moderately.
7. Almost all out-door labourers and most of the merchants smoke opium without the slightest effect on their efficiency and calling.
8. If the opium-smokers of Formosa were but to consume the fourth part in value of alcohol, I think they would all become incurable drunkards.
9. Opium-smoking is not condemned by Chinese as degrading.
10. I have heard of Chinese breaking themselves of the opium habit.
11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, Formosa would at first consume less, owing to the rise in price of Persian opium, but the greater import of native opium would soon lower the price of Persian opium, which has long ago driven the Indian opium from the Formosa market.
12. I do not know of Europeans ever having contracted the habit of opium-smoking.
13. Well-to-do Chinese of sedentary habits and occupations smoke opium as freely as Europeans smoke tobacco. Out-door labourers will smoke opium to refresh themselves, and I have seen frequently chair-bearers stagger quite exhausted under their load in a broiling sun, and after a pipe or two of opium resume their load quite refreshed. In all serious and painful

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sicknesses Chinese doctors prescribe the use of an opium pipe, so there is a general belief among Chinese that opium-smoking is the best prophylactic against any illness.

14. Not that I know of.

15. The Chinese in Formosa ridicule the idea of England not allowing the Indian or other opium to come here, and if a patriotic (P) Chinaman was to wish such a thing, it would be prompted by the simple desire of seeing the native opium come to the front.

16. I can talk of Formosa only, and here no native opium is being grown, and very little Indian opium is consumed.

17—(a.) Consumption would not materially decrease, since Persia would treble its cultivation; and

(b.) Native opium would be grown much more on the mainland.

(c.) The consumption of native-grown opium will enrich the provincial authorities, but lessen the revenue collected by the foreign customs for the central Government.

18. No.

19. I cannot answer this question.

20. As a general remark, I wish to add my solemn conviction that opium-smoking as it is generally indulged by Chinese does not do harm to the people.

(Signed) J. MANNICH.
To H.B.M. Consul, (President since 1868.)
Taiwanfoo.

SHANGHAI (Supplementary)*

Shanghai.

H.B.M. Consulate-General,
Shanghai, March 9, 1894.

SIR,
In continuation of my despatch, No. 3, of 2nd instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith further replies received in answer to the questions regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China, furnished by medical men, merchants, and others, who are specially conversant with the subject.

I have, &c.

G. JAMIESON,
for Consul-General.

H.B.M. Consulate-General,
Shanghai.

Dr. MATHEWS.

This gentleman is a member of the same Mission as the foregoing. He has had the like experience and opportunities of examining the subject, and is also editor of the "Chinese Medical Journal."

(Signed) G. JAMIESON,
Consul.

H.B.M. Consulate-General,
Shanghai.

Dr. BOONE.

A member of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission. This gentleman has had large opportunities of examining the subject. He has been for 13 years in charge of St. Luke's Hospital for natives.

(Signed) G. JAMIESON,
Consul.

PERCY MATHEWS, M.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?

1. Few cases of excessive opium-smoking, and but two opium suicides, have come directly within my cognizance during the past six years. Careful inquiry leads me to place the opium-smoking community at some 40 per cent. of the population in and around this neighbourhood, and "all drink wine" (*sau tsue*).

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent? Do children?

* For other Shanghai papers, see page 240.

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2. The Chinese only as a race are under consideration. (Question No. 5 deals with proportion.) I find that it is most exceptional for a woman to smoke in the country; children do not. Having had some little experience with regard to the neighbouring metropolis, it will of course be recalled that an urban population contrasts widely with a rural, and that Shanghai, the successor of Soochow, "the city of pleasure," cannot be regarded as representing the prevalence of the opium habit in this part of China.

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races? Is there any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium?

3. I do not believe that opium, if used in moderation, tends either to the moral or physical deterioration of the Chinese. As to the social status of the opium-smoker, doubtless the poor coolie, who, either from overwork, disease, or whatever the cause may be, substitutes opium for rice, would be regarded in the same light as an habitual drunkard would be at home, but when we know that a mandarin who notoriously smokes an enormous amount of opium daily is advanced to one of the highest positions in the State, we realise that opium-smoking (as indeed we know) when viewed from a social standpoint is merely a question of degree. Qualities being even, I should say none whatever.

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke, or do they eat opium? Or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?

4. Smoke; but since the introduction of pills by philanthropists containing either opium or morphine for the cure of the opium habit, eating has largely increased, and I have been informed that the morphine syringe will soon rival the opium pipe. Some of the poorer classes (burden coolies) drink a decoction of opium as a stimulant. As to relative effects, it is, I take it, a matter of purity with regard to the particular preparation of opium.

5. What are the proportions of those who use opium—
(i.) without injury;
(ii.) with slight injury;
(iii.) with great injury ("opium sots")?

5.—(i.) 70 per cent.; (ii.) 27 per cent.; (iii.) 3 per cent. These figures apply to Shanghai, and are based on Chinese authority. This would not apply to the country. The proportions are considerably less.

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? If so, please give description of one or two such cases in detail. If you know any, or many, cases of great injury, give examples?

6. It is incorrect. Yes. I know of men who may be regarded as specialists in their calling, one case especially recalling itself to me. A man of fine physique and a confirmed opium-smoker for many years past is daily engaged in all the intricacies of eastern commercial life. He is a man of intellectual, mental, and physical vigour, and certainly gives no indication whatever of being the victim of a pernicious vice. I have not heard of any case of great injury in reference to this class (statistics already given with regard to other classes).

7. Do a majority of the laborers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, of the part of China with which you are conversant, consume opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling?

If possible, give details and examples in reply to this question.

7. No, not in the country, but more or less they take wine, i.e., I should say that wine-drinking here would be analogous to beer or cider drinking in the country in England. With regard to opium-smoking in the country, I am of opinion that, under the climatic conditions to which the Chinese farmer is subjected, the moderate use of opium is beneficial as a prophylactic

in checking the first symptom of malarial fever, i.e., chill, and it is by them so recognised.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among the races of that part of China with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races, in regard to the effect on consumers?

8. "Alcohol" is more injurious.

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading, or injurious, by the general opinion of the Chinese? How would they regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?

9. The consumption of opium by the better classes is not condemned as degrading. The question of its being injurious is dependent upon personal equation idiosyncrasy, excess, and moderation. There is no comparison whatever between the native wine (*sau tsue*) and "alcohol" (the latter is practically unknown) since a Chinaman ordinarily drinks several pounds weight, and must imbibe several pints before he can be considered legitimately drunk; therefore, from my experience, the drinking of spirit, to which these people here are accustomed, is looked upon by them as "fun," whereas the smoking of opium is strictly business.

10. Can and do opium-consumers break themselves of the opium habit?

10. They can do so when the habit has not been carried to excess; there are plenty of statistics of radical cures, and plenty again who require to be cured over and over again. The habitual consumer oftentimes becomes accustomed to the drug, and there is no occasion to break off the habit.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium-consumers, and on the population of your neighbourhood? Would they resort to Chinese-grown opium? or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium? or would they abstain altogether?

11. They would resort to Chinese-grown opium, if it is not already used; they would not abstain.

12. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?

12. I have only heard of two instances. This answer covers a far more extended experience than the writer's. The energetic temperament of the European is naturally opposed to the soothing and tranquilising effect of the opium pipe, whereas the Chinaman, from his lethargic nature, and influenced by climate, food, dress, and association, primarily seeks it as a stimulant, and is thus for these reasons more calculated to indulge in the habit than the European; further, he evidences a marked constitutional toleration for the drug.

13. How are opium-consumers led to use the drug? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria? Or is it so regarded commonly by the inhabitants of the part of China with which you are conversant?

13. For various reasons—toothache, fever, dyspepsia, and bowel complaints. It satisfies a craving for some kind of stimulation, and is a popular method of treating and entertaining guests. Yes, within my knowledge opium is advocated by the Chinese as a prophylactic, certainly as regarding fever and bowel complaints. I have repeatedly prescribed a preparation containing opium in the early stage of malarial fever, and there is a sound physiological basis for so doing.

14. Do opium-consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?

14. If when used to excess it interferes with their interest, they certainly do.

15. Is there among the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted any wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India?

15. I do not believe, and upon inquiry I have never heard, of any uninfluenced desire in this direction.

17. What will be the probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium—

- (a.) on the consumption of opium by the Chinese;
- (b.) on the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China;
- (c.) on the arrangements made by the Chinese Government for raising a revenue from opium.

17.—(a.) Chinese opium will be wholly substituted.
(b.) Proportionately increased, and smuggling ensue.
(c.) Presumably taxing home production.

20. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium-consumption among the people around you?

20. It occurs to me to add in connexion with the foregoing answers that, upon my arrival in China, I was naturally prejudiced with regard to the opium habit, and that it is only upon conviction I now speak. To emphasise my position, it is right to add that, apart from the interest I have taken in this matter for some years past, and the constant desire to avail myself of all practical information, is the fact that, as editor of the only medical journal in China, I have had more extended facilities for examining into the question than ordinarily falls to the individual medical man. Such being the case, I, though in all diffidence, state that it is my firm conviction that the evils of the opium habit, though they are many and great, have been exaggerated, and the good derived from it but little recognised. With regard to contrasting opium and alcohol, it seems to me but the conflicting of essential requirements of the eastern and western worlds, *à propos* of which a small incident occurs to me, viz., that of a refined English lady spending several days in Shanghai for the express purpose of photographing a dying opium-smoker. Little need, indeed, had she for coming so far a-field, when I should have imagined that a dying drunkard at home would have amply sufficed for an equally sad and gruesome spectacle, even as the smoke-laden, spirit-charged atmosphere of a London gin-shop, with all its accompaniments of alcoholic abuse, could hardly be held up as an object-lesson even to the debauchee of the lowest opium-den in heathen China.

March 7, 1894.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?

1. Yes.

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent?—Yes. Do children?

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races? Is there any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium?

3. Effects: Moral, lowers the stamina, makes them dishonest, they produce unfair work. Physical, mal-assimilation, wasting diarrhoea, dysentery, constipation, illness from nerve disturbances, gradually need more and more opium.

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke or do they eat opium, or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?

5. What are the proportions of those who use opium—

- (i.) without injury;
- (ii.) with slight injury;
- (iii.) with great injury ("opium sots").

5. (i.) Few, if any. (ii.) Some are temperate. (iii.) Most of them gradually take more and more, become greater slaves to the habit.

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? If so, please give description of one or two such cases in detail. If you know any, or many, cases of great injury, give examples.

6. There may be moderation. No. I know a general who is in a state of misery and ill-health from the habit, a judge, and I know of another judge who died from it. My own head servant died from effects of opium habit. A Mr. W., and several others I knew, died from effects of opium habit.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, of the part of China with which you are conversant, consume opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling? If possible, give details and examples in reply to this question.

7. They are less efficient than others who do not use opium.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among the races of that part of China with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races, in regard to the effect on consumers?

8. Opium has the worst effect.

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese? How would they regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?

9. Yes. Regard opium habit as the worst.

10. Can and do opium-consumers break themselves of the opium habit?

10. Very seldom.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium-consumers, and on the population of your neighbourhood? Would they resort to Chinese-grown opium? or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium? or would they abstain altogether?

11. Would buy any opium they found in the market.

12. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not, why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?

12. Because it is cheap. I know of a few Europeans who have contracted the habit, and all were seriously injured by it. Some died from the effects of the habit. Among these were persons of rank and education.

13. How are opium-consumers led to use the drug? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever or rheumatism or malaria? Or is it so regarded commonly by the inhabitants of the part of China with which you are conversant?

13. No. So far as I know, the Chinese resort to it in cases of illness for the relief of pain.

14. Do opium-consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?

14. Many of them wish to be cured. About 25 come to me a year and pay all expenses to be treated for the cure of this habit.

15. Is there among the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted any wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India?

15. The Chinese do wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India.

16. By what classes of persons and in what provinces or districts of China is Indian opium usually consumed, and how far does Chinese-grown opium compete with Indian opium in the provinces or districts in which the two kinds are readily obtainable?

16. See Customs Reports as to Chinese-grown opium.

17. What will be the probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium—

- (a.) on the consumption of opium by the Chinese;
- (b.) on the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China;
- (c.) on the arrangements made by the Chinese Government for raising a revenue from opium.

18. Can you give any estimate of the area now under poppy in the several provinces of China and the average annual out-turn of opium?

18. See Customs Reports.

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19. What revenue does the Chinese Government derive from opium, and how does the taxation levied on Indian opium compare with that levied on opium produced in China?

19. See Customs Reports.

20. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium-consumption among the people around you?

20. I have had the charge of St. Luke's Hospital in Shanghai for 13½ years, and during that time have seen all classes of the people from high mandarins and wealthy gentry and merchants to the very poorest persons. I am satisfied that the Chinese universally look upon a person who consumes opium as one who is on the road to ruin, and that he will ultimately die from the effects of the drug. Opium-smokers as a class are lazy and shiftless, and they are reported by the police to be very dishonest. I have seen the vice transmitted from one generation to the next, and have seen families descend in the social grade from wealth to poverty owing to their indulgence in this habit. I have treated numbers of opium-smokers. They are persons of lowered vitality, and stand injuries less well than those who do not smoke opium. Most opium-smokers who try to give up the habit revert to it sooner or later.

(Signed) H. W. BOONE, M.D.,
Superintending Surgeon, St. Luke's Hospital.

Wuhu.

WUHU.

H.M. Consulate, Wuhu.

March 6, 1894.

SIR,
In accordance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to forward herewith the answers that I have been able to procure locally to the list of questions concerning opium in China.

These answers consist of four sets, and I am indebted for them to the following gentlemen:—

1. R. H. Cox, Esq., Phys. and Surg., Medical Officer to the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs at Wuhu.

2. The Rev. G. A. Stuart, M.D., of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, Physician in charge of the Wuhu General Hospital.

3. Père H. Moisan, S.J., a much experienced and well-informed French priest of the Jesuit Mission at Wuhu.

4. Dr. Robert C. Beebe, M.D., of the Philander Smith Memorial Hospital at Nanking.

I am unable to add, of my own knowledge, to the information thus collected.

I have, &c.

E. L. B. ALLEN,
Acting Consul.

Dr. Cox.

1. Yes.
2. About 40 per cent. adult males; 1 per cent. women; children nil.

3. The effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, depend on the quantity consumed. There is little or no effect in those who smoke in moderation; but those who smoke to excess all three suffer, the physical more than the others. There is only one race in this part of China, the Chinese proper. Indian opium is said to be stronger, more satisfying, and less injurious than Chinese-grown; but, on the other hand, it is more difficult to give up. A half Indian is equivalent to a whole Chinese.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke opium. Only those who smoke to excess drink a decoction, to produce a speedy effect, and those who take it with suicidal intent. Whichever way taken the immediate effects are the same, but symptoms dangerous to life would point to the drug being swallowed.

5.—(i.) About 20 per cent. smoke without injury.
(ii.) About 60 per cent. smoke with slight injury.
(iii.) About 20 per cent. smoke with great injury.

6. No. There is such a thing as moderation, as there is in alcohol, though the ranks of those who smoke to excess are recruited from the moderate class. I know of some who are smoking 5 mace a day, and have been smoking gradually increasing amounts up to that quantity for 10 years without any apparent harm. I have also known cases where old opium-smokers have made the lives of their families burdensome from the frequency of calls on the purses of their children.

7. The majority are labourers, and those in a more or less independent position. The effect depends on the amount consumed.

8. I consider the use in favour of alcohol, and the abuse in favour of opium.

9. It is universally condemned. No means of judging.

10. Yes. About 70 per cent. do.

11. A number of moderate smokers would probably give up the habit, but the majority would resort to Chinese-grown opium. I do not think they would take to alcohol, or another narcotic, though in time the use of hypodermic injections of morphia might be substituted for it. Few would abstain altogether.

12. No. It does not suit their idea of happiness. The European likes excitement, the Asiatic rest.

13. Through the influence of certain societies, illness, and idleness. Not so within my knowledge. No.

14. Yes.

15. Yes.

16. Indian opium is consumed by the wealthy and those having leisure, especially at the open ports and their vicinities. Chinese-grown drug is driving the Indian out of the market.

17.—(a.) It would reduce the consumption temporarily.

(b.) It would increase the production of opium in China.

(c.) The Chinese Government would probably make good the deficit by levies on native-grown opium.

18. No.

19. Indian opium is taxed at the rate of Hk. taels 110 a picul. Native-grown Hk. taels 60 a picul.

20. None, except that I consider it is not as great an evil as the consumption of alcohol in Great Britain.

(Signed) ROBERT W. COX, L.R.C.S.I., &c.
Medical Officer I.M.C.

Wuhu, February 23, 1894.

Rev. G. STUART, M.D.

1. Yes.

2. I should conjecture that fully 60 per cent. of the adult males consume opium. I know that very many women consume it. Applications by women for the cure of the opium habit are frequent. Small children are not usually allowed to use it, but they sometimes consume it clandestinely.

3. The effects of opium, moral, physical, and social on its consumers is first and always disastrous. The consumption of opium is a solitary rather than a social vice. Its final effect is to wreck the physical system. But preceding this is the wreck of moral character. A man may be honest enough when his opium craving is satisfied, but before that business and business integrity are an unknown quantity.

4. Smoke.

5. I hold that opium is never used, except medicinally, without injury.

6. I think it quite correct to say so. Cases of great injury are seen in this part of China at every time. Families, through smoking opium and the consequent neglect of business, have lost their property. Suicides are frequent, and the physical wrecks now going about the streets as beggars, who formerly were active, intelligent business or literary gentlemen, constantly attest to the baneful effects of opium.

7. Labourers, including farmers, consume less than the other classes, although its consumption is rapidly increasing in this class. The efficiency of all classes is very much lessened. See answer to (6).

8. Alcohol is very little used in this district.

9. It is considered degrading by the better class.
10. Very rarely. The habit is usually resumed.
11. Entirely a matter of conjecture. Unable to say.
12. They do not, on account of its being regarded as a most degrading habit.
13. They are usually led to begin its use by the example of others; sometimes for the relief of pain or the cure of disease. It is sometimes used as a remedy for fevers, but is greatly inferior to other remedies for this purpose. It is not a prophylactic against any of the diseases named; and is not so regarded by the natives. Consumers of opium contract these diseases as readily as others.
14. There are those who do, but many are indifferent on the subject, although nearly all regard it as a useless habit.
15. Very many Chinese have expressed such a wish to me. Unable to answer other questions.

Respectfully,

Geo. A. STUART, M.D.

Rev. FATHER H. MOISAN.

1 & 2. L'usage de l'opium est très-réandu. La moitié des hommes le fument; il n'est pas rare de voir des femmes le fumer aussi. Je n'ai pas vu d'enfants fumer l'opium, j'ai seulement entendu dire que lorsque les parents fument les enfants ne tardent pas à les imiter.

3. Par rapport aux effets de l'opium, il faut distinguer deux choses (a) l'usage et l'abus; (b) la condition de fortune dans laquelle se trouvent les fumeurs. L'abus est dangereux et funeste pour tous; ayant pour effet d'obscurcir les facultés intellectuelles et morales; et, chez plusieurs de les éteindre presque complètement. Au point de vue physique l'abus de l'opium a pour résultat habituel d'affaiblir le corps et de le rendre impropre au travail, spécialement au travail qui demande une grande dépense de forces. Pour bien des gens il peut même être une cause indirecte de mort. Je dis indirecte, parceque je ne crois pas que la fumée de l'opium ait jamais causé directement la mort de personne; mais il n'est pas rare de voir des gens ruinés par l'opium et dans l'impossibilité de se procurer la dose à laquelle ils sont habitués. Alors on les voit tomber dans un abrutissement et une insensibilité complète, dans laquelle ils meurent au bout de quelques jours. Quant à l'usage, je ne crois pas qu'il ait d'effets fâcheux sur ceux qui ont habituellement une nourriture substantielle. Je suis en conséquence persuadé que pour les gens riches, ou simplement d'une condition aisée, l'usage modéré de l'opium n'a pas plus d'inconvénients que l'usage du tabac. Il n'en est pas de même pour les pauvres; en voici la raison; L'opium en Chine est relativement très cher; il en résulte que les ouvriers et autres gens sans fortune qui s'y adonnent n'ont pas suffisamment d'argent pour se procurer une nourriture capable de compenser ses effets débilitants. Comme en outre l'habitude de l'opium engendre un besoin très-impérieux, ils sacrifient tout pour le satisfaire. Il en résulte qu'ils n'ont plus de quoi se nourrir, ni nourrir leur famille. En conséquence le fumeur d'opium se débilite peu à peu, tandis que sa femme et ses enfants n'ont pour vivre d'autres ressources que de mendier. Ceci est un fait d'expérience et je pourrais citer nombre de familles réduites à cette extrémité par la faute du chef. Je n'ai constaté ces effets que sur les Chinois; je ne puis pas me prononcer sur les autres races. Les Chinois ne distinguent pas entre l'opium des Indes et l'opium, indigène. Existe-t-il une différence dans leur effets? C'est une question que je ne puis résoudre.

4. En Chine l'usage de l'opium consiste surtout à le fumer. Telle est la coutume dans les pays que j'ai fréquentés. Il peut se faire qu'ailleurs on le mange et qu'on en boive des décoctions; mais je ne saurais me prononcer sur les effets qui en résultent.

5. (i. & ii.) Pour les gens riches ou aisés, je crois qu'ils peuvent user, (non pas abuser) de l'opium sans graves inconvénients. Je dis graves inconvénients; car l'exemple qu'ils donnent est toujours regrettable et malheureusement trop suivi. (iii.) Je crois qu'il y a de très-graves inconvénients pour tous les gens sans fortune et réduits à vivre de leur travail de chaque jour. J'en ai donné la raison au No. 3.

6. Je crois la modération possible même dans l'usage de l'opium; mais à une condition, c'est que les effets débilitants en soient empêchés par une nourriture sub-

stantielle. Je connais des fumeurs d'opium invétérés, c'est à dire, qui fument l'opium depuis de longues années sans détrimment pour leurs affaires ou leurs forces physiques ou intellectuelles; mais tous sont des gens riches, ou du moins très aisés. Pour ce qui en des graves inconvénients, j'en ai parlé au No. 3; je n'ai rien à ajouter.

7. Sous la 1^{ère} partie cfr. no. 1 and 2. Sous la seconde cfr. no. 3.

8. Je ne puis me prononcer sur cette question, vu que l'abus ou même l'usage des spiritueux n'existe point dans les parties de la Chine que je connais; partant je n'ai pu en constater les effets.

9. Je ne crois pas que les Chinois en général regardent l'habitude de l'opium comme dégradante ou funeste. Les missionnaires font leur possible pour le leur persuader; ils ont pour cela d'excellentes raisons mais produisant sur le peuple fort peu d'effet, attendu qu'il voit les gens riches et les mandarins adonnés presque tous à l'usage de l'opium. La seconde partie de la question "How would they regard the opium habit as compared with alcohol habit?" ne saurait se trancher ~~à priori~~, c'est l'usage qui la résoudra.

10. Je ne le crois pas; j'ai vu bien des fumeurs d'opium essayer de se corriger, je n'en ai pas vu un seul réussir. D'autres missionnaires que j'ai interrogés m'ont affirmé le même fait. Tous ont manqué de persévérance.

11. Si l'importation de l'opium cessait, je ne crois pas que les Chinois cessent par le fait même de fumer l'opium. La raison en est simple: l'usage de l'opium s'étant répandu, les Chinois se sont mis à le cultiver; et présentement la culture de l'opium en Chine se fait sur une grande échelle. Le grande avantage qui résulterait de la cessation du trafic, c'est que l'Angleterre dégagerait sa responsabilité et le gouvernement Chinois serait plus fort pour supprimer l'usage et les abus de cette drogue.

12. Je n'ai point vu d'Européen contracter l'habitude de l'opium. Pourquoi les Asiatiques sont ils plus enclin à la contracter? J'avoue que je n'en sais rien.

13. L'habitude de l'opium se contracte comme toutes les mauvaises habitudes. On se trouve avec des amis qui fument l'opium, on fait comme eux. Si les occasions se présentent souvent, l'habitude en est vite prise. La curiosité et l'attrait du fruit défendu peuvent exercer aussi une certaine influence. Beaucoup de fumeurs s'excusent en disant qu'ils employent l'opium comme médicament. Ils lui attribuent une grande efficacité comme calmant.

14. Comme les ivrognes désirent se corriger de l'habitude de l'enivrer. Ils le disent continuellement, mais n'en prennent point les moyens, ou du moins, n'y persévèrent pas.

15. Le peuple est peu au courant de l'importation de l'opium in Chine. Il le fume sans s'occuper de sa provenance; en conséquence je n'ai entendu exprimer aucun désir relativement à l'importation d'opium faite par l'Angleterre.

16. Je ne puis me prononcer en connaissance de cause sur cette question: L'opium des Indes se consume surtout dans les ports.

17. (a.) La suppression de l'importation aurait pour résultat de diminuer grandement la consommation de l'opium dans les ports et sur le littoral. Car c'est là surtout que l'on fait usage de l'opium Indien.

(b.) Elle pourra développer la culture du pavot en Chine; car les fumeurs ne pouvant plus se procurer de l'opium des Indes se rabattraient nécessairement sur l'opium Chinois. Il y a quarante ans la suppression de l'importation aurait pu supprimer l'usage de l'opium en Chine, à cette époque la culture du pavot étant chose à peu près inconnue; actuellement il est trop tard, seulement, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, cette mesure dégagerait la responsabilité de l'Angleterre et faciliterait l'action du gouvernement Chinois à l'intérieur.

(c.) Je ne puis répondre.

18 & 19. Je ne puis répondre.

20. Les Chinois se servent assez fréquemment de l'opium pour se suicider. Le suicide est chose fréquente en Chine, et l'opium cru est le moyen ordinaire dont les Chinois se servent. Je pourrais citer un bon nombre de cas.

H. MOISAN, S.J.

Wu-Hu, March 6, 1894.

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Wuhu.

Dr. BEEBE.

1. Yes.
2. About 60 per cent. Some women smoke, possibly 30 per cent. Have known a few cases of children smoking.
3. Demoralising.
4. Majority smoke; some eat opium.
5. I consider it more or less injurious to all consumers.
6. It is not, if by moderation is meant a small quantity.
7. See Answers 2 and 3.
8. The use and abuse of alcohol in this section is slight. No safe comparison can be made.
9. It is condemned. Do not know.
10. Rarely. I have known some cases.
11. Probably no effect. 2nd, Yes. 3rd, Do not know. 4th, No.
12. (P).
13. Through opium is used to relieve pain and disease. 2nd, No. 3rd, It is regarded by many as a good remedy for many diseases.
14. Very many so desire.
15. I think so, but not because they do not want opium.
16. (P).
17. (a.) Probably no effect.
(b.) Increase.
(c.) (P).
18. (P).
19. (P).
20. It is an evil without one recommendation.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT BEEBE, M.D.

H.M. Consulate, Wuhu,
March 13, 1894.

SIR,

With reference to my letter of the 6th instant, forwarding four sets of answers to the questions of the Royal Commission on Opium, I have now the honour to enclose a copy of a further set of answers subsequently received from Dr. Jellison, of the Philander Smith Memorial Hospital at Nanking.

I fear that the lateness of despatch of these latter answers may possibly prevent their being of use, but I have thought them of sufficient interest to be supplementarily forwarded.

Dr. Jellison's answers having been written on a number of very small sheets of paper and somewhat illegibly, I have thought it better to forward a copy instead of the original.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. L. B. ALLEN,
Acting Consul.

Dr. JELLISON.

1. Opium is commonly used in Nanking and the surrounding country. There are 30,000 shops in Nanking where opium is sold.
2. Twenty per cent. of adult males use opium, 1 per cent. of women, no children.
3. So far as I have observed, a man's moral nature is ruined by the habitual use of opium. The opium habitué will lie, steal, neglect his appointments, abscond with money entrusted to him, lose all sense of shame, pawn his father's clothing for money to smoke up, sell his wife and children, and all his household furniture to smoke; go hungry and nearly naked in order to get opium.
It constipates the bowels, retards excretion. It weakens digestion, and saps the strength of the consumers.
I have seen healthy farmers come into Nanking to carry sedan chairs and fall a victim to the opium habit, and become thin and weak, and finally leave the

business from lack of strength to do the work. Opium-smoking makes men lazy and unfit for responsible positions. In a thousand men in charge of other men's business, only about five eat opium, because the Chinese cannot trust an opium habitué.

I never noticed any difference between the effects of opium on different races. No difference in effect between Chinese and Indian opium.

5. Where 1,000 smoke opium only one or two will eat it, and for the reason that a poor man cannot buy enough to satisfy by smoking and so eats it, for 1 grain eaten is equal to 10 grains smoked. It is drunk dissolved in wine for suicidal purposes only.

I cannot tell the difference in the effects of taking opium in these different manners except by the odour of breath.

5. There are four classes according to injurious effects, viz. :—

- (i.) One per cent. take without injury to health.
- (ii.) Five per cent. take with slight injury to health.
- (iii.) Eighty-five per cent. take for many years with a gradual and continuous deterioration of health. They die old, after years of helplessness. Eighty per cent. of this class die of diarrhœa.
- (iv.) Nine per cent. are opium sots, good for nothing without opium, and good for little with opium. And what with poverty from neglect of business, and starvation, they die early of some intercurrent disease. A surgical operation, with loss of blood, is certain to be followed by shock.

6.—(a.) As to moderation. Some men can take 3 grains a day for 10 years, no more, no less, but with a slowly weakening body and impairment of health, most men must slowly increase the dose to keep up the effect.

(b.) I know no one who has taken opium for years without harm.

(c.) None.

(d.) Healthy men come from the country to pound rice with a heavy stone hammer, 80 per cent. of them begin to smoke opium and in 10 years must give up their work and return home on account of weakness.

7. Sixty per cent. of labourers smoke opium, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of merchants, 20 per cent. of artisans smoke opium. A labourer who does not use opium easily can carry 100 catties, but after using some time comes down to 80. The artisans' wages are cut 25 per cent. if he smokes opium, on account of lost time and poor work.

My personal teacher came to me an ordinary teacher. He had no bad habits, and was dismissed by another foreigner because he was too proud. With good pay and light work, with a good many days of no work, he fell into the opium habit. He stole money from my desk, spoons from my sideboard, and, last of all, stole a blank cheque, and inserting some figures which he had learned to write, he got 35 dollars at a native bank by presenting my card and the cheque. Since then he has become a common thief, and has been seen sitting on the street, ornamented with a wooden collar and forced to beg for food. He is ruined morally and lost all his pride and ambition.

8. There are for every person who uses alcohol 100 who use opium. Wine does not detract from a man's business ability, and I have never seen a Chinaman sick from any disease caused by alcoholic liquor. One never hears of the bad effect of wines, but opium is considered by the natives generally as the worst evil in China.

9. The use or abuse of opium is considered by all Chinamen who do not use it, and by a large majority of those who use it, as exceedingly degrading and injurious.

The Chinese consider the opium habit an unmitigated curse, and look upon the use of alcohol as of no importance because few use it, and that without damage.

10. Chinese have broken themselves of the opium habit, but only to begin again with a small dose. They break because they must use too costly an amount to satisfy, and prefer to suffer a time and then enjoy it for a small price.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, those who use the Indian opium would use the Chinese opium instead. They would not take to alcohol, and there are no other narcotics used here that could replace it. Tea and tobacco could not replace opium. Indian and Chinese opium have the same effect. Indian opium has a more agreeable odour. They would not break.

12. I never knew a European to smoke opium, but I knew one who used morphia hypodermically. I do not know how he began. He was a doctor of medicine.

The Chinese smoke for pleasure and to quiet pain, and about equal proportions. I do not consider the Asiatics more liable to contract the habit. If the Europeans were in similar circumstances, they would use opium the same as Asiatics. Europeans who care for narcotics use alcohol and tobacco, and although I never heard of an opium *habitué* drinking alcohol, some hard drinkers take morphine. Probably the main reason why Europeans do not use opium is because they are morally opposed to it, while a heathen who will commit all the known and many of the unknown sins will use opium because he delights in anything that is sinful, and any sin that begins as a pleasure, as opium-smoking does, is all the easier to fall into. Why one man falls a slave to a degrading habit and another does not is explained in China in the same manner as in any other place, viz. (1) by example; (2) by tendency; (3) natural depravity.

13. Opium-consumers are led to use the drug by their friends and companions. They are driven to use the drug by pain.

So far as I know, opium is not a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria. Opium-smokers have all these diseases, and, I should think, are more susceptible to malaria on account of the lowered vitality caused by continued opium-smoking.

No Chiraman ascribes any prophylactic effect to opium in any disease.

14. Ten per cent. of opium consumers desire to break off. Fifty per cent. say they do, but really will not.

15. No.

16. The lower classes use the greater quantity of Chinese opium, and the higher classes use the Indian. I do not know about the districts, but, as far as I know, the two kinds of opium are everywhere, and it is only a question of money which is purchased. The poor take what they can buy, and the rich use the best, which is Indian.

17.—(a.) Restriction will cause more use of Chinese.

(b.) Cultivation will increase faster. There is a steady increase now.

(c.) The internal revenue will replace the external. All goods that move are taxed every few miles in China.

18. The question cannot be figured out, as it varies in different places.

19. Do not know. Duties are same on both kinds.

20. The consumption of opium is a most pernicious evil, and has not one argument in its favour. When a Chinaman wants to instance a bad man, he always takes the opium *habitué*, and the name alone calls to the listener's mind a panorama of all the iniquities, except drunkenness and lewdness. He cares for nothing but opium, and has no mind for wine or women.

The use of opium habitually arrests the secretions of the stomach, liver, and bowels, causing indigestion, constipation, and later emaciation and asthenia, and when seized by an ailment not fatal in a person not accustomed to opium they soon sink and die.

E. R. JELLISON, M.D.,

March 2, 1894.

M. E. Mission, Nanking,
China.

WENCHOW.

H.B.M. Consulate, Wenchow,
February 23, 1894.

Sir,

IN accordance with a circular from Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, I have the honour to enclose replies by Dr. Lowry, of this port, and myself to the paper of questions of the Commission on Opium, dated October 1893. I have not addressed myself to the Chinese authorities on the subject, as the time allowed (10 days) is insufficient, and, moreover, I deem it impossible to obtain from them any *bond fide* information such as is required.

I am, &c.

R. W. MANSFIELD.

H.B.M. Consul.

Consul MANSFIELD.

1. Yes.

2. The proportion in Wenchow and its suburbs of adult male consumers might be 20 per cent. Of women 5 per cent., chiefly rich widows and prostitutes. Of children, none.

3. I have not observed any marked effect either moral, physical, or social on moderate consumers. In the case of a confirmed smoker, his power of resisting temptation to dishonesty should his means be insufficient to gratify the craving would be weakened. For this reason alone, I would not employ a notorious smoker as a household servant. In the case of excessive smokers, the physical effects seem to be in the later stages diarrhoea, an increasing disability to take sufficient nourishment with corresponding wasting of the body and impotency. Smoking as a convivial after-dinner recreation is common, and is not regarded as objectionable. It is a breach of etiquette, however, to ask a person with whom one is not intimate if he smokes, and there always seems a delicacy on the part of a smoker about the discussion of the subject. I am told that the effects of the native drug are worse than those of the Indian. The former discolours the skin. For this, however, I do not vouch.

4. I have never heard of opium-eating in China except as a favourite form of suicide.

5. I cannot say. In a long residence in China I have not come in contact with half-a-dozen "opium sots." For this district my writer estimates about 10 per cent. of smokers as "opium sots."

6. Undoubtedly incorrect. I have known hundreds of moderate smokers among officials, lettered men, and merchants with whom I have associated, and many also among the poorer classes.

Examples.—(1.) A writer in one of the Consulates who had been over 30 years in Government employ. He had smoked about three-tenths of a Chinese ounce per diem all that time and probably long before. He died apparently of old age at 79, in possession of all his faculties, which were of a very high order. (2.) My present writer's father smoked four-tenths Chinese ounce daily for nearly 50 years, and enjoyed excellent health until his death at the age of 76.

The worst case I have met was that of a well-to-do shopkeeper who smoked excessively. He gradually neglected his business, and came down in the world till he was a beggar living in a little wayside shrine. He was reduced to a mere skeleton, and for some months I supplied him daily with food. His condition did not improve, and I found he was selling his ration to other beggars for a few cash to buy opium. He died, I believe, from starvation.

7. Certainly not a majority of any class. The largest proportion is among officials, gentry, merchants, and priests. Among labourers and artisans a much smaller proportion. The agricultural class rarely use the pipe. I should not say that smoking opium has any effect whatever on the efficiency of either a brain or a hand worker, unless, of course, it is carried to great excess.

Examples.—(1.) Three of the best stone-cutters now employed in building a new Consulate here are smokers. It in no way interferes with their work. (2.) One of the most intelligent English-speaking clerks in the employ of a merchant in Foochow is a somewhat heavy smoker. He can do nothing until 10 a.m., when he has consumed his daily allowance. After that hour he is quick and intelligent, and in every way a first-class worker.

8. The alcohol habit is practically unknown in China. By far the greater proportion of the population never touch wine or spirits except perhaps at a New Year's feast. I have never seen a Chinese dead drunk, nor even unable to walk straight. Occasionally one may meet a few persons flushed and somewhat excited with wine, but drinking as a vice and delirium tremens are unknown to the best of my belief.

9. Opium-smoking, I should say, is looked upon much as wine-drinking generally is in England, that is, as degrading and injurious only when carried to excess, and in the case of women. No comparison can be made (*see* preceding reply).

10. I cannot say; but if it has become a habit and not a mere occasional indulgence, I believe rarely. My writer estimates that some 5 per cent. of habitual moderate smokers break it off.

PP. XXVI.

11. The import of Indian opium is very small here (Wénchow). The poppy grows freely in the immediate neighbourhood, and only the well-to-do use the foreign drug. The total import for 1893 was only 18,000 lbs., and much of this goes into the interior.

12.—(1.) No. (2.) I cannot say why not. (3.) It is probably the result of a less stimulating dietary, and the absence of any form of healthful exercise and outdoor amusements.

13. As a matter of fashion and imitation as with tobacco-smokers, and because the Chinese believe it to be both a prophylactic and a remedy for many diseases, chiefly consumption, diarrhoea, and rheumatism. It is also taken to alleviate pain and is considered in small doses as an aphrodisiac. Chair-coolies and those who have to make long-sustained physical effort take it occasionally as a stimulant while working.

14. Not usually. Still there are many who find the habit expensive and enslaving, and would willingly leave it off if they could without suffering.

15. None whatever.

16. Indian opium is every year taking more and more the character of a luxury for the rich. It is rapidly assuming the relation to native opium which high-class wines bear to beer and spirits in England.

17.—(a.) Nil.

(b.) To increase it in proportion.

(c.) The Chinese Government would doubtless make up their revenue by increased taxation on the native drug. (The revenue from the Indian drug now goes in great part to the Central Government; that from the native drug entirely into the provincial treasuries.)

18. No. The out-turn in this district is very large, and for 1892 was 270,000 lbs.

19. I cannot give the total revenue. Taxation is as follows:—

Indian drug:	\$
Import duty, Haiknan taels 30 a chest of, say, Chinese lbs. 100 = about	45
Likin tax, Haiknan taels 80 a chest = about	120
Total per Chinese lbs. 100	\$165
Native drug:	\$
Likin tax if used in the prefecture, per Chinese lbs. 100	24
Additional likin tax on entering another prefecture	24
Total per Chinese lbs. 100	\$48

20. It is to be deplored that the populations of the towns in this district are so much addicted to opium-smoking. The people are too poor to be able to afford the luxury except at the expense of proper nourishment, and the effects on the race generally of underfeeding and diminished reproduction should be ultimately disastrous.

R. W. MANSFIELD,
H.B.M. Consul for Wénchow.
(Residence in China 24 years.)

Wénchow,
February 28, 1894.

Dr. LOWRY.

1. Yes.

2. Of adult males about 30 per cent.; women about 5 per cent., chiefly widows with means and women of the unfortunate class; children, no.

3. In the case of "opium sots," the effect morally, socially, and physically is bad; in moderate consumers there is little observed.

4. Smoke.

5.—(i.) 60 per cent.

(ii.) Nil.

(iii.) 40 per cent.

6. No. Have known many cases of consumers who have smoked opium in moderation and without harm to themselves.

Examples:—

(1.) An English-speaking Chinese clerk employed in the Imperial Maritime Customs Service came under

my notice at Pakhoi; he was a moderate smoker, and was intelligent, quick, punctual, and painstaking in his work. During office hours, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., he did his work well; during these hours he had no chance of smoking.

(2.) Another English-speaking clerk (a Christian) I had opportunity of observing at Kiungchow. He also was a moderate smoker. He was intelligent and independent, and his ways of living and thinking were English. During the regular office hours he worked hard, and was painstaking.

(3.) Two other Customs employes, a writer aged 54, and a weigher aged 47, and who have smoked in moderation for over 20 years, have also come under observation. Both still perform their duties efficiently and well.

(4.) Another employe, aged 62, who though physically a wreck from opium, managed to perform his duties as a calculator of duties efficiently and well for 12 years; eventually he died from bronchitis. He smoked a Chinese ounce of opium daily.

(5.) Case of great injury. My own Chinese teacher at Kiungchow was an "opium sot;" he had in his day been a man of ability. He smoked nearly the whole day, stank when he came near you, had lost control over the sphincters of his bladder and rectum, and suffered constantly from bronchial catarrh with much expectoration. Eventually he ceased to be employed by anyone.

7. Not a majority—say of the officials, gentry, and merchants 10 per cent. smoke, and of the labourers (not farm) and artisans, say 20 per cent. smoke—10 per cent. are chair-bearers.

8. As there is no abuse in the use of alcohol among Chinese no comparison can be made.

9. Not degrading except in the case of women; not injurious in moderation in the general opinion of Chinese. As there is no alcohol habit there can be no comparison.

10. Some try to, and do at any rate reduce the quantity smoked daily.

11. No likely change in the population, and undoubtedly consumers would resort to Chinese-grown opium. In this district it is estimated—

80 per cent. smoke Chinese-grown opium;
15 " " and Indian (mixed);
5 " " Indian-grown opium.

12. No, no desire or object. The diet of Asiatics is neither stimulating or sustaining, and they are likely soon to appreciate the stimulating effects of opium once having tried it and contracted the habit.

13. Often from seeing others smoke—imitation. Opium is not, so far as I know, a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria, but Chinese believe it to be.

14. No.

15. In this district they are indifferent as the majority smoke native opium.

(Signed) J. H. LOWRY, L.R.C.P.Ed.,
L.R.C.S.Ed.,

Surgeon in the Chinese Imperial
Maritime Customs Service.

Wénchow, (Twelve years resident in China.)
March 1, 1894.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER THOMAS GARDNER, C.M.G.

1. Opium is commonly consumed by the Chinese in the parts of China with which I am acquainted, i.e., Kuanghung, Fokien, Chekiang, Kiangsoo, Kiangnan, Anhui, Kiangsi, Hupei, Shantung, Chihli and Sbenking. I have reason to know it is equally commonly consumed in the other eight provinces of China, with which I am not personally acquainted.

2. From my experience I should say that 75 per cent. of the adult male population occasionally consume opium. Ten per cent. are regular consumers, and 3 or 4 per cent. have the opium craving. I do not think women consume opium to any extent. I have never heard of children consuming opium.

3. My observations of the effects of opium are, moral, it always leads to quietism and calming of the nerves,

in excess to indifference, and to the blunting of the conscience; occasionally it leads to theft and the selling of wife and children.

Physically, when taken in moderation it seems to have a beneficial effect in enabling the consumer to endure hard work on scanty diet. In excess it leads to a yellow waxy complexion and sometimes to extreme obesity, sometimes to extreme emaciation.

Socially, it helps to pass away the time and to facilitate the enduring the long and tedious conversations, and the dilatory mode of conducting business.

4. In China the only mode of consuming opium I am acquainted with is smoking opium.

5. I should say considerably over 90 per cent. of the consumers consume without injury, 1 or 2 per cent. with slight injury, perhaps a half or 4 per cent. with great injury. Not all those who have a craving for opium are injured by indulging.

6. It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have known the cases of many consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves. Notable the case of the Compradore of Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Shanghai. He was, to my knowledge, extending over 20 years, a great consumer; he had the craving for over 20 years, he performed his duties well and faithfully, and was the father of a large and healthy family.

The writer of the Consulate at Hankow, known to me for over eight years, during which time he smoked opium largely without evil results.

A Chinese official with whom I was acquainted for over nine years smoked opium all the time, daily, and was always an energetic efficient officer, and enjoyed uncommonly good health. The compradores and shroffs of many British firms, who are habitual smokers, enjoy good health. Personally, I do not know a single case of great injury to health that can be attributed to opium-smoking alone. I do know of three youthful Chinese, great smokers, whose constitutions were ruined, but these young men were addicted to sexual excesses, to drinking and dissipation generally, and therefore I am unable to state how far the opium-smoking accelerated their degeneration. Though personally I have not met such cases, I have heard accounts from trustworthy persons, of Chinese, especially of the lower classes, being ruined physically and morally by over indulgence in opium, but I have heard of far more Chinese, and have come across many, who have been ruined morally by gambling.

7. The majority of labourers, merchants, and artisans in the parts of China with which I am conversant smoke opium. The carters of Chihli and Shengking, the boatmen along the Yangtze, the porters and chair coolies of Kuanghung and Fokien smoke regularly every day. The opium-smoking seems to give them pluck and heart to endure hardship, fatigue, and hunger. As for the literary classes, merchants and shop-keepers, they are far more averse to physical exercise than is morally good for them, but whether this is the effect of opium-smoking or of other causes I cannot say.

8. Very few Chinese indulge in the abuse of alcoholic drinks; when tipsy with alcohol they are quarrelsome and violent; when under the effect of excessive opium-smoking lazy and indifferent, and want to lay down and dream in a half somnolent condition.

9. It is extremely difficult to get at the general opinion of the Chinese. From an experience of over 30 years I am inclined to think the majority of the Chinese have no opinions except on subjects in which they have an obvious and material personal interest. Unless when they have a district end to gain they will express views not that they hold, but which they think their interlocutor holds.

10. Occasionally an opium-smoker breaks himself of the habit, but very seldom.

11. If the Indian supply were cut off, its place would be taken by native, Turkey and Persian drug, not an ounce less would be smoked, not a drop more alcohol would be drunk, and no other stimulant would be resorted to.

12. People of European race do not contract the opium habit. People of European race are active in their habits and full of life and energy. They will not give up the time for smoking opium. An exceedingly moderate smoker will spend an hour a day with his opium pipe in a recumbent position, the opium pipe feeding, &c., &c., takes up the whole attention, nothing

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can be done while smoking opium except smoke. The Chinese have no amusements, nobody reads for pleasure, time has to them no value.

13. Some Chinese are led to smoke opium to relieve coughs or spitting of the blood. I think the majority smoke merely as a pastime. I think opium-smoking acts as antiseptic in case of bronchial disorders. I also think it a prophylactic against low fevers of an agueish type. I have never heard of its having an effect on rheumatism. It is a common belief among the Chinese, that opium-smoking impairs fertility and prolongs the enjoyment of sexual intercourse. Hence it is invariably smoked in brothels.

14. Some opium-smokers who are well-to-do do not desire to get rid of the habit. Others, who are poor, do desire to do so, for the luxury is an expensive one.

15. As far as I am able to get at the ideas of the Chinese they would like the importation of opium and all other foreign products prohibited, as they consider the purchase of foreign commodities impoverishes China.

16. The practice now throughout all the parts of China with which I am acquainted is to blend the native and Indian drug. The rich and the aged prefer the flavour of the Indian drug, the younger and poorer go in more for the native drug. Where native opium is easily procurable as in Hupei, Shengking, and Shantung, very little Indian drug is used. In Kuangtung, where native drug is dear, the Indian is more used.

17. The probable consequences of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian will be—

- (a) absolutely nil on the consumption of opium by the Chinese;
- (b) it will increase the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium in China;
- (c) the Chinese Government will endeavour to recoup itself for the loss of the import revenue by attempting to levy inland revenue taxes on native opium.

18. I am unable to answer this question. All I can say is that fields in the vicinity of various consulates are a blaze of poppies.

19. The revenue derived by the Chinese Government on opium is about one and a half million pounds sterling per annum. Nominally the dues on native opium are the same as those on foreign opium, but owing to the ease with which the former are evaded, the Chinese Government have found it necessary to remit a large per-centage of the taxes on native opium. I believe this remission amounts to from 30 to 50 per cent. of the tax.

20. I have no further remarks to make with regard to the opium consumption among the people in China except to note that the higher and respectable classes only smoke at home or in the houses of their friends, or in the better class brothels, and do not frequent the popular opium shops and smoking palaces, that the cost and beauty of opium-couches and opium-smokers' requisites vary from fifty pounds to a few shillings, that the making opium lamps is an important industry in Canton, many hundred thousands are exported every year from that port. Making opium pipes is an important industry in Hankow, making silver opium boxes an important industry of Soochow, making opium trays of Tonkwin, Japan, and Yangchow, Hankow, &c. That at the opium shops the price charged is the wholesale price of refined opium, and that at first sight it would appear that the opium saloon-keeper provides his guests with house and couch room, lamps, oil, implements, and service gratuitously, he is really paid by the ash of the opium, which is reboiled and yields 50 per cent. of opium. Or, in other words, in smoking only half the opium is consumed, the rest is drawn into the bowl with the ash.

Söul, Corea,
February 24, 1894.

CHRIS. GARDNER.

Chung King.

H.M. Consulate, Chung King,
March 12, 1894.

SIR,

In accordance with the instructions of Her Majesty's Minister, received on the 3rd instant, I have the honour to forward herewith six sets of replies to the questions of the Royal Commission on Opium regarding opium consumption and opium revenue in China.

U u

APP. XXVI.

Of these replies, two sets are by medical missionaries, three by gentlemen in the Imperial Maritime Customs, and one by myself.

The brief time afforded, according to the above instructions, for preparing the replies considerably interfered with their thoroughness.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. H. FRASER.

The Secretary,
Royal Commission on Opium,
India.

Consul FRASER.

1. Yes; opium is commonly consumed in the western provinces, viz., Szuchuen, Yünnan, Kueichou, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansuh.

2. In and about Chungking 30 per cent. of the adult males, according to an educated and intelligent Chinese gentleman brought up in this city, consume opium; and the same statement holds good probably of all the province. A missionary, long resident in Kueichou, writes that 70 per cent. of the people there smoke as against 40 per cent. in Szuchuen. The Chinese have no experience of statistics, and the replies to such a question are widely divergent, and usually designed to meet the supposed wishes and views of each questioner. I should not myself consider that the per-centage exceeds 40. Of the women in Chungking possibly 3 or 4 per cent. are regular opium consumers, and 1 per 1,000 or so of youths of 12 or 13 contract the habit from want of supervision on the part of their guardians. The vast increase in poppy production in Szechuen during the last decade, and the cheapness of native opium, have led to the opening of public divans, said to number 928 to a population of perhaps 200,000, whereas formerly foreign drug was only smoked at home, and the habit was checked by public opinion.

3. Indian opium is said to be more deleterious than native opium. I have met officials who smoked. They looked pallid and emaciated, and the Chinese say that smokers are not fit for legal positions as they get lazy and careless. On the other hand, I knew from 1883 to 1887 a linguist in the Foochow Consulate who smoked regularly. After his morning allowance he was a brisk, clever fellow; before it a dull, sleepy oaf. The Chinese here hold that confirmed opium-smokers never have healthy, and rarely any, children.

4. Mostly smoked. Beggars eat opium ashes, and opium-smokers, when pressed for time, take small pellets of opium, which are given also for diarrhoea and indigestion. The decoction is used only by intending suicides. Eating is said to have a more deleterious effect than smoking.

5. Of the 30 per cent. mentioned above, 5 per cent. smoke little or only occasionally, and do not suffer evil effects; 15 per cent. smoke regularly, and suffer slight injury; the remaining 10 per cent. smoke to excess, and usually become "sots," so says the above Chinese gentleman.

6. No. My Chinese informant is positive that 1 or 2 per cent. of the adults keep to small consumption, but usually the amount is increased till, after four or five years, the smoker may either reduce the amount or give it up. After that period, if he makes no stand against the habit, the smoker is apt to degenerate into a sot.

7. Most of the boat population smoke when they get the chance, but their wages are too small to let them exceed. (1.) The majority of labourers in the city and of artisans smoke; of the agricultural population, not many. (2.) Of merchants and shopkeepers possibly 10 per cent. are smokers. On class (1) the effect is to make them slow and ready to shirk work; on class (2) the effect is said to be noticeable only if they exceed. Moderate opium-smoking is not in itself made a reason for dismissing clerks or artisans.

8. Opium-smokers rarely, if ever, care for Chinese wine. In Szuchuen most men drink spirits, but not 10 per cent. are heavy drinkers, and none are "sots" in the sense in which there are "opium sots." Nor is the alcohol habit so injurious to business. The Chinese say that drinking leaves such unpleasant effects that drunkards are warned, while opium acts on the weakly, at least at first, as a tonic.

9. The respectable classes look on opium-smoking as both degrading and injurious, though the officials do not seem to despise opium-smoking comrades. The only advantage of opium over alcohol is, the Chinese say,

that drink makes a man noisy and troublesome to his neighbours.

10. So I am told. Chinese doctors give tonics and aperients in pills also containing 100th or so of a tael (1½ oz.) of opium. After four or five days' discomfort, opium-smokers, especially if the habit is of not more than three years' standing, can break it off. The old and worn find it almost impossible. If a man returns to the habit he rarely gives it up for good.

11. Absolutely none, as only 1 cwt. or so of prepared Indian opium comes into the West annually through the Imperial Maritime Customs here, unless, indeed, the increased demand for native drug on the coast should raise the retail price for a time until more opium could be grown.

12. I have never known Europeans take to opium in any form, presumably because of their more interesting lives and the fact that the majority take stimulants.

13. Smokers mostly learn to smoke from friends. At first, smoking makes beginners miserable, but it soon produces pleasing sensations. I am not aware that it is considered a prophylactic against fever, &c., though it is eaten for bowel complaints.

14. Not as a rule. They usually complain of the expense, but profess to be unable to break off the habit.

15. The growers here would like Indian opium stopped so that they might profit. Ten years ago, before much was grown here and only the richer classes smoked, we were occasionally blamed. To this day it is used as an argument against missionaries, but apparently more to worry them than from any real feeling on the matter.

16. Indian opium is practically unknown in the West, the export from the three provinces, Szuchuen, Yünnan, and Kueichou, being probably at least as great as the total import from India.

17.—(a.) Nil; they will take to the native drug.

(b.) A large extension.

(c.) Probably none. Li Shu-ch'ang, the late Chinese Minister to Japan, while deploring the prevalence of opium-smoking, tells me that in his opinion any attempt to raise the taxation on native opium would lead to extensive smuggling and not pay the cost of collection.

18. In a report to the Indian Government, dated 8th July 1893, I have given tables showing the estimated production in 31 districts of Szuchuen, the total export of the province being placed at five million lbs., of Yünnan at three million, and of Kueichou at one million lbs. The local consumption is probably at least as much, but in China there is no means of obtaining accurate figures.

19. The Chinese Government levies Haiknan taels 110 per picul* on Indian opium, the total revenue in 1892 on 71,000 piculs being 1,500,000. On native opium in transit there are many local charges, e.g., all opium leaving Yünnan pays about 4½ per cent., leaving Kueichou 7 per cent., entering Chungking 2½ per cent., and Yünnan and Kueichou opium pays 5 to 6 per cent. on passing Hsü-chou Fu, the great port of entry into Szuchuen. Native opium exported through the Imperial Maritime Customs here pays Tls. 24.80 per picul and Tls. 40 at Schang, say, Hk. Tls. 64.80† in all or about 25 to 30 per cent. The native Customs let it pass at rather less than Tls. 24.80, but each province it enters levies other rates, while the payments to the Imperial Maritime Customs are supposed to clear it throughout the empire. How much of this revenue reaches the Central Government I know not, nor what the total collection should be. The Imperial Maritime Customs here collected about Hk. Tls. 52,000‡ during 1893 and about the same in 1892.

20. In the opinion of H. E. Li Shu-chang, it would be impossible for China to stop opium-growing and opium consumption. My native writer thinks it might be done in a number of years, if the officials would honestly try. But that it would be of no use to stop either Indian opium or Chinese opium alone is admitted by all the Chinese I have talked with. Meanwhile, the closing of the Indian mints has given native opium a vast advantage in competing with Indian drug, and my own opinion is that the import of Indian opium will gradually dwindle into insignificance.

In spite of the high per-centages of smokers often given, the Szuchuenese are as fine a race of Chinese as

* Say 3s. 3½d. per lb.

† Say 2s. per lb.

‡ Say 10,400.

I have ever seen, and I rarely notice in the streets the yellow complexions of confirmed opium-smokers.

(Signed) E. H. FRASER,
Acting Consul.
Chung King,
March 12, 1894.

2. Mr. A. G. CARRUTHERS.

1. Yes.
 2. Adult males, 70 per cent. Here, I believe, from hearsay only, that women do smoke to some extent. Children, no.
 3. Except in very bad cases the effects on consumers are not noticeable. Both drugs I believe, if smoked to excess, produce similar effects.
 4. Consumers always smoke.
 5. I cannot answer this question at all accurately. I have resided for several years in various parts of China where both drugs are in common use and have only seen two "opium sots."
 6. Most certainly not. I know personally people who for years have used opium steadily without any obvious effect. My examples, I am sorry to say, I am not at liberty to give.
 7. Yes, but as stated above, unless smoked to excess, their efficiency for work is unimpaired.
 8. It is obviously impossible to answer this question as the Chinese use little or no alcohol.
 9. I do not think the Chinese consider it at all degrading to smoke a pipe now and then quietly and privately just as one might take a glass of wine in his own house or elsewhere, but a man who smokes too much is regarded like a drunken sot at home, shunned by respectable people and unfit for his work.
 10. Yes, I believe so, but it is seldom done, as either the consumer smokes moderately and does not wish to discontinue the habit or he smokes to excess and is unable to give it up.
 11. Cutting off the Indian drug supply would to my mind simply cause a big "boom" in the opium trade of this province (Szuchuen) and wherever the native drug is produced.
 12. I believe not, but cannot say why. Possibly because alcoholic products are practically unknown to them.
 13. I cannot say. I do not think opium is much used by Chinese as a medicine.
 14. No.
 15. Certainly not, except perhaps amongst the native opium merchants for selfish and personal motives.
 16. By the richer classes and chiefly in Southern China. Those who can afford to buy Indian opium do so in preference to native drug on account of the former's superior flavour.
 - 17.—(a.) Nil.
(b.) Immense "boom" in native opium.
(c.) Probably nil.
 18. No.
 19. This question I am not at liberty to answer.
 20. In conclusion I only wish to remark that to the best of my knowledge the evil effects of opium are enormously exaggerated. I have been in opium-smoking resorts in Shanghai and elsewhere and seen none of this bestial degradation papers so often rave about. Compared with alcohol at home, opium contrasts very favourably, being more moderately used, less abused, and I really think it is less hurtful. I think Chinese will never give up using it any more than Englishmen will beer or Scotchmen whisky.
- (Signed) A. G. H. CARRUTHERS.
Chung King,
March 7, 1894.

3. J. A. KERR.

1. Yes.
2. Over 60 per cent. adult males are said to smoke opium; women also smoke it, but not to the same extent. I do not know of any cases of children consuming opium.
3. The effects of opium when taken to excess are the general weakening of both moral and physical power. I have had no opportunity of drawing "distinctions" between the effects on consumers of different races."

I believe there is no difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium.

4. Consumers in this district smoke opium. I am given to understand that consumption of the drug in other ways is rare, except where opium pills are taken as medicine.

5. This question is difficult to answer, as there are no trustworthy statistics bearing on the matter. As far as I can learn, however, not more than 7 or 8 per cent. of consumers could justly be called "opium sots," and, say, 10 per cent. use opium with slight injury. The remaining 82 or 83 per cent. do not use opium in sufficient quantities to cause injury.

6. It is decidedly incorrect to say there can be no such thing as moderation in the use of opium. I know many cases both here and in other parts of China of opium-consumers "who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves."

7. The majority of labourers, &c., in this district consume opium. If they consume it to excess naturally their "efficiency in their calling" is impaired.

8. I consider that the "use or abuse" of opium compares favourably with the use or abuse of alcohol.

9. The habit of consuming opium in moderation is not considered degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese. Of course the general opinion of the Chinese condemns the abuse of both opium and alcohol.

10. I believe so.

11. If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, I believe it would have no effect whatever on consumers in this neighbourhood, except that probably for a year or two they would have to pay a higher price for their opium. On the population generally cutting off the supply of Indian opium would have a good effect, as it would give great stimulus to the cultivation of the poppy in this province, and consequently benefit farmers, &c. A very small proportion of the opium consumed in this province is Indian. I believe that if the Indian supply was stopped those who now use it would resort to Chinese-grown opium in its stead.

12. As far as I know, people of European race rarely contract the opium habit.

13. I believe that opium is first taken as a stimulant. Opium here is regarded as a prophylactic against both rheumatism and malaria, but I am unable to say of my own knowledge whether it is so or not.

14. Moderate consumers not as a rule.

15. No, except among opium-growers who would derive great benefit from the stoppage of the supply of the Indian drug.

16. I prefer not to attempt to answer this question, as to answer it with any degree of accuracy would require more time and research than I am able to give to it. I have said, however (Answer 11) that a very small proportion of the opium consumed in this province is Indian.

17.—(a.) None whatever, except as stated above in answer to Question 11.

(b.) It would give it a great stimulus (*vide* answer to Question 11).

(c.) I should say that from the Chinese Government point of view it would have an excellent effect.

18. No.

19. I am unable to answer this question.

20. No.

(Signed) J. A. KERR.
Chung King,
March 7, 1894.

4. Dr. McCARTNEY.

1. Yes.
2. Three-fifths of adult males. (i.) Yes. (ii.) Yes.
- 3.—(i.) Morally, to a state of total depravity. (ii.) Physically, a complete wreck. (iii.) Socially, entirely unfit for good society. (iv.) Do not know. (v.) I do not know.
4. They always smoke when they can afford it, otherwise they eat the ashes from the pipe or raw opium.
- 5.—(i.) Not One. (ii.) A very small per-centage. (iii.) The larger per-centage.

APP. XXVI.

6.—(i.) There cannot be such a thing as moderation in opium-smoking. (ii.) I do not know of such a person. (iii.) . . . (iv.) I have known many, both among the higher and lower classes, who have suffered great injury. Mr. A—, a wealthy gentleman, smoked large quantities daily, after several years became greatly emaciated, to all appearances suffering from some organic disease, loss of voice, with derangement of all the physiological functions of the body. Could give many other examples.

7.—(i.) Yes. (ii.) It incapacitates them both mentally and physically. A carpenter or labourer who smokes is unable to perform the same amount of work in a day than a man who does not use it.

Their work is not as satisfactory as those who do not use the drug.

I am told that they are not paid the same wages.

8. The use of opium is far more extensive than that of wine-drinking (to excess).

The effect on the consumer is much more injurious and demoralising than that of alcohol.

9. Yes. (ii.) Much worse than the alcohol habit.

10. They can. (ii.) Very few, if any.

11. No effect whatsoever. (ii.) They would. (iii.) Do not think they would. (iv.) I believe they would abstain altogether from any narcotic (providing they could not get any form of opium.)

12.—(i.) No. (ii.) They do not readily develop a liking for the drug (as the Chinese use it), and are not thrown into the same temptation as the Chinese. (iii.) Because grown by them and prescribed by their physicians. Also for its peculiar effects on them.

13. Principally as a remedy for disease. (ii.) No. (iii.) To some extent.

14. Yes.

15. Yes, to some extent. Mostly quite indifferent.

16. I do not know.

17. (a.) None whatever.

(b.) "

(c.) Do not know.

18. No.

19. Do not know.

(Signed) JAS. H. McCARTNEY, M.D.,
I.M. Customs Medical Officer.

(American Methodist Episcopal Mission.)

Chung King, March 10, 1894.

5. DR. DAVENPORT.

These replies relate only to the city of Chung King.

1. Opium is largely consumed by the Chinese here.

2. There are two classes of consumers. Class 1. Those who merely take the drug at odd times for pleasure or politeness, or other reasons. Class 2. Those who have a craving or "yin," and who have to satisfy such. From what I have seen, and information I have gained, I should conjecture 60 to 70 per cent. of the people here are consumers either of Class 1 or Class 2, 20 to 30 per cent. falling under Class 2. In the out-patient department of the hospital I have charge of I have personally asked 3,268 adult patients, of both sexes, and chiefly of the lower classes, whether or not they consume the drug. Out of this number 729 have admitted to taking it. I am aware that this gives a minimum proportion, for many are ashamed to admit the fact, and many will admit it further pressed. Women consume less than men. The upper classes consume more than the lower. I am told 5 per cent. of the lower classes and 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the upper classes take the drug. Children, I am told, often take "whiffs" at their parents' pipes, but to no great extent consume the drug.

3. Of the moral and social effects on consumers I cannot speak much from observation. I have personally met with cases where a husband has sold his wife's clothing to buy the drug; where a mother has destroyed her child that she might buy the drug with the money that formerly went to keep the child; where a father has sold his son for money to buy the drug, and the lad, rather than be attached to another family, has poisoned himself with the drug; where scores of men and women have attempted suicide (and children too) by taking the drug; where lying and deception have been used to hide the fact. Physical effect depends largely on the consumer's conditions and surroundings. I have known some who apparently physically have suffered little, while others have had their vitality reduced to a minimum. With good food and surroundings the consumer may maintain his former health and strength, apart from some constipation. On the other

hand, if he becomes reduced, the drug helps to reduce him still more. I believe in the end, either sooner or later, the drug always affects the body, both to reduce its strength and vitality. The ill-effect is first shown by constipation, and then after few or many years, with the aid of secondary causes, such as bad feeding, bad surroundings, bad habits, and other diseases, it produces such malnutrition that body and mind are reduced to a wreck. I am told that Indian-grown opium is much stronger in its action than the drug locally produced.

4. Consumers chiefly smoke the drug. It is also eaten. The pills sold to cure the habit are largely eaten, and are but another form of taking the drug. In this form the drug is taken more easily and secretly, i.e., on a journey or visiting friends. A decoction is seldom taken except when suicide is attempted. It is then often swallowed with spirits. The ashes from the pipes of the wealthier are also taken by those who have no money to buy better. This form of swallowing is the most injurious to the digestion. The Chinese themselves look upon eating as a worse vice than smoking, and one which produces a worse effect. They themselves say they can't tell an "eater" from a "smoker" by his colour, he being more of a dirty yellow.

5. Those who merely smoke occasionally for pleasure I think do not suffer. Of this number, I believe 20 per cent. fall into the habit, and become confirmed smokers—if not more. As I have above said, I consider all who have acquired the habit sooner or later suffer, and to a greater or less extent. "Opium sots" are few, compared with the number who smoke, perhaps 2 or 3 per cent.

6. Of those who smoke occasionally, I believe at least 20 per cent. become slaves to the habit. I believe moderation may be practised for some years without much physical injury, though I believe its use rarely remains moderate. I know and have treated patients of advanced years who have taken the drug 20 or 30 years. Their own families have lamented the fact, telling me it has harmed them. Some I have treated who, one might say, have been saturated with opium—reduced to the last extent with some concurrent disease and the habit itself. Under good tonic treatment, while they still consume the same quantity of opium, they have gained strength. (The notes of these cases I am not able to give, as the time given me to answer these questions has been brief.)

7. From what I learn the larger half of labourers, merchants, and artisans here do not consume opium. The larger proportion of those in the yamens do, probably the scholar class too. The efficiency of their calling is affected sooner or later. The drug may for a time stimulate and help, but sooner or later deceit is practised or work is scamped, or physical weakness comes upon the consumer to the detriment of his work. The people themselves say, "it first takes up time, and afterwards tells on efficiency."

8. In this city more native wine is consumed than opium, but its effect is not regarded to be as bad as that of opium.

9. The habit is universally condemned, both as degrading and injurious. It is regarded as worse than the alcohol habit. If the habit were not considered to be detrimental, why should we have in our hospitals yearly hundreds of those who wish to break it off, each one paying \$2 3c.?

10. As Indian opium is only used here by the officials and merchants from the coast, the effect of its supply being cut off would be very little. I have heard it expressed that probably more wine would be drunk.

11. I have met one or two who have told me they have broken off the habit themselves. It is very rare. Many say they have broken it off by taking pills, not knowing that they are only eating it in another form.

12. I have never known a European to contract the habit. The reason perhaps is that we have more moral stamina, greater self-respect, brighter, happier, and healthier surroundings, and the knowledge that the indulgence is a sin in the sight of the God in whom we believe. The lack of the above makes Asiatics, as far as my knowledge leads me to believe, liable to contract the habit. To my mind, the damp, dull, heavy climate of this city, together with the dark, comfortless, crowded houses in which the people live, is quite enough to drive them to the use of a drug such as opium, which thrives so abundantly in their very midst, apart from the above restraining influences.

13. Many are led to use the drug for the cure of disease and pain, either voluntarily or by the advice of Chinese doctors; many for amusement, and to pass the time away; many young people copy their parents; many for politeness sake, when visiting or doing business. It is a custom, and I am sorry to say a custom in which some of our own fellow-countrymen join, of supplying an opium pipe and lamp to customers, or business men when doing business, or to visitors when paying calls or visiting. I have never heard it hinted at as a prophylactic against fever, rheumatism, or malaria (all of which diseases abound here), nor do I know it to have such properties.

14. I believe most consumers desire to get free of the habit, especially among the poor.

15. I have never heard any such wish expressed.

16. As before stated, officials, merchants from the coast, and other wealthy people, only take Indian opium here.

20. I have formed the above opinions after only four years spent in China, three being spent in medical mission work in this city, so that I cannot speak with much experience, and may alter my opinions after longer experience. I think without doubt that the opium habit is a curse to this nation, evidently a growing curse, the future of which I cannot conceive. I think the cutting off of the Indian supply would make very little difference to its consumption here. This does not, however, bear upon the morality or immorality of our own Government partaking in a trade which, as far as I can see, brings suffering and sorrow and harm on every side, without any advantage to the people. I would with my whole heart join with those who are urging on our Home Government to take every step possible in discontinuing to have any part in a trade which supplies to a fellow-nation a drug which does such harm.

(Signed) CECIL J. DAVENPORT, F.R.C.S.E.,
London Mission, Chung King, West China.

March 8, 1894.

6. UNSIGNED.

Chung King, March 7, 1894.

1. Yes.

2.—(a.) Eighty per cent. adult males.

(b.) Thirty-five per cent. women.

(c.) One per cent. boys about 12 years and over.

3.—(a.) Moral. A general tone of indifference or lack of interest.

(b.) Weakens the frame, and reduces the energy.

(c.) Social. Not so noticeable, but has a tendency to lower the individual as well as family.

Note.—In this question so much depends on the amount consumed. When taken in moderation, few of the evil effects are observable.

4.—(a.) All smoke.

(b.) I know none who drink, or eat; people who are deprived of their pipe, in the performance of their official or other duties, will take a pill of opium to stave off the craving.

(c.) I cannot detect any difference, only knowing the one class, i.e., smokers.

5. I think it is always injurious, both morally and physically, only modified by the smoker's means and moderation. I could not answer these sub-divisions of the main question without a greater knowledge than any foreigner is likely to possess.

6.—(a.) It is correct to say there is moderation, and great moderation, amongst the consumers of opium.

(b.) I know, of course, a great many of respectable Chinese who smoke opium, elderly men who have smoked opium from 20 years to old age, without any baneful effects apparently; good food and regular habits have much to do with these cases.

(c.) Yes, where people are poor and have no power of restraint on their appetite.

7. Yes. All the classes mentioned use opium. The general effect is harmful; it weakens the labouring man, undermines his constitution, he spends in opium what he ought to spend on food and clothing.

The same with the artisan, but not so soon as he is protected from the weather; the latter, when rain or cold, with wind, is very severe on the opium-smoker.

The merchant and shopkeeper have more self-restraint, better food, which counteracts on the effects of opium-smoking, and are not exposed to all weathers

like the boating population. The farmers and agricultural labourers seldom smoke opium, but the latter when they come to the city fall very readily into the habit.

8. The Chinese are a strictly temperate race in the use of alcohol; all drink, but few are drunkards. Of two men seeking employment, one an opium-smoker the other a drinker, the drinker would have the preference. There is, however, no drunkards and no teetotallers, that is speaking generally, amongst so many millions.

9. Opium-smoking is not considered respectable, but no stigma attaches to those who indulge, but all classes consider it injurious. There being no alcohol habit it cannot be compared. It is a fact, however, the opium-smoker simply injures himself. He is not a nuisance to other people, or a trouble to the police.

10. Few can or do break themselves of the opium habit. The Chinese themselves never believe in the possibility. If given up for a short time, at great suffering, a man is sure to return to it.

11. Indian opium is not used here. All use native opium.

12. In China. I know no foreigner who uses opium.

13.—(a.) Social intercourse usually leads to its use, and the awful monotony of Chinese life, dull, cheerless evenings, and want of amusement.

(b.) Opium-smoking is considered by the Chinese good in all chest complaints, and in some parts in cases of malaria.

14. No, they do not, they generally grumble at the expense.

15. Yes, the Government of China, the officials, the dealers, and the poppy growers for reasons too self-evident to need referring to.

16. Not here in Szuchwan.

17. In my opinion it would be grown more extensively in China to the advantage of the Government and to the grievous detriment of the Chinese people.

18, 19. These two questions I will leave for others.

20. My opinion, stop the cultivation very gradually so as to injure no one, but make the tendency ever a diminishing one. Human happiness, Chinese prosperity, and British trade will increase beyond our most sanguine anticipations.

7. (Supplementary) MR. ARCHIBALD J. LITTLE.*

Chung King, March 16, 1894.

1. Yes.

2. I should say that two-thirds of the male population and one-fourth of the female population in Szechuen smoke, some only occasionally, others permanently and daily. As an instance, take the local employees of the Chung King Transport Company, Limited, numbering 32 in all, clerks, cooks, and coolies; of these five are regular smokers, have the "yin" as the Chinese say, and only four have never had an opium pipe in their mouths. The intermediate 23 smoke occasionally, when invited to do so by friends or when talking business with constituents. It is the proper thing to do, but these all say they do not care whether they smoke or not. As regards children, many whose parents smoke, learn themselves to smoke when quite young, but I cannot venture to give any statistics.

3. Morally, I consider opium, smoking a lazy habit, much as spending a morning in a club smoking tobacco and reading an excessive number of newspapers, a habit that saps the energy of some well-to-do Westerns. To Orientals, who are naturally lacking in energy, the opium-smoking habit is still more prejudicial. With regard to its alleged tendency to promote vice, I have never noticed this tendency myself, and believe that opium-smokers who are addicted to unnatural vice have naturally vicious inclinations, which they would gratify just the same without opium. Opium is generally acknowledged to stimulate the sexual passion in young smokers and to destroy its power in more advanced smokers.

* Author of "Through the Yangtse Gorges &c."

APP. XXVI.

Physically.—Smoked in strict moderation, I should say it improved the physique of those using it, rendering them capable of harder and more prolonged exertion than non-smokers. The physique of many smokers of the poorer classes suffers from the fact of their withdrawing a portion of their slender earnings, all of which are needed for food and clothing, to purchase opium. This evil is, however, not so noticeable in Szechuen where opium is so cheap that a moderate smoker can take his pipe three times a day after meals for 20 to 25 copper cash (=½ to ⅔ penny sterling); nor, of course, is any deterioration of physique from this cause experienced by the well-to-do classes. These latter, it must be remembered, form a very small proportion of the population of China, the bulk of the people earning nothing more than bare subsistence.

Social.—Opium-smoking is eminently a social habit and is in request to promote sociability, much as is the habit of taking alcoholic drinks amongst Occidentals. When carried to excess it is regarded as a social evil precisely as is drunkenness with ourselves. But generally in China all business transactions of importance are discussed and concluded over the opium pipe, and no more stigma attaches to the proceeding than does to the interchange of cocktails (a probably more immediately pernicious indulgence) between merchants and brokers at the Shanghai Club. No Indian opium reaches Western China; Chinese-grown opium is much milder. The only difference in effect known to me is that the number of pipes that will produce a marked mental stimulus on a Chinaman is insufficient to affect a healthy European. I know no European smokers, though some have made attempts out of curiosity.

4. I know no opium-eaters.

5. (i.) Roughly speaking, 45 per cent. without injury.
(ii.) " " 50 " with slight injury.
(iii.) " " 5 " with great injury.

100

6. It is absolutely incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the use of opium. I know numbers of opium-smokers who have smoked for years without any apparent harm. One of the most active energetic Chinamen I ever knew had smoked opium for 50 years at the time of his death, aged 76. This man, whose name was Su, taught Chinese to me, to Mr. Davenport of the Consular service, and others in Shanghai, in 1860. He was an early riser, beginning his lessons at 7 a.m. all the year round (my lesson was from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m.). He told me that he should like to save the cost of his pipe, but that he could not stop smoking without getting dysentery. He had gradually increased his dose, which at the time of his death was three to four morce (nearly half an ounce) of prepared opium daily. He smoked Patna, which in those days was expensive. At the time of his death, in 1868, he was employed as writer and teacher of Chinese in the British Consulate at Kuikiomg. Up to the time of his death, which was caused by dysentery, contracted by his moving from Shanghai to Kuikiomg, he appeared to me to enjoy excellent health, taking his rice regularly. He was of spare habit, but no one looking at him would take him for a victim of opium. Another regular smoker, who took also three or four morce per day was my Kuikiomg compradore, named Ko, a man in the forties, an exceedingly capable, energetic, and satisfactory man in every way. He was an early riser, but could do nothing until he had had his pipe. I could give more similar instances. Personally I have known no cases of great injury, probably owing to my having had little intercourse with the poorer classes of Chinese.

7. In this part of China I should say that undoubtedly the majority of labourers, merchants, and artisans do smoke opium. The effect on all but the "sots" (whom I have noted above as 5 per cent. of the whole of smokers, an estimate rather over than under the mark) is decidedly stimulating, and so promotive of efficiency in their calling. I must qualify this statement, however, by expressing my belief that the labouring classes who smoke opium, by diminishing their consumption of solid, nourishing food, reduce the period of their activity, in short, reduce the length of their lives by, later on, when they begin to age, devoting an undue proportion of their diminished earnings to the purchase of the drug, now become more desired by

them than food itself. As far as the mercantile men are concerned, I must say that the majority of the most capable native clerks I have had have been opium-smokers, though I have had some equally capable who did not smoke. Apart from the fact that it is needful to entertain business friends on the opium couch, I should certainly prefer that my employees did not smoke opium, chiefly on account of the time spent lolling about and fiddling with the pipe.

8. Alcohol is very cheap in Szechuen, and at the innumerable markets, which are a peculiarity of the province, a great deal is drunk. In fact, with many of the farmer and country-shopkeeper class "going to market" (K'an chang) is equivalent to going to drink with one's friends, I should say that nearly as much time and money is thus wasted on alcohol as on opium. I have known more than one Chinaman, whom yet I never knew to be actually drunk, die early through disease contracted by drink.

9. The Chinese undoubtedly condemn the opium habit as injurious and degrading, but, seeing the number of highly respected and really estimable men who smoke, this disparagement of opium seems to me much akin to the disparagement of tobacco by European tobacco smokers, whose doctors have told them they would be better if they gave up smoking—this applies especially to warm climates like China—but who cannot make up their minds to abandon a habit they themselves believe they would be better without. So it is with many a native opium-smoker. On the other hand, the consuming of alcoholic drinks is certainly not looked upon as degrading; wine and spirits are drunk at every dinner by those who can afford them, and a man who can imbibe freely without getting tipsy is universally applauded.

10. I have known some, but not many, cases of Chinese voluntarily giving up the habit, once acquired, of opium-smoking and not taking it up again. They, in these cases, generally have a relapse of the weakness, such as bowel or pulmonary complaints, that originally led them to smoke (so they say), and in consequence return again to the pipe after a short interval of abstinence.

11. Notwithstanding the vast consumption in West China, the production is so enormous that a large export takes place to the Eastern provinces. The cutting off of the supply of Indian opium from these Eastern provinces would only lead to a still farther increase in the steadily increasing export hence.

12. Europeans in China (with very rare exceptions, of which I have heard in South China, but never knew an instance myself) do not smoke opium. The opium couch and its accessories are repulsive to the active Occidental. To the Oriental, who desires nothing better than to kill time pleasantly, the immense amount of time spent dawdling over the opium pipe is a recommendation in itself and soon ends in producing a fascination to which they only too easily succumb.

13. Many are led to smoke opium as a cure for diarrhoea, rheumatism, chills, and fever—all which are very prevalent in this damp warm province, and the cure is generally effected, but the patient being, by his mode of life as well as by constitution, predisposed to one of these complaints, naturally gets ill again, and again resorts to opium. Then he continues it as a prophylactic, and possibly enjoys many years of tolerable health in consequence. Then, if he ultimately dies before the usually allotted term of years, his death is set down to opium, whereas, in many cases, such lives have indubitably been prolonged through taking opium. My own personal experience of chills and fever and rheumatism, acquired through exposure in travelling through the remoter parts of this essentially damp province, is that morphia is the only cure, and never has it failed me.

But, valuable as opium is to those who need it, it is certainly worse than superfluous to those who do not need it; and numbers of young men, and not a few women, who do not need it are led to use the drug because it is, as they say, "t'i mien" ("the correct thing") to do so. The opium couch is inviting, and they are everywhere invited to sit and lie on it. Thus I consider opium-smoking a bad habit socially, whereas opium-eating is not a social habit, nor has it the adjuncts that make the smoking so attractive to the young man, who finds it as nauseous at the beginning as does the English schoolboy his first cigar. Fear of

ridicule leads the youngster in both cases to persist, in spite of his better judgment.

Those opium-smokers who have what the Chinese call the "yin" or passion for the drug, and who, instead of smoking regularly, i.e., a few pipes after each meal only, spend half or all the night on the opium couch, smoking from 5 morce (3oz.) to 1 tael (1½oz.) of prepared opium in the 24 hours, certainly crave a *Deus ex machina* to free them from a habit they have not resolution enough to be able to keep under control themselves; these occasionally make feeble attempts at reform, and try to break off the habit by using so-called opium-cure medicines, usually to relapse worse than before. Moderate and regular smokers appear, as far as my inquiries have led me, to be satisfied with themselves, and these say that their business or their health compels them to smoke, and, having no fear of being carried to excess, have no desire to be rid of the habit. They all say, however, if "Heaven" should forbid the growth of the poppy, and so everybody be prevented from smoking by *force majeure*, they would not be sorry, but that nothing but the intervention of Heaven or God (T'ien lao ye) could now stop opium-smoking in China.

15. Among the trading classes there is no wish whatever that England should not allow opium to be exported to China; among the official class there are some who would prefer to see the money spent on Indian opium kept in the country. Among the Imperial entourage and the high officials in Peking I imagine there would be a feeling of regret were the easily collected revenue derived from the import of foreign opium to be cut off.

16. In the provinces where Indian opium is consumed this stands in much the same relation to native opium as to Havannah cigars to Manilla cheroots.

The consequences of the prohibition of the export of Indian opium, as far as I can see, will be—

- (a.) On the consumption by Chinese, nil,
- (b.) On the cultivation of the poppy in China, a still further increase.

(c.) Arrangement by the Chinese Government for raising a still higher revenue from opium of native growth by means of additions to the many indirect and octroi taxes which it now yields, chiefly to the Provincial Governments.

18. The area under cultivation in South-Western China, by which I understand the three provinces of Szechuen, Yünnom, and Kueichow, is immeasurable; but one of the leading Chungking exporters, whom I consulted, vaguely estimated the export from Szechuen (derived from the three provinces) at 10,000,000 taels (say 2,000,000L.), and the home consumption at a like amount. This, if correct, would place our local production at over 5,000,000 lbs. annually.

19. This can be best answered by the officials concerned.

20. My only general remark is that a long residence in China leads me to believe that the Chinese would be as much better off if opium were exterminated as we should be if no alcohol existed; but that in both cases it is absolutely impossible to stop the consumption by any legislative measures whatever. As far as opium is concerned, I should say the consumption in China is still on the increase, that the culminating point will be reached some years hence, when many changes, political and social, may be expected to occur, chiefly owing to increased intercourse with the West, which may be expected to lead to a gradual abandonment of this now fashionable vice.

(Signed) ARCHIBALD J. LITTLE.

P.S.—A large proportion of the junk trackers on this river is composed of opium-smokers who have squandered their small patrimony or of those who have been driven by opium-smoking to neglect their work as farmers and small traders. Ruined men, tracking is the only resource left to them; they get their rice from the junk master, and spend their small money earnings on opium; ill-clad and exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather and the dangers of their occupation, they soon succumb, and few are to be found alive after forty.

APP. XXVI.
Chung King.

APPENDIX XXVII.

APP. XXVII.

French and
Dutch Settlements.

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN THE FRENCH AND DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

From the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (Foreign Department).

SIR, Dated November 21, 1893.

I AM directed by the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Opium to say that the Commissioners are anxious to obtain information regarding the arrangements for the sale and consumption of opium in, and the effects of its consumption on the inhabitants of, the French Settlements in Cochin China and the Dutch Settlements in the Indian Netherlands, respectively. It appears to the Royal Commissioners that an effectual method of obtaining reliable information on this point would be to solicit the assistance of the Government of India in procuring such information through the consular representatives of France and the Netherlands in Calcutta. Lord Brassey would therefore be greatly obliged if the Government of India would invite the Consul-General for the French Republic and the Consul for the Netherlands at Calcutta to favour him, for the use of the Royal Commission, with information upon the following points:—

- (1.) What is the amount of opium annually consumed in each of the French and Dutch Settlements in the East (excluding India)?
- (2.) Whence is the supply obtained? where and how is it sold, and what regulations govern the traffic? Are places licensed for consumption of opium? Are places licensed for sale also licensed for consumption?
- (3.) Is smuggling effectually prevented?
- (4.) Is opium commonly consumed by the people of these Settlements? If so, by what classes and by what proportion of the adult males of those classes? Is it consumed by women? If so, to what extent? Is it consumed by children?
- (5.) In what form do the inhabitants of these Settlements usually consume opium?

(6.) Do the great majority of opium-consumers become slaves to the opium habit? Or are the majority or a considerable proportion of consumers found to be moderate consumers?

(7.) Is the consumption of opium regarded by the inhabitants of the Settlement as disgraceful?

(8.) Can any appreciable effect upon the public health be traced to the consumption of opium?

I have, &c.

J. P. HEWETT,
Secretary.

No. 752-I.

From the UNDER SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

(Foreign Department.)

Dated Fort William,

February 28, 1894.

SIR, WITH reference to my letter, No. 4379 I., dated the 23rd December 1893, I am directed to forward, for submission to the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Opium, a copy of a letter (with enclosures) received from the Consul for the Netherlands, containing information in regard to the sale and consumption of opium in the Dutch Settlements in the East.

2. The necessary information in regard to the sale and consumption of opium in the French Settlements in the East is still awaited, and will be forwarded to you as soon as it is received by the Government of India.

I have, &c.

A. WILLIAMS,
Under Secretary to the Government
of India.

APP. XXVII.
Dutch Settlements.

Enclosure.

CONSULAAAT DER NEDERLANDEN AT CALCUTTA.

(No. 7/31, Bijlagen.)

Calcutta,

SIR,
February 23, 1894.
IN answer to your letter of the 18th December last, No. 4305 L., containing different questions regarding the arrangements for the sale and consumption of opium, and the effects of its consumption on the inhabitants of the Dutch Settlements in the East, questions about which the Royal Commission on Opium should wish to obtain some information, I have the honour to inform you that I have, without delay, submitted the same to the Director of Finances at Batavia, whose department deals with the subject.

A letter which I recently received from the said official contains the answers on most of the questions you put before me, and I herewith allow me to communicate the same to you, kindly requesting you to forward them to the Chairman of the Opium Commission.

1. What is the amount of opium annually consumed in each of the Dutch Settlements in the East?

1. Table A. herewith enclosed shows the quantities of opium delivered by the Government during the years 1890, 1891, and 1892 to the farmers in those districts where they are obliged to take their supply from the Government; whilst Table B. gives the quantities imported during the same period in those districts where the farmers do not receive the drug from the Government.

2. Whence is the supply obtained? Where and how is it sold, and what regulations govern the traffic? Are places licensed for consumption of opium? Are places licensed for sale also licensed for consumption?

2. With regard to the Bengal opium, the Government obtains its supply by purchasing it at the public sales at Calcutta, whilst the opium of the Levant that the Indian Government requires is procured by the intermediary of the Home Government in the Netherlands. The Government's opium is delivered to the farmers at a fixed price, and these farmers in paying a monthly sum, determined by public competition, have the exclusive right to sell in retail the prepared opium, and in some districts also the crude drugs. This sale takes place in stores appropriated to that purpose (kitten) which are established in localities indicated by the authorities, and where no women and children are admitted. No special licenses are granted for consumption on the premises, but the farmers can arrange the places where the drug is sold also for consumption.

3. Is smuggling effectually prevented?

3. Notwithstanding the Government has gone through a lot of expenses to suppress the illicit importation and smuggling, it has till yet not succeeded in checking these evils in a sufficient way.

5. In what form do the inhabitants of these Settlements usually consume opium?

5. The different sorts of prepared opium which are sold by the farmers can be considered generally as prepared mixtures of Bengal and Levantine opium, which contain the two varieties in different proportions. A particular form in which the opium is also consumed in these districts is the so-called tikee, which is obtained by mixing the prepared opium with cut awar-awar, lontar, or other sorts of leaves.

With regard to the other questions, the Director of Finances remarks that there is no printed information available which, in his opinion, is worthy of laying before the Commission, and that for this reason he would desire to restrict himself to the foregoing communications, only adding the following:—

1. That it is not known that opium is consumed by others, except natives and foreign Orientals.
2. That in some districts, also among the natives.
3. That the importation, the possession, the transport, and the sale of opium is prohibited in the Preanjer Regeetschappen and some parts of other districts in Java, and also in a great part of the residency of Amboina.

I have, &c.

J. C. T. REELFS,
Consul for the Netherlands.

Districts.	Quantities of Kattis* of Crude Opium supplied to the Farmers by the Government,		
	1890.	1891.	1892.
<i>Java and Madura.</i>			
Batavia, Krawang, and Lampong District.†	6,623	7,147	7,031
Cheribon	2,398	2,400	2,397
Tegal	2,797	3,396	3,143
Pekalongan	2,483	2,750	2,510
Semarang	14,720	13,697	12,500
Japara	6,875	6,361	5,777
Rembang	9,947	6,740	6,000
Soerabaja	12,152	15,241	11,184
Pasoeroean	4,600	4,517	4,500
Probolinggo	2,598	2,534	2,689
Besoeki	1,985	2,013	2,031
Banjoemas	2,955	3,204	2,985
Bagelen	1,526	2,352	1,342
Kedoe	2,249	2,682	2,695
Djotjakarta	2,690	3,875	3,105
Soerakarta	9,008	12,312	12,223
Madioen	4,027	4,482	5,047
Kediri	13,748	13,384	10,962
Madura	2,444	2,115	1,835
Total	105,825	111,702	99,956
<i>Possessions outside Java and Madura.</i>			
Sumatra's West Coast	7,702	9,665	7,871
Benkoelen	400	450	475
Palenbang	2,287½	2,308	2,398
Borneo's Southern and Eastern Division.	362	370	424
Menado	145	147	10
Ternate	23	34	25
Total	10,919½	12,974	11,303

* 1 Katti = 0.617,613 K. G.

† These three districts form one with regard to the supply of opium.

Districts.	Quantity of Imported Opium in Kilos.		
	1890.	1891.	1892.
Atjeh and Dependencies	3,724	1,860	3,420
East Coast of Sumatra	65,254	53,617	40,321
Reonw and Dependencies.	30,293	25,120	27,806
Banka	1,860	1,240	1,364
Billitou	2,875	3,625	2,125
Western Division of Borneo.	2,931	3,965	3,120
Celebes and Dependencies.	23,722	42,780	31,186
Bali and Lombok	52,687	56,600	60,450
Amboina	40	68	—
Timor and Dependencies	—	—	75
Total	189,386	188,875	169,867

Consul McLACHLAN.

(No. 65.) British Consulate, Batavia,

SIR, February 23, 1894.

WITH reference to your circular dated 21st November last, requesting information as to the sale and consumption of opium in Netherlands India, I beg to inform you that I learn from the Government of Netherlands India, of whom I requested the particulars required, that such have already been supplied through the intermediary of the Netherlands Consul at Calcutta.

I am, &c.,

A. F. McLACHLAN,
Acting British Consul.

Consul O'CONNELL.

SIR, Saigon, January 6, 1894.
In reply to your circular of 21st March, received on the 23rd ultimo, I have the honour to reply as follows to your queries:—

1. The amount of opium annually consumed in Cochinchina is about 3,000 chests.
2. The supply is obtained from Calcutta by the French Government, who has the monopoly of the sale. The raw opium thus received is prepared by the Government and sold in small boxes. Official regulations, rather strict, govern the traffic. There are places licensed for consumption. In some cases places licensed for sale are likewise licensed for consumption.]
3. Smuggling is effectually prevented; and no attempt has been made since the Saigon selling prices have been placed on the same basis as those of Hong Kong.
4. Opium is commonly consumed by all classes of the population, either Annamite or Chinese, in the

proportion of 75 per cent. of the adult males. Annamite women using opium can be recorded as 8 per cent. Children do not consume any. Many of the European French officials indulge themselves in this habit, in the proportion of 15 per cent.

5. The inhabitants of Cochinchina usually consume opium by smoking it in the Chinese opium pipes.
6. The inhabitants, when once accustomed to opium, become slaves of that habit, and generally have no reserve.
7. For the Chinese and Annamites, far from being disgraceful, it is a pride to smoke opium.
8. The effect of opium on the public health is indeed prejudicial, especially on Europeans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. L. O'CONNELL,
H.B.M.'s Acting Consul.

APP. XXVII.
French Settlement.

APPENDIX XXVIII.

TRANSLATION OF MEMORIAL FROM CERTAIN CHINESE RESIDENTS IN MOULMEIN.

To the Royal Commission on the Opium Trade 1893-94.

The humble Memorial of Chinese Residents of Moulmein, Burma.

Respectfully sheweth—

We the undersigned members of the Chinese community of Moulmein desire to bring to the notice of your honourable Commission the unjust stigma which has been laid upon our community in regard of opium.

It is well known that the introduction for the produce of opium was first started in India and gradually spread to China and elsewhere. It was originally used by doctors as medicine, and their requirements were rather small, and by its frequent use the consumer becomes a confirmed opium-eater, and in consequence of the contamination with this vice the natural character of wise and ignorant men has been spoilt.

The rich man when invited by his friend merely entertain him with a decorative fancy lamp and a bamboo pipe through politeness, though the use of it

soon ruins their constitution, and the poor addicted to this vice spend their time both day and night without any means of livelihood, and, therefore, generally take to thieving, dacoity, &c.

When an opium smoker is addicted to the use of the drug he entirely pays no heed to the wants of his family, neglecting the law of respectability.

We Chinese know, by a rather longer experience, the disastrous effects of this vice, and our condemnation of it is most unmeasured, but we have no power to prevent it, because opium can be procured with facility.

It is said that these facilities are maintained on account of the Chinese, and that but for them opium would be entirely prohibited. We resent the imputation of being unable to do without opium, and do not want the door to be left open or even half open to this vice in Burma on our account. We will not be the pretext for the ruin of this country, but want opium altogether forbidden.

And your memorialists as in duty bound, &c.

Signed.

- 1 Yaik Lee & Co.
- 2 Leong Yuen Wee.
- 3 Leong Chak Wong.
- 4 Cheong Kain Kone.
- 5 Chai Long Yeung.
- 6 Chwai Yee.
- 7 Lee E. Mun.
- 8 Hong Yaik & Co.
- 9 Choon Sein & Co.
- 10 Tam Tai Wah.
- 11 Hoi Wun.
- 12 Chain Yau Kóng.
- 13 Ming Chee Yuen.
- 14 Yeung Low Choon.
- 15 Kwai Wing.
- 16 Wat Mong Shun.
- 17 Hup Sein & Co.
- 18 Moy Chin Foo.
- 19 Lee Fut Wing.
- 20 Lee Choo Yeo.
- 21 Chwai Chon Yuen.
- 22 Chwai Kun Yeng.
- 23 Kong Shun.
- 24 Wong Kim Moon.
- 25 Song Hup & Co.
- 26 Chan Kwong.
- 27 Moy Fa Fut.
- 28 Chu Tsao Koon.
- 29 Lim Paw Sum.
- 30 Leong Ho Seen.
- 31 Tong Tai Kawn.
- 32 Chan Sing Kóng.
- 33 Mow Cheong & Co.

- 34 Cheong Haim Yee.
- 35 Moy Tock Shang.
- 36 Chee Foke Wo.
- 37 Tung Sai Pain.
- 38 Leong Cheng Sen Hong.
- 39 Chee Keng.
- 40 Tan Mone Hung.
- 41 Heap Yaik & Co.
- 42 Fung Yaik & Co.
- 43 Chee Wing Ning.
- 44 Leong U Hing.
- 45 Kong Wah Hain.
- 46 Kon Sen Soo Hong.
- 47 Leong Tock Chee.
- 48 Leong Hone Chuck.
- 49 Goon Lee & Co.
- 50 Chun Sun Tuck.
- 51 Lim Chone.
- 52 Leong Mun Tein.
- 53 Kong Tong Hew.
- 54 L. Ah Choy.
- 55 K. Ah Fun.
- 56 L. Ah Hone.
- 57 Yee Hup & Co.
- 58 Chan Yoke Soon.
- 59 Chan See Chow.
- 60 Leong Son Ming.
- 61 Lone Cho Put.
- 62 Lone Kum Yow.
- 63 Leong Ming Chum.
- 64 Wong Geong.
- 65 Yaik Lone & Co.
- 66 Lee Tock.

- 67 Law Yee Hock.
- 68 Moy Yow Wee.
- 69 Ng Mun Fat.
- 70 Moy Tock Shing.
- 71 Tsao Hing Kee.
- 72 Wat Choo.
- 73 Po Chong & Co.
- 74 Leong Yen Pain.
- 75 Leong Choon Chit.
- 76 Lee Chun Cheong.
- 77 Leong Foong Tsao.
- 78 Leong Shain Shoo.
- 79 Ngau Chit Yan.
- 80 Chen Choo.
- 81 Low Han Kyaing.
- 82 Leong Wai Shum.
- 83 Leong Yuen Yap.
- 84 Moy Toon Po.
- 85 Wong Yuang Soo.
- 86 Mun Lee & Co.
- 87 Wong Chee.
- 88 Wong Shoong.
- 89 Lee Song Shen.
- 90 Tai Hing & Co.
- 91 Cheong Kat.
- 92 Lee Woi.
- 93 Leong Mun Yee.
- 94 Lo Thit.
- 95 Cheong Fong Chaw.
- 96 Wong Tong.
- 97 Leong Chye Yow.
- 98 Po Chai Tong.
- 99 Ng Wai.

APP. XXVIII.
Moulmein
(Burma).

APP. XXVIII.
Moulmein.

100 Chwai Keng Soy.
101 Chan Kah.
102 Chwai Yong.
103 Cheong Liu.
104 Leong Yan.
105 Low Wai Yot.
106 Kong Lee & Co.
107 Leong Quai.
108 Leong Kum.
109 Choi Pat.
110 Ng Choy.
111 Lee Yow.
112 Lee Zink.
113 Lee Hing.
114 Lim Foi.
115 Tain Hain & Co.
116 Cheong Yee.
117 Cheong Ho.
118 Cheong Yuan.
119 Cheong Chat.
120 Cheong Hou.
121 Yeng Hoi.
122 Cheong Ming.
123 Wong Soon Käng.
124 Wong Lin Toon.
125 Kong Yuan Chong.
126 Kwok Sat Wah.
127 Leong Hong Mon.
128 Fong Chon Lin.
129 Chee Foi.
130 Chan Mow Lim.
131 Chan Tuck Toy.
132 Lee Ah Shee.
133 Shing On & Co.
134 Tam Shun.
135 Cheong Hing & Co.
136 Kong Hing & Co.
137 Yen Tsee.
138 Yen Choy.
139 Yen Kwong.
140 Low Thik.
141 Heap On & Co.
142 Kwok Chin Shoo.
143 Lee Ting Yot.
144 Lim Hoi.
145 Wong Shim Ting.
146 Seng Heap On & Co.
147 Yen Seng Chun.
148 Yap Tau Toon.
149 Lim Jam Choon.
150 Ng Him Hang.
151 Twai Mah Soon.
152 Ngau Toy Poy.
153 Twai Loy Wo.
154 Twai Yuan Choi.
155 Lo Yow.
156 Low Lo Toon.
157 Song Mok & Co.
158 Po Wo Tong.
159 Lim Chow Choy.
160 Tai Wo & Co.
161 Cheen Choon & Co.
162 Mun On Tong.

163 Tong Chan & Co.
164 L. Ah Choo.
165 Ng Sing Hong.
166 Leong Hin Tong.
167 Leong Yuan Yan.
168 Huan Fat & Co.
169 Wong Soy Kat.
170 Soo Yuan Chong.
171 Wing Cheong.
172 Law See.
173 Cheong Yow.
174 Heap Wo & Co.
175 Jon You Hing.
176 Wong Chon Hon.
177 Chap Sing & Co.
178 Soo Yee.
179 Lee Sing.
180 Mow Shing.
181 Soo Lay.
182 Hup Cheen.
183 Mun Shing & Co.
184 Shain Wo & Co.
185 Woon Yat Pon.
186 Hing Lone & Co.
187 Soo Kim-On.
188 Chow Yee Ngan.
189 Chow Kim Lin.
190 Soo Tuck Lo.
191 Chow Mah Chen.
192 Cheen Sing & Co.
193 Soo Kee Hon.
194 Lim Hin Mun.
195 Sing Hin & Co.
196 Soo Kap Sum.
197 Yu Fong & Co.
198 Chan Shan Choon.
199 Kwong Foke & Co.
200 Chim Fun.
201 Kone Ah Chip.
202 Lee Yat Yoo.
203 Kong Fat & Co.
204 Soo Ah Shun.
205 Yuan Yaik & Co.
206 Soo Mah Yong.
207 Kwong Yen.
208 Chim Num.
209 Soon Lone & Co.
210 Hoi Soy.
211 Soon Fat & Co.
212 Soo Lin.
213 Sing Fat & Co.
214 Ah Kwai.
215 Leong Moon.
216 Leong Yoke Khan.
217 Quan Ah Foke.
218 Ho Wai.
219 Yaik Fong & Co.
220 Ong Yen Wai.
221 Chan Ming Chee.
222 Leong Yuen Kow.
223 Chai Tsee.
224 Ng Tuck Lee.
225 Leong Shain Toy.

226 Ng Tam Yet.
227 Lim Yau.
228 Po Kim Yong.
229 Chain Sing.
230 Lew Kong.
231 Chwai Zin Num.
232 Leong Yow.
233 Chow Chee.
234 Chow On.
235 Soo Kee.
236 Low Tam.
237 Koon Hin Woon.
238 Hong Chong & Co.
239 Lee Kew Po.
240 Tang Yone.
241 Lee Ping Shum.
242 Lee Ping Choon.
243 Lee Yoke Keng.
244 Lee Yip Ting.
245 Lee Kew Tuck.
246 Sing Chong & Co.
247 Lee Chon Soo.
248 Kwok Cheong Hon.
249 Wong Ting Fo.
250 Fong Zin On.
251 Wong Yen Kwong.
252 Hong Choo Wo.
253 Chan Lone Yaik.
254 Kwok Chong.
255 Kong Chong & Co.
256 Cheen Lone & Co.
257 Wing Shang.
258 On Yen Hing.
259 Ong Ting Kyain.
260 Kwok Kee.
261 Wong Lone.
262 Lim Lai.
263 Tang Foke.
264 Yow Shing.
265 Leong Yum Cheen.
266 Leong Hing Ming.
267 Kong Hoi Pit.
268 Chan Yee.
269 Lee Choy.
270 Leong Wain Louk.
271 L. Hong Lyan.
272 Leong Yuen Ho.
273 Kong Hoy Lyan.
274 Ho Chain Sing.
275 Leong Tuck Choy.
276 Leong Tuck Wong.
277 Leong Pon.
278 Wong Yoon.
279 Hew Swee Hin.
280 Kong Yuan Lone.
281 Chwai Chim You.
282 Chan Leon Shum.
283 Lee Yoke Teng.
284 Chan Moon.
285 Hang On & Co.
286 Leong Shain Foon.

APP. XXIX.
Perak (Straits
Settlements).

APPENDIX XXIX.

COMMUNICATION from the RESIDENT, PERAK.*

[Received through Sir EDWARD BUCK, Secretary to the Government of India, in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture.]

British Residency.

SIR,
I ENCLOSE some papers concerning the smoking of opium by Chinese in this State that have special interest in view of the inquiries of the Royal Commission on Opium.

It appears from these papers that about 25 per cent. of the Chinese miners in Perak are opium-smokers, and it is a fact that they do very hard work in an exceptionally trying climate. By far the largest number of patients in our hospitals are Chinese, and a considerable proportion of them are opium-smokers, but that practice sends very few of them to hospital; on the

contrary, our surgeons consider that it often protects those who have the habit from malarial and bowel complaints.

In order to make an accurate comparison between the general health and physical condition of opium-smokers and non-smokers it would be necessary to know what proportion of our whole Chinese population smokes, and what not, and what proportion of smokers and non-smokers fall ill. That, however, we have no means of ascertaining, but it can be stated that 25 per cent. of our Chinese population are opium-smokers and it is they who, as miners, do the hardest work under the most trying circumstances. They are the worst housed, the least well clothed, and they work all day exposed to sun and rain, standing in water and newly turned earth. Night and day, therefore, they are in an atmosphere charged with malaria.

* For other communications from Perak, see page 160.

Those who furnish the smallest proportion of smokers are agricultural labourers, traders, shopkeepers, women, and children.

I have thought it would be of interest and value to you that I should obtain the views of medical men on the subject, and I have therefore asked the Acting State Surgeon (Dr. Wright) and the district surgeon in charge of our Taiping Hospital (Dr. Fox) to give me as briefly as possible their views on the physical effect of smoking opium.

I enclose, for your information, the memoranda furnished by these officers: They are both highly qualified to speak on the subject.

I have, &c.

F. A. SWETTENHAM,
British Resident, Perak.

Mr. W. BARNES.

REPORT on the PROPORTION of the CHINESE MINING POPULATION of LARUT who smoke OPIUM.

I REGRET that I have been unable to follow out in detail the Resident's instructions. I made two attempts to carry out the census in person, but on each occasion the coolies, despite all I could say, took fright, and imagining that I must have some sinister reason for inquiry, stoutly denied that any of them smoked opium at all.

2. I therefore abandoned the census and asked the owners of the six largest mining firms in Larut to get returns for me. In each case I carefully explained what I wanted and gave written forms to be filled in. Capitan Ah Qui, Mr. An Chiok, Mr. Lai Sang, and the other heads of these firms took an intelligent interest in the inquiry, and used, I think, every effort to secure accurate returns. The firms in question are: "Hoi Ki," "Thai Li," "Co Fung," "Wai Chiong," "Lai Sang," and "Lo Fung Sang."

3. I obtained returns under the following headings:—

- (i.) Name of headman.
- (ii.) Number of men in gang.
- (iii.) What dialect the men speak.
- (iv.) What work they are doing.
- (v.) The number of Sinkhehs in the gang.
- (vi.) The number of men in the gang who smoke opium daily.

4. In the returns as to the dialect spoken by the men I have found it necessary to divide all the miners into classes:—

- (a.) Cantonese and Kheh.
- (b.) Hokkien, Tiechin, Sin In, and Huilok Hong.

5. The returns as to the number of Sinkhehs are inaccurate and useless. The headmen were afraid rendering themselves liable to the penalties laid down for not registering Sinkheh contracts, and have in nearly all cases made a "nil" return. As a matter of fact a very large number of the Hokkiens are Sinkhehs.

6. The return of smokers only includes daily smokers, i.e., men of whom the Chinese say that they "have the craving."

7. I have received in all 93 returns, and the following is the result:—

	No. questioned.	No. of Daily Smokers.	Per-centage.
Cantonese and Khehs:	4,058	944	22.906
Hokkien, Tiechin, &c.	6,835	1,096	16.518
Totals	10,893	2,040	19.086

8. According to the 1891 census there were in Larut in April that year 20,628 Chinese miners. I am informed by the Treasury that 101,064 piculs of tin paid duty in Larut in 1890, whilst last year the weight was only 69,855; obviously, therefore, there are fewer miners in Larut now than then. I should put the present number at about 15,000, of whom 8,000 would be Cantonese and 7,000 Hokkiens.

9. Calculating according to the per-centages of smokers given by these returns there are therefore at the present time 1,832 Cantonese and 1,156 Hokkiens daily smokers in Larut. That is a total of 2,988 out of a mining population of 15,000. The per-centage,

therefore, of daily opium-smokers to mining population is about 20 per cent.

10. This average seems very low, but is, I think, not much below the truth. From information I have gathered from various sources (and I have inquired widely) I should say that the true average does not exceed 25 per cent.

11. It must, of course, be borne in mind that this is the average of daily smokers only, in fact of the "opium victims," men who have acquired the habit and cannot shake it off. Of occasional smokers it is impossible to obtain accurate returns. I should say without hesitation that at least 75 per cent. of the mining coolies here have smoked a pipe of opium one time or another. For instance, all Chinese, even domestic servants, smoke in the brothels, and on holidays and rainy days when work is stopped in the mines many coolies indulge in a sociable pipe with a friend although they are not regular smokers and may go for weeks without a smoke. The opium farmers both in Penang and here inform me that in their opinion more than one-half of all the opium consumed is smoked by these occasional smokers, or "smokers for amusement" as they put it.

12. The very low price of chandu in Larut compared with the Straits tends to increase the number of these occasional smokers. In Larut chandu costs 6 to 7 cents a chi, in the Straits 25 cents, and in China from about 4 cents to about 9 cents. The 4 cent opium is the gunnan, or native-grown opium. The ordinary price of a smoke here in an "opium den" is 5 cents.

13. The Kinta averages will probably prove to be higher than the Larut ones. In Kinta the largest class of miners are the Khehs, and it is the Khehs who are the largest smokers. In Larut there are not many Khehs, but there are a great many Hokkiens, who probably smoke less than any other class of Chinese. Some of them, as the Sieu-ins, for instance, hardly smoke at all. In Kinta there are not many Hokkiens.

14. Again, men in small mines generally smoke more than men in larger ones, and Kinta is the land of shallow tin and small mining, whilst Larut, at present, only contains deep-lying tin sand worked by large capitalists.

15. It is a point worth noticing how very little opium there really is in the chandu usually smoked by the coolies. This is sold at a price which proves that it must contain an admixture of at least 50 per cent. of matters other than pure ball opium. These are opium dross, the residue left from once smoked opium and sugar. It is, of course, only the smoke produced by the ignition of this mixture which enters the system. It might be interesting to forward to the Commission for analyses a few samples of the chandu sold in the local shops. It is probably entirely different from anything known in India.

16. As to spirits, I found that it would be useless to include questions as to them in the reports. By a universal consensus of opinion not 1 per cent. of the coolies drink spirits. Spirits are provided free at all feasts, the cost of which falls on the employer, but even so not more than 50 per cent. of the men touch them. These feasts take place two or three times a year. Hardly any coolies buy spirits to drink, and of the few who do so only a very small number indeed drink regularly. Practically none both smoke opium and drink.

17. It is worthy of note that the China-born Chinamen, who as a class never drink spirits, smoke opium; whilst the Straits-born Chinamen, who as a class never smoke opium, drink spirits. A Chinaman who drinks generally gets drunk quietly and rapidly in his own house in the evening. He does not look on drinking as a social pleasure, but as a means to an end, i.e., to getting drunk.

18. Drinking at dinners consists in swallowing small cupfuls (each cup holding, perhaps, half a sherry glass full) of weak warm spirits. Not much harm is usually done at these dinners. The guests play morra and get noisy, but that is all. Of course these dinners are only given by the well-to-do.

19. The abstemiousness of the ordinary Chinaman is proved by his inability to stand an amount of alcohol which the ordinary European would swallow without comment.

WARREN D. BARNES,
Ag. Protector of Chinese.

Taiping,
February 1, 1894.

APP. XXIX.

Perak.

Dr. WRIGHT.

THERE are certain particulars concerning the preparing of opium and the manner of using it that one should be acquainted with before being in a position to form a proper appreciation of the effects produced on the consumer.

2. There are three ways in which it is introduced into the body, all of which I have observed employed in the State:—

- (a.) Through the cutaneous system, by hypodermic injections.
- (b.) Through the alimentary system, by swallowing opium preparations.
- (c.) Through the respiratory system, by inhalation of products of burning opium—opium-smoking.

3. The hypodermic use of morphia is very little practised here as a habit, although elsewhere it is unfortunately becoming far too common. It is the most injurious manner of taking opium, and I think the opinions as to the bad effects it produces on health would be pretty unanimous.

4. The usual preparations used for smoking are by a few habitually eaten instead. The so-called "cures" for the opium-smoking habit in the shape of pills, &c., containing morphia to a large extent are getting to be more commonly used and do more harm than good. Opium introduced into the system through the stomach is also injurious, especially in the shape of "cures," but not to the same extent as morphia injections.

5. Opium-smoking is the form most generally adopted in Perak; the bulk of the opium brought into the country is consumed in this way. I have had exceptionally good opportunities during a little over 10 years' service in the State of observing opium-smokers amongst patients in the hospitals, prisons, mining coolies, and frequenters of the opium shops. A large body of Chinese pass through the hospitals annually. In 1884 I had a daily average of patients ranging from 800 to 900 under my charge, and then opium was regularly supplied to all smokers in hospital. In the large central prison too, where there are as many as 400 convicts at times, and the bulk of these Chinese, I see many who have been habitual smokers. The mining coolie gets his regular allowance of opium from the employer. I have throughout availed myself of these numerous opportunities, and from facts which speak for themselves have been led to come to the conclusion that the ill-effects to health said to result from opium-smoking have been very greatly exaggerated, especially in missionary publications. The ordinary moderate opium-smoker—and these form the majority—may be classed with tobacco-smokers. The one habit causes as little harm as the other and compares favourably with those addicted to taking alcohol, against whom there is more need to take action. No doubt when smoked to excess it injures health, but this would apply to the best things, even good food, if similarly abused.

6. Smoking is the least harmful way of using opium. There are circumstances connected with its preparation into a form ready for smoking and the large profits made by those who retail it to which I think insufficient weight has been attached. They are important facts which modify the action of this drug and explain to my mind how smoking is not so injurious. No one smokes the crude opium taken direct from the ball, but it first goes through a long process of "cooking" and is then sold as chandu and tangko. Chandu is an extract of opium of varying and uncertain strength. Tangko is the refuse collected from the pipes re-cooked with the addition of a little fresh opium, &c.

7. In the manufacture of chandu the opium from ball is worked into a paste spread out in a thin layer on a pan and heated over specially constructed ovens without regulation of temperature till dry. It is next dissolved in hot water boiled at a high temperature for about an hour or more and filtered through paper. To the filtered fluid sugar-candy is added and it is adulterated by the admixture of tangko and finally boiled again at a very high and unregulated temperature and evaporated to a thick syrupy consistence. The liquid is heated to that extent as to be kept bubbling throughout, and is only prevented from boiling over the pan by being flicked with cold water when it rises to brim. I have written this much to show to what a great extent during the cooking process opium is subjected to the destructive effects of excessive heat. Contrast this with the pharmacopœial directions for

dealing with vegetable products which are naturally delicate. Great heat is carefully avoided, as otherwise their composition and active principles would be destroyed. The sale of opium is a very remunerative trade and the large profits are made by free adulteration. So that between exposure to great heat and free adulteration, by the time the opium reaches the consumer it is very considerably modified. The consumer, however, does not object as he obtains it in the form, so to put it, of a pleasant smoking mixture to which he is always accustomed, and enjoys it without being subjected much to the actual effects of opium. He further destroys the action by exposing it to the naked flame of a lamp direct when smoking.

8. I have lost faith in these smoking preparations and have given up their use in hospital when I wish to produce the real effects of opium on a patient in favour of the ordinary pharmacopœial preparations of standard strength. It is a curious and interesting fact that when a patient, an habitual smoker, is given, say, a full dose of laudanum, I have often been told that it was not opium I had administered, so little do they apparently know the real effects, their experience being that of some sensation impressed on the respiratory passages by the smoke of the compound they are accustomed to. Give the same man a small amount of the refuse known as tangko and he would express great satisfaction and state he has gained relief.

9. I might mention that we have two attendants, Chinese, in the hospital whom I have known for 10 years. One is a man of 66 years, and he has been an habitual smoker for 42 years; the other is about 45 years of age and has smoked for 16 years. Both do their work well and are well preserved men for their age.

(Signed) M. J. WRIGHT,
Acting State Surgeon, Perak.

Dr. C. Fox.

Yeang Wah Hospital,

SIR, Taiping, November 14, 1893.
I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, a few observations made by myself on the opium habit, as practised by the Chinese in Perak, and particularly those in Larut, where, from being in charge for the last three years of the largest Chinese hospital in the State (daily average of about 200 patients, and 5,000 out-patients in a year), I have had considerable opportunity of noticing the effects of opium-smoking.

2. Where possible I have given figures, but I regret the conclusions to be drawn from them are in some instances valueless, because without knowing what percentage of the Chinese population are opium-smokers, no reliable deductions can be made.

3. In my annual report for 1891 I wrote as follows:—The misunderstandings and contradictions on the subject of opium-smoking are most striking, and the shocking pictures of the opium-smoker and his den are really drawn from observations influenced more from sentiment than from actual facts. An equally repulsive representation on a much larger scale could be given of alcohol and alcoholic dens, with the accompaniments of crime, disease, brutality, and misery, but these are scarcely ever depicted in such varied colours as of opium. No one denies the injurious effects of the immoderate use of opium, but if taken in small quantities it has the following advantages:—

- (i.) Its power to relieve pain.
- (ii.) Its prophylactic properties against malaria.
- (iii.) Opium-smokers can do with very little food, and by this means in time of famine (a condition not altogether unknown in India) many lives have been saved.

(a.) Of its power to relieve pain there can be no manner of doubt.

(b.) Of its prophylactic properties against malaria, this, on the evidence of the Indian surgeons is undeniable. Medical practitioners in the fen district of England also speak of the benefits of opium when ague was rife there.

The following figures taken from the Yeang Wah Hospital records show the number of fever cases admitted.

During 1892 and part of 1893 (up to October) the figures are as follows:—

Opium-smokers.

Intermittent fever	-	-	236
Remittent fever	-	-	4
Malaria cachexia	-	-	29
			<u>269</u>

Non-Opium-smokers.

Intermittent fever	-	-	241
Remittent fever	-	-	8
Malaria cachexia	-	-	21
			<u>270</u>

These figures are very equal, and no protective influence against malaria can be claimed by the opium-smoker, but it should be remembered, however, that it is only the bad type of fever cases that come into hospital; many obtain treatment from their own Chinese "doctors."

Speaking generally, the Chinaman suffers to a lesser degree from the ravages of fever when compared with other nationalities not belonging to the Peninsula.

The great objection to opium-smoking is its insidious action; the moderate smoker is very apt to develop into an immoderate one; a poor man with only sufficient money to buy food will, in most cases, get opium instead of something to eat. It has been suggested that opium was destroying the Chinese nation, but can this remark be truly said of a nation which we see penetrating and working everywhere.

Anyone having any transaction with the Chinese very soon find that they have to deal with a remarkably intelligent race, whose industry, among their lower orders especially, is far superior to European nations of a corresponding rank.

The pleasures of opium-taking are of a superior order to the pleasures arising from drink; no opium-smoker ever jumped on his wife, or got imprisoned for fighting. The fact that the moderate use of opium does not dull the intellect is evidenced by the Chinese taking their opium before they go to business.

In my report for 1892 I stated that, "with a view of getting at the actual facts of the case as they show themselves among the patients of the Yeang Wah Hospital, I made certain inquiries as to the proportion of opium-smokers to non-opium-smokers, their relative death-rates and the quantity each man was in the habit of smoking," adding the returns of this year to those of 1892. Of 5,147 patients admitted into hospital on their own testimony 2,929 were opium-smokers, and 2,218 were not given to this habit. The mortality of those who were opium-smokers was 489, non-opium-smokers 228.

At first sight it would appear that the mortality among opium-smokers was very high, and was no doubt due to their pernicious custom, but such is not the case; it may be taken as a general rule that when a Chinaman is afflicted with some painful, chronic, or incurable disease he at once takes to opium-smoking heavily, especially those of them who are afflicted with bowel complaints and phthisis (consumption). I quote the following figures to bear out my statement:—

Cause of Death.	Deaths amongst.	
	Opium Smokers.	Non-Smokers.
Bowel complaints, diarrhoea, and dysentery	153	80
Phthisis	87	41
Other causes	209	97
Total deaths	489	218

If the effects of opium-smoking are to be fairly discussed, the opium-smoker should be divided into two classes, the man who smokes 10 hoons a day ought to be distinguished from the smoker of 30 hoons; without this division it would be the same to class a man who takes his glass of whisky or beer with his meals with the individual who is on the verge of delirium tremens. An habitual immoderate opium-smoker (one who smokes 20 to 30 hoons per diem, 54 to 80 grains) is generally to be recognised by his sallow appearance, thin and wasted body, deep set eyes, has no inclination for any form of exercise, suffers from obstinate constipation and loss of appetite, and is quite

incapacitated from deterioration of his mental faculties of doing his business. Should anything happen to prevent him getting his smoke, he usually gets a bad attack of diarrhoea with aching pains all over the body, accompanied by marked nervous depression. Quite a different picture can be drawn of a man who smokes opium in moderation only, his body is usually well developed, he does his work cheerfully, enjoys his food, and does not experience such bad effects, if he is unable to indulge in his smoke. If a miner he gives satisfaction to his employer; if a merchant, he is quite capable of attending to his business. Should this moderate smoker be unfortunate enough to meet with an accident necessitating amputation of a limb, it will be found he takes chloroform well, has primary union, and enjoys an uninterrupted recovery. Of the immoderate opium-smoker, and he is by no means common, I have nothing good to say; it is usually this type of smoker whom the anti-opiumist holds up as an example of the delsterious effects of opium, and so makes a general rule of an exception.

The moderate opium-smoker smokes from 8 to 10 hoons a day, and while he does not exceed this amount he is capable of performing a hard day's work, which in the tin mines means severe muscular exertion, and living at the same time on a diet composed of rice with a little salt fish and vegetables, and, when he can buy it, a little pork, so that the statement that opium-smokers are incapable of severe muscular exertion does not hold good. In Perak 85 per cent. of rickshaw pullers in Taiping smoke opium.

It is considered by the Chinese miners that opium-smokers are not so susceptible to the effects of beri beri, an extremely fatal disease peculiar to Chinese (especially miners); the examination of the hospital returns bears out this supposition—

Beri beri admissions.

Opium-smokers	74
Non-opium-smokers	137

Does the opium habit shorten life? There is no evidence as far as I am aware to show that it does. In the Decrepit Ward attached to the Yeang Wah Hospital there are 45 patients whose ages vary from 40 to 70 years, who are all opium-smokers.

I forward with this report two tables showing the weight of opium-smoking prisoners admitted into the Victoria Gaol, Hong Kong, during 1890 and 1892. From these tables we see that it is quite possible to leave off the opium habit, although it has been indulged in for years, and yet for the smoker not to lose any great weight; in some cases it will be noted that there has been an increase in weight. No. 53 in Table A. is an instructive case. Prisoner's age was 61 years, for 30 years he had been an opium-smoker, when he was admitted into gaol his weight was 83 lbs., and after having left it off for four weeks we find he is 9 lbs. heavier and still alive.

Mr. Wray, Curator of the Perak Museum and State Geologist, has been good enough to find out the relative amount of extract of opium (B. P.) in one hoon of chandu, and he makes it come to 3.60 grains, so that a man who smokes 40 hoons of chandu inhales 120 grains of opium a day, and the average man of 8 hoons would take 24 grains. I gave a Chinaman who was in the habit of taking 10 hoons of chandu daily 20 grains of extract of opium (B. P.), he smoked it all, and stated it was very strong, but it did not prevent his going about his duties, nor did he sleep after the smoke, although his pupils were slightly contracted. When asked to smoke another 30 grains he refused to do so, stating it was too strong, and very different to chandu smoking, the effects lasting some hours longer.

When it is remembered that 5 grains of extract of opium if swallowed would cause death, we are driven to the conclusion that either very little of the opium smoked by the Chinese finds its way into their system, or the preparation they smoke (chandu) contains very little opium.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. G. Fox,
District Surgeon, Larut, and
late Assistant House
Surgeon, Westminster
Hospital, London.

The Secretary to Government,
Perak.

P. XXIX.

Accompaniments to Dr. Fox's Reply.

TABLE A.

TABLE showing the WEIGHTS of PRISONERS (OPIUM-SMOKERS) for the first Four Weeks' Confinement in VICTORIA GAOL, HONG KONG, during the Year 1890.*

No.	Age.	Length of Time Opium-smoker	Consumption per Diem.	Weight when admitted.	Weight first Four Weeks.				
					Years.	Mace.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1	58	30	2	80	78	80	80	82	
2	50	20	1½	120	115	114	113	112	
3	47	10	2	115	113	110	112	110	
4	58	10	1½	111	110	109	108	106	
5	32	3	1	115	113	114	117	116	
6	38	2	1	98	98	101	99	99	
7	36	23	1½	110	106	105	106	106	
8	60	20	1	86	85	84	84	—	
9	30	24	1½	95	94	92	91	90	
10	47	20	1	88	91	94	94	—	
11	30	10	1½	106	104	103	109	109	
12	50	20	1½	110	108	107	107	108	
13	44	16	2	125	122	124	124	124	
14	38	8	1	120	118	119	119	120	
15	30	12	1½	82	84	91	90	90	
16	36	6	1	109	107	107	110	110	
17	58	10	1½	100	100	101	101	102	
18	37	16	1½	110	109	110	113	112	
19	38	18	1½	115	122	123	124	—	
20	47	30	1½	106	102	103	104	105	
21	30	2	1	100	101	103	103	104	
22	30	2	1½	103	102	102	103	103	
23	32	8	1	82	84	94	94	—	
24	42	20	1½	107	106	108	109	110	
25	39	15	1½	116	114	115	115	116	
26	21	8	1½	90	91	92	92	92	
27	30	11	2	90	88	94	100	100	
28	33	8	1	108	105	105	106	109	
29	58	20	2	90	87	92	94	95	
30	40	10	1	103	100	101	102	103	
31	32	3	1½	100	100	102	105	107	
32	32	1	1½	90	88	90	91	92	
33	35	10	1½	90	89	90	91	92	
34	20	10	1½	103	97	97	98	100	
35	33	10	1½	90	89	96	102	107	
36	32	9	1½	118	115	116	116	117	
37	32	8	1	94	101	101	99	102	
38	35	7	1½	100	98	98	98	100	
39	28	10	1	113	108	109	110	110	
40	31	10	1½	135	124	128	130	130	
41	49	20	2	113	109	110	110	111	
42	42	20	2	114	113	113	114	116	
43	37	15	1	106	104	104	106	102	
44	42	13	1½	136	135	135	137	136	
45	42	24	1½	103	101	105	105	108	
46	50	3	1	87	88	88	93	94	
47	50	30	2	104	101	102	108	106	
48	35	2	1	113	113	110	113	111	
49	34	3	1	91	90	88	87	86	
50	46	20	1½	127	126	124	122	122	
51	30	10	1½	113	112	110	111	110	
52	24	6	1	86	85	84	83	—	
53	61	30	2	83	91	92	90	92	

No.	Age.	Length of Time Opium-smoker	Consumption per Diem.	Weight when admitted.	Weight first Four Weeks.				
					Years.	Mace.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
54	28	5	1	112	110	112	112	113	
55	58	30	2	96	96	101	102	107	
56	38	5	1	108	106	112	111	109	
57	23	7	1	84	80	83	82	85	
58	36	10	1	85	85	82	80	81	
59	28	8	1½	106	102	103	103	104	
60	37	9	1	107	107	108	107	115	
61	24	7	2	115	111	112	110	112	
62	42	14	1	103	102	101	100	100	
63	46	15	1½	124	120	121	120	118	
64	52	25	1½	117	114	114	113	113	
65	52	8	1½	129	126	127	123	120	
66	52	12	1½	99	97	95	92	95	
67	40	10	1½	94	96	95	96	95	
68	36	7	1½	97	96	97	99	102	
69	39	8	1½	80	78	79	81	84	
70	35	15	1½	96	95	94	95	—	
71	32	10	1½	91	88	87	90	90	
72	28	7	1	95	96	96	98	97	
73	31	5	1½	108	107	106	107	106	
74	54	30	2	109	108	108	106	105	
75	34	10	1½	119	118	115	116	—	
76	30	20	1½	103	102	102	103	106	
77	35	4	1	98	96	97	97	97	
78	30	6	1½	82	83	87	95	95	
79	32	10	1½	90	89	87	88	91	
80	25	12	1½	85	83	84	85	88	
81	31	10	1	109	105	104	103	103	
82	33	6	1	107	105	104	102	102	

TABLE B.

TABLE showing the WEIGHTS of PRISONERS (OPIUM-SMOKERS) for the first Four Weeks' Confinement in VICTORIA GAOL, HONG KONG, during the Year 1892.*

No.	Age.	Length of time Opium-smoker	Consumption per Diem.	Weight when admitted.	Weight first Four Weeks.				
					Years.	Mace.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1	58	28	2	114	109	107	106	109	
2	56	18	3	115	109	109	113	115	
3	44	12	1	117	118	117	119	117	
4	59	20	2	106	106	107	106	106	
5	40	15	1	98	85	89	90	—	
6	62	20	2	134	130	133	128	130	
7	55	12	1	98	94	93	93	95	
8	30	10	1	96	96	90	95	96	
9	26	15	1	100	99	102	103	103	
10	25	10	2	81	88	80	90	99	
11	51	20	1	95	98	98	100	107	
12	37	10	1	115	111	110	109	—	
13	50	20	2	115	115	115	118	113	
14	50	20	2	106	106	103	103	—	
15	55	20	2	72	72	76	76	74	
16	45	15	1	81	80	80	80	78	
17	55	25	2	106	111	104	106	107	

* The figures for 1891 are given on page 106 above.

No.	Age.	Length of Time Opium-smoker	Consumption per Diem.	Weight when admitted.	Weight first Four Weeks.				
					lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
18	36	10	1	99	98	95	97	100	
19	43	16	1	91	90	88	90	—	
20	47	20	2	80	78	82	87	87	
21	40	15	2	102	101	103	103	103	
22	33	10	1	117	117	119	115	114	
23	36	10	1	88	84	84	85	—	
24	30	10	1	79	79	85	85	90	
25	39	10	1	92	92	91	91	—	
26	36	10	1	96	99	99	100	102	
27	50	10	2	100	92	94	97	98	
28	48	16	2	114	107	112	116	116	
29	35	10	1	89	89	89	93	98	
30	33	8	1	90	87	88	86	—	
31	44	10	1	96	96	96	96	100	
32	26	6	1	102	102	100	101	—	
33	53	20	2	103	100	107	104	104	
34	34	10	1 1/2	94	94	104	106	108	
35	35	10	2	102	106	107	107	105	
36	50	22	2	101	102	102	102	102	
37	52	22	3	102	98	101	103	102	
38	50	20	2	104	102	103	102	103	
39	50	21	2	97	96	92	97	97	
40	28	4	1	100	98	96	97	100	
41	50	20	2	104	103	103	104	107	
42	28	6	1	110	108	106	106	106	
43	40	20	2	101	98	103	105	105	
44	40	20	2	92	91	90	91	90	
45	36	10	1	89	91	94	99	97	
46	69	40	3	93	95	95	93	89	
47	36	10	1	89	88	88	89	89	
48	61	20	2	109	110	109	110	110	
49	32	8	1	84	83	81	82	83	
50	47	10	5	85	84	Died.	—	—	
51	47	22	2	113	112	112	116	116	
52	45	20	1	120	118	119	117	117	
53	40	20	1	115	111	108	110	110	
54	22	2	1	95	97	100	99	97	
55	34		1	123	123	118	114	—	
56	27	20	1	106	102	101	103	103	
57	27	10	1	98	99	95	99	96	
58	32	8	1	118	117	118	115	123	
59	39	10	1	110	107	108	107	110	
60	50	22	2	104	102	104	104	105	
61	29	7	1	110	110	112	111	109	
62	35	15	1	90	86	90	91	90	
63	51	22	2	104	98	105	107	109	
64	64	25	2	106	115	118	118	118	
65	32	10	1	103	106	105	105	—	
66	54	22	2	110	110	112	114	117	
67	40	20	1 1/2	118	105	108	110	110	
68	42	15	1	114	109	111	108	112	
69	50	20	2	114	118	118	115	118	
70	62	35	2	104	104	107	107	108	
71	31	10	1	83	78	79	80	83	
72	29	10	1	72	76	84	88	86	
73	44	20	1 1/2	109	110	108	112	112	
74	40	16	1	105	98	99	99	100	
75	24	8	1	95	92	93	92	91	

No.	Age.	Length of Time Opium-smoker	Consumption per Diem.	Weight when admitted.	Weight first Four Weeks.				
					lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
76	30	12	1 1/2	112	109	114	119	115	
77	40	20	4	96	92	94	93	94	
78	32	15	2	102	97	102	101	102	
79	29	10	4	95	100	100	100	100	
80	47	27	2	108	105	110	110	102	

TABLE C.

SHOWING the DIFFERENT DISEASES for which PATIENTS were admitted into the YEANG WAH HOSPITAL from January to end of October 1893, opium-smokers being distinguished from non-opium-smokers, and the deaths of each.

Disease.	No. of Non-Smokers.	No. of Smokers.	Death of Non-Smokers.	Death of Smokers.
Ulcer	236	378	1	2
Intermittent fever	112	103	5	4
Dysentery	21	60	3	18
Remittent fever	—	1	—	1
Debility	30	87	4	10
Diarrhoea	76	161	22	60
Abscess	26	35	—	4
Phtthisis	26	49	11	30
Anaemia	56	61	4	12
Bupla syphilitic	3	1	—	—
Secondary syphilis	46	29	1	—
Tertiary syphilis	10	42	—	3
Primary syphilis	79	34	1	—
Asirtes	10	30	4	14
Leprosy	31	22	5	6
Paraplegia	40	15	16	4
Beri-beri, wet	42	16	10	6
Beri-beri, dry	50	16	2	1
Bubo	33	10	—	—
Rheumatism	22	2	—	—
Laryngeal tumour	—	1	—	—
Dyspepsia	1	17	—	1
Tumour angle jaw	—	1	—	1
Bronchitis	8	24	—	1
Carbuncle	14	6	—	—
Peritonitis	—	3	—	1
Keratitis	—	1	—	—
Insanity	—	1	—	—
Peripheral neuritis	5	8	—	2
Foreign body in cornea	—	1	—	—
Senile degeneration	1	3	—	—
Double aortic	—	1	—	—
Iritis	2	3	—	—
Punctured wound	3	2	—	—
Lymphadenoma	—	1	—	—
Gastritis	1	2	—	—
Arthritis	2	16	—	—
Malarial caecia	11	9	—	—
Contusion	11	10	—	—
Hepatic abscess	1	4	1	4
Gonorrhoea	2	5	—	—
Lacerated wound	11	8	—	—
Dermatitis	—	2	—	—

P. XXIX.!

Disease.	No. of Non-Smokers.	No. of Smokers.	Death of Non-Smokers.	Death of Smokers.	Disease.	No. of Non-Smokers.	No. of Smokers.	Death of Non-Smokers.	Death of Smokers.
Tinea	3	4	—	—	Stricture urethra	2	2	—	—
Dislocation	2	5	—	—	Herpes	—	2	—	—
Scrofula	3	2	—	—	Starvation	—	1	—	1
Nasal polypi	—	2	—	—	Inguinal hernia	2	1	—	—
Blind	2	2	—	—	Simple fever	—	1	—	—
Bright's	9	11	2	4	Alligator bite	2	1	—	—
Asthma	2	2	—	—	Progressive muscular atrophy	—	1	—	1
Cataract	3	2	—	—	Pott's disease	—	1	—	1
Pterygium	1	1	—	—	Elephantiasis	—	1	—	—
Hepatitis	4	1	3	1	Suppurating sub Cyst.	—	1	—	—
Hemiplegia	7	4	—	—	Ostitis	3	3	—	—
Aortic regurgitation	7	5	—	2	Sciatica	—	1	—	—
Pleurisy	3	2	2	—	Tonsillitis	—	1	—	—
Synovitis	9	8	—	1	Sprain	—	1	—	—
Jaundice	3	3	—	1	Tinea	4	3	—	—
Burns and scald	2	4	—	1	Suppurating glands	2	1	—	—
Pneumonia	3	2	2	2	Warts growth, penis	—	1	—	—
Erysipelas	—	2	—	1	Necrosis	6	3	—	—
Scabies	4	1	—	—	Gastric ulcer	—	1	—	—
Fracture	9	8	1	—	Amputation, leg	2	1	—	—
Enlarged lymphatic glands	—	2	—	—	Rectovesical fistula	—	1	—	1
Tetanus	—	1	—	1	Typhoid fever	4	1	2	1
Opium poisoning	—	2	—	1	Cardiac debility	1	1	—	1
Constipation	2	3	—	—	Catarrh of throat	—	1	—	—
Torticollis	—	2	—	—	Perforation of palate	—	1	—	—
Prolapsus rectum	—	2	—	—	Neuralgia	1	1	—	—
Facial paralysis	—	1	—	—	Entropion	1	1	—	—
Conjunctivitis	7	3	—	—	Epilepsy	1	1	—	—
Laryngitis	—	4	—	1	Ankylosed hip joint	2	1	—	—
Optic neuritis	—	1	—	—	Pericarditis	1	1	1	1
Eczema	3	7	—	—	Malignant growth	—	1	—	1
Fistula in ano	7	3	—	—	Malinguer	3	1	—	—
Incised wound	1	2	—	—	Total -	1,158	1,427	103	209
Orchitis	4	2	—	—					

Mr. LEECH.

I have taken a census of 5,262 Chinese coolies in different mines and enclose the result. I confess it surprises me as I thought the per-centage of opium-smokers would have been much greater, but there can be no question as to the accuracy of the figures as I visited each kongsi myself and got the numbers from the working boards of the kongsis and from the books of advances made to the coolies, in which the opium supplied to each man is shown.

There are very few sinkehs (new comers) in the district. There were only 392 in the kongsis I visited, and it is perhaps incorrect to form an opinion from such a small number, but it is still worth remark that the proportion of opium-smokers amongst them is double what it is among the lankehs (old hands).

February 14, 1894. J. B. M. LEECH, District Magistrate, Kinta.

Name of Kongsi.	Name of Towkay.	Name of Headman.	No. of Coolies.	What Tribe.	How employed.	How many smoke Opium.	How many eat Opium.	How many drink Spirits.	How many Sick in Hospital.	How many Sick are Opium Smokers.	How many New-comers (Sink-hehs).	How many Sink-hehs smoke Opium.	Average Amount of Opium consumed Daily.
Sin Yi	Hin Ng	Li Pow	781	Hak Kah	Miners	170			31		111	45	1 chee.
Sin Moow		Wong Shin	179	"	"	81			9		87	62	1 1/2 "
Sin Wan		Hin Kang	Hin Hi	103	"	"	47		12		60	43	1 "
Sin Fuk		Hin Ngiau	Hin Pow	254	"	"	43		10		36	16	1 "
Sin Kong Sang		Chai Fu	Chai Yim	75	Cantonese and Teow Chew.	"	24		5		38	12	1 "
Kit Shin	Chiu Yung	Fam Yin	256	Hak Kah	"	78			5		23	7	1 chee & 2 hoons.
Seong Won	Tian Chow	Kong Yun	162	" and Cantonese	"	41			4		23	8	8 hoons.
Heng Chiong	Chan Thai	Wong Pat	504	Cantonese and Hokien.	"	38			—		—	—	9 "
Kwan Thai	Wong Yan	Lin Seng	424	Cantonese	"	83			5		14	—	1 chee.
Chiong On	Tang Wai	Pat Kam	373	"	"	148			1		—	—	8 hoons.
On Thai	Lau Fu	Kam Sam	254	"	"	110			9		—	—	1 chee.
	Fu Hi Sun	Fu Kin	155	Hak Kah	"	55			2		—	—	1 "
	Ng Yi	Li Pak	80	Cantonese	"	31			—		—	—	1 "
	Thong.	Loh Moi	415	Hak Kah	"	121			—		—	—	2 "
	Mr. Osborne.	Li Hi	802	"	"	105			18		—	—	1 "
Wan Hap	Li Thian Hi.	Lam Kat	445	"	"	138			—		—	—	1 "
	Yip Poh Sam.												
			5,262			1,313			111		392	193	

J. B. M. LEECH, District Magistrate, Kinta.

APPENDIX XXX.

APP. XXX.
China.

MEMORIAL presented to the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM by BRITISH MISSIONARIES in CHINA of 25 or more years standing.

WE, the undersigned British missionaries, representing different societies labouring in nearly every province of China, and having all of us had for many years abundant opportunities of observing the effects of opium-smoking upon the Chinese people, beg to lay before the Royal Commission on Opium the following statement of facts in reference to this question:—

1. We believe it to be a fact established beyond possibility of reasonable doubt that the consumption of opium in China is exerting a distinctly deteriorating effect upon the Chinese people, physically, socially, and morally. Statements to this effect have been repeatedly made in Blue Books and other official documents, on the authority of British officials of high standing, and they are entirely corroborated by our own personal observation. The Protestant missionary body in China has twice by its representatives assembled in conference, and including men of various nationalities and of many different churches, unanimously passed resolutions condemning emphatically the use of opium by the Chinese for other than medicinal purposes, and deploring the connexion of Great Britain with the opium trade. (See "The Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai," 1877, and ditto, 1890.)

2. It is a fact which cannot be reasonably disputed that the conscience of the Chinese people as a whole is distinctly opposed to the opium habit. It is continually classed, in common conversation, and in books, with fornication and gambling. Sir Rutherford Alcock, sometime Her Majesty's Minister in China, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, spoke of "the universality of the belief among the Chinese that whenever a man takes to smoking opium it will probably be the impoverishment and ruin of his family—a popular feeling which is universal both amongst those who are addicted to it, who always consider themselves as moral criminals, and amongst those who abstain from it." (See Report, East India Finance, 1871 (363), page 275. 5738.) We ourselves have never met with Chinamen who defended the practice as morally harmless, but we have heard it unsparingly condemned by the Chinese times without number. The missions with which we are respectively associated invariably refuse to admit opium-smokers to church membership, but in so doing they are only acting in accordance with the general sentiment of the Chinese, Christian and non-Christian alike, which always stigmatizes the habit of opium-smoking as vicious.

3. It is a fact that the opium trade, though now no longer contraband, is highly injurious, not only to China, but also to the fair name of Great Britain. The past history and the present enormous extent of the opium trade with India produces, as we can testify from personal experience, suspicion and dislike in the minds of the Chinese people towards foreigners in general. On the other hand, the attitude of hostility towards opium which foreign missionaries are known to maintain is approved and duly appreciated by the Chinese of all classes, as we have often found in our intercourse with the people.

4. It is an indisputable fact that the opium imported from India is neither required for medicinal purposes in China nor generally used for these purposes, and hence we regard the importation as being wholly prejudicial to the well-being of the Chinese people.

In view of these facts the undersigned venture respectfully to express the earnest hope that the Royal Commissioners will embody in their report a united recommendation to Her Majesty that the Indian Government should immediately restrict the Indian production of opium to the supply of what is needed for medicinal purposes in India and elsewhere. With our long and sad experience of the injurious effects of opium-consumption on the Chinese people, we cannot but feel the gravest apprehensions as to what the effects of the opium habit in other lands are likely to be. We are quite aware that some medical and other testimony has been given in India designed to show that the consumption of opium by the peoples of India is not accompanied with the same disastrous consequences that we have all witnessed for ourselves in China, but we are glad to know that strong testimony

has also been given in India of a contrary kind, for we are of opinion that a longer and wider range of experience will certainly show that opium is as injurious to all other races as it has been proved to be to the Chinese. Opium is rightly classed in England amongst dangerous poisons, and it is so regarded in other countries, and we cannot believe that what is a dangerous poison to the greater part of the human race acts only as a harmless stimulant on other parts of the race. We are convinced that if ever the day should come when opium is as widely consumed in India as it is now in China the result will be as lamentable there as we know it to be here.

In submitting this memorial, which we believe expresses the opinion of nearly every Protestant missionary in China, without distinction of nation or church, and of the whole native Protestant Christian community, consisting now of several tens of thousands of persons, we beg to say that we are actuated by feelings of the deepest loyalty to Her Majesty the Empress of India, and by the most profound desire for the truest welfare of her Indian dominions, not less than by the desire to see the curse of opium removed from China. We hold as beyond all shadow of doubt the conviction that thrones and dominions are established by righteousness, and that any source of revenue, however large, that is morally indefensible, tends only in the end to the weakening of the empire and the impoverishment of its resources.

J. S. BURDON,
Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong.
G. E. MOULE,
Bishop of the Church of England in Mid-China.
WM. MUIRHEAD,
Chairman London Missionary Society, Shanghai.
J. CHALMERS,
London Missionary Society, Hong Kong.
J. HUDSON TAYLOR, M.R.C.S.,
Director, China Inland Mission.
GRIFFITH JOHN,
Chairman London Missionary Society, Hankow.
J. MACGOWAN,
London Missionary Society, Amoy.
H. L. MACKENZIE,
Presbyterian Church of England Mission, Swatow.
ARTHUR E. MOULE,
Archdeacon at Shanghai.
DAVID HILL,
Wesleyan Missionary Society, Chairman of the Wuchang District.
EVAN BRYANT,
London Missionary Society, Peking.
G. OWEN,
London Missionary Society, Peking.
JAMES SADLER,
London Missionary Society, and Pastor of Union Church, Amoy.
J. W. STEVENSON,
China Inland Mission, Shanghai.
JOHN R. WOLFE,
Archdeacon, Church Missionary Society, Foo Chow foo.

We certify that the above signatures have all been authorised by the persons whose names are given, and that the authorisations are in our possession.

ARNOLD FOSTER,
London Mission, Hankow.
A. HODSON BROOMHALL,
China Inland Mission, Hankow.
GILBERT G. WARREY,
Wesleyan Mission, Hankow.

Hankow, 17th April 1894.

[NOTE.—The signatures of Revs. Thomas Bryson and John Leets were subsequently added at their request.]

APP. XXXI.

Assam.

APPENDIX XXXI.

[EXTRACTS read by Mr. UPENDRO NATH BAROAH, but not printed in his Evidence, *vide* Question 9047.]

"A Sketch of Assam," by an officer in Her Majesty's Army, second in command of the Assam Light Infantry. It was published in 1853 A.D. At page 84 he says: "The utter want of an industrious, enterprising spirit, and the general degeneracy of the Assamese people are generally promoted by the prevalent use of opium; they would rather consent to be deprived of food than of their accustomed dose of this deleterious drug, and so emaciated and weakened have many become from indulging in its use that they are unequal to any great exertion, either mentally or bodily, until the usual dose has been imbibed." Further on, at page 126, he says, regarding the Dooneahs (a mixed race), that "their addiction

"to opium is so great that no permanent reliance could ever be placed in them as soldiers in any emergency." Again, at page 133, we shall find that "the soil of Assam generally may be considered extremely rich; it abounds in valuable products, etc. But the bounty of nature is marred by the indolence and apathy of man; the cultivator seldom looks beyond his immediate wants, and makes no attempt to improve his condition. An inveterate indulgence in the use of opium by the population at large is the curse of the country, depressing the industry and withering the physical energies of the people by sinking their desires to the gratification of the wants of the day."

APP. XXXII.

APPENDIX XXXII.

INQUIRIES into certain facts connected with BEHAR POPPY CULTIVATION.

No. Ex
2510Government of India,
Finance and Commerce Department,
Simla, May 21, 1894.

SIR,

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Royal Commissioners, a copy of a letter, No. 116 R, dated the 12th March 1894, from Mr. A. Forbes, Commissioner of the Patna Division, and of its enclosures, reporting the result of his inquiries* into the three cases referred to in his evidence given before the Commission at Bankipur on the 6th January last, in which the action of certain individual officers appeared to be inconsistent with the policy of Government in regard to poppy cultivation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) E. N. BAKER,
Deputy Secretary to the Govern-
ment of India.To the Secretary
to the Royal Commission
on Opium.

(Accompaniments.)

No. 116R., dated Bankipur, the 12th March 1894.

From A. FORBES, Esq., Commissioner of the Patna
Division, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
BENGAL, Revenue Department.

In my evidence given on the 6th January last before the Royal Commission on Opium, the following passage occurs:—

"As regards the question of compulsion being made use of to extend the cultivation, I beg to make the following remarks: In Regulation VI. of 1799 the cultivation of the poppy was declared to be optional, and it was laid down that engagements to cultivate should only be made with those raiyats who chose to take them. This has always been, and still is, the direct policy of the Government, and any officer contravening it would expose himself to very considerable peril. Parenthetically, I would observe that the Government of Bengal, in whose hands the administration of the Department lies, is not financially interested in its success, the opium revenue being Imperial. It may also be noted that the payment of all the superior officers, partly by commission, was put a stop to many years ago; in fact, during the time of the East India Company. It is, however, my duty to inform the Commission that during the last few days, in the course of the special inquiries which I have been making into this matter, I have heard of three cases in which the action of certain individual officers, if what I have heard is true, was inconsistent with the Government policy, and calls for inquiry. I would ask the indulgence of the Commission not to make any further statement on these cases to-day, as the form in which they are at present before me is merely *ex parte*, and

the evidence, so far as it has reached me up to now, is merely hearsay. For the present, I would only say that one of the officers referred to was a zilladar, another a sub-deputy opium agent, and the third a collector, not now in this division. I shall make strict inquiries into all these cases and report the result to Government."

2. The first case referred to, viz., that of the opium zilladar, came to my notice in the following manner. A few days before the arrival of the Commission at Bankipur, I heard a report that the anti-opium party intended to charge Government with using coercion of some kind or other towards the cultivators in order to compel them to grow opium. I immediately wrote to the district and other officers asking them to submit reports on this point. From all of them I received replies in the negative, except from Mr. P. C. Lyon, Settlement Officer, Muzaffarpur, who was of opinion that "the efforts of the departmental officers appear to have been directed towards the extension of cultivation, or at any rate the prevention of its decrease, by bringing pressure to bear upon those who wish to give it up by trying to induce khattahdars to extend the areas they agree for," and he gave the following instance in support of this opinion:—

"I was making inquiries the other day in a village in Hajipur, in which the raiyats were all expressing their wish to give up the poppy crop, on the ground that it had wholly failed in their village for two years past, and when I asked them why they did not, they explained that the khattahdar had paid up all dues to Government, and had formally resigned, but that, when he had done so, he had been followed back to the village by the zilladar, who eventually, after staying at the zamindar's house in the village for three days, induced him* and the raiyats to continue the cultivation for one year more, promising to let them desist if the crop should

* I presume "the khattahdar."—A. C.

fail again.

3. After giving my evidence before the Commission, I called upon the magistrate of Muzaffarpur to make an inquiry and report the circumstances of this case, Mr. Lyon's report being founded on hearsay statements, given in the absence of the zilladar in question. I enclose a copy of Mr. Hare's report and enclosures (Appendix A), from which it will be seen that there are no grounds for suspecting the zilladar of having made use of anything in the shape of coercion towards the raiyats. Of course, a subordinate in his position has a certain amount of moral influence over men of the class of ordinary cultivators, and of this he, no doubt, made what use he could; but it is clear that he confined himself to persuasive arguments only, arguments of the *nil desperandum* character. A suspicious circumstance to my mind, and the one that chiefly induced me to lay any stress upon the case, was the fact of the zilladar's having stayed for three days at the house of the zamindar. It seemed to me not improbable that the reason of his remaining so long in the village was that he was trying to make use of this man's (the landlord's) influence to bring the raiyats

* See Vol. III. Q. 12,079.

round. His stay in the village is, however, explained by the raiyats themselves to have been due to stress of weather. In concluding my report on this case, I would remark that the part of the country where Mr. Lyon made his inquiries was the neighbourhood of Hajipur, where market garden produce has admittedly of late years begun to compete successfully with opium. Cases of this kind must therefore be expected to occur there unless the subordinates of the Opium Department perform their duties entirely in a *laissez aller* fashion. To my mind the result of the inquiry goes to show that the zilladar behaved in a temperate and reasonable manner. The raiyats themselves admitted before Mr. Lyon that he only pressed them to give the crop one more trial. If it succeeds this year, I have very little doubt, with Mr. Hare, but that they will do so again.

4. The second case arose in this manner. Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, Dewan of the Dumraon Raj, called on me at Bankipore on the first day (3rd January) the Commission sat there, and told me that he had been asked to give his evidence (a matter of which I was not previously aware). He evidently did not wish to give any evidence, and when I said that the subject was one that he must know a good deal about, and that I expected him to do so, he told me that his objection was that he had been asked by the opium agent of Shahabad to use his influence with some of the raiyats of the Raj to induce them to continue the cultivation. I replied that he must lay the facts before the Commission. He begged to be excused. I then told him that I should do so myself. At this he appeared much disconcerted, and urged that what he had mentioned had been in confidence, and that I had no right to make use of it. With this, of course, I disagreed. He then added that by "using influence" he only meant "persuasion," that he had merely asked the raiyats of certain villages "for his sake" to try the cultivation for one year (this year) longer, and that they had consented to do so.

5. The Rai Bahadur returned to Dumraon, pleading urgent business, but promising to return when sent for. Subsequently, he was directed to return, and he ready to give his evidence on Saturday, the 6th, to which date the taking of the evidence of the remaining witnesses cited by Government had been postponed by the President of the Commission. The Rai Bahadur sent me a messenger on the Friday, with a letter excusing himself on the plea of business. I replied by telegram, insisting on his appearing, and he did so. He was thus in attendance on the 6th January to give his statement before the Commission had they decided the press the matter then and there, instead of accepting my suggestion that I should inquire into it myself and report the result through Government. I mention these facts at length, as I understand that Mr. Wilson, subsequently at Lahore, made some comments, the nature of which I have not yet ascertained, about this witness not having been examined before the Commission.

6. After the departure of the Commission, I endeavoured to arrange a meeting at Arrah with Mr. Christian, the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Shahabad, and the Dumraon Dewan, but without success, Mr. Christian being absent on tour, and the Dewan having gone away on business to the North-Western Provinces. I may here state that I have not up to date, in spite of several calls, received any visit or reply from Rai Jai Prakash, notwithstanding my having sent him extracts from Mr. Christian's report, which I will notice below, animadverting upon his (the Dewan's) attitude towards the Opium Department and the Raj raiyats who are opium cultivators. I feel some doubt as to the construction to be placed upon the Dewan's conduct in this matter. It is possible that he feels some foolish apprehension of having committed himself in the eyes of Government by having said what he did to me. But it is equally possible that he has reasons of a different kind, into which I need not enter here, for not courting a full inquiry. At any rate, his conduct throughout has been so unsatisfactory and shifty that I am not disposed to place much reliance upon whatever he may have to say.

7. In reply to my request to meet me at Arrah, Mr. Christian wrote me explaining why he could not do so, and at the same time forwarded me a copy of a memorandum recorded by him on the 5th August last, copy of which I enclose (Appendix B). Mr. Christian added that the reason of his and Mr. Sen's interview with the

Dewan and the Maharaja of Dumraon on the 28th August (*vide* Appendix A) was that "it had come to his knowledge, while paying out advances in the Buxar kothi, that obstacles had been thrown in the way of the opium cultivators by the amla of the Dumraon Raj." The object of the interview was not, Mr. Christian asserts, to coerce the raiyats in any way to cultivate poppy, but to ascertain and, if possible, to remedy their grievances, the chief of which, as appears from the memorandum, was that his immediate predecessor (an otherwise unsatisfactory officer) had not been careful in making assamiwar (individual) payments. To remedy this and to meet the opposition said to have been hitherto experienced from the Raj amla, the Dewan, who expressed himself in favour of the cultivation, agreed to depute a tahsildar to the villages "to assist the opium officers" and to issue orders to his local gumashtas to inform the raiyats that the advances would in future be paid to them individually.

8. I then inquired from Mr. Christian—

- (1) what actual steps the Dewan of the Dumraon Raj took to carry out the arrangement agreed upon;
- (2) whether there was any resulting increase in the area under poppy cultivation in the Raj villages, and if so, to what extent;
- (3) of what nature were the "obstacles" which he mentioned as having been thrown in the way of opium cultivators by the Raj amla, and with what object they had done this.

9. I annex an extract from Mr. Christian's reply (Appendix C.), from which it appears—

- (1) that after his interview with the Dewan, a circular was issued by that official to his tahsildars, directing them to use their endeavours "to help poppy cultivation."—I have written to Mr. Christian and to the Dewan for a copy of this circular, and will forward it when received;
- (2) that whatever the assistance said to have been given by the Raj may have been, it did not result in any increase to the cultivation, the area settled in the Raj villages in 1893-94 aggregating 3,288 bighas, as compared with 3,292 bighas in 1892-93. Of course the countenance, if any was *bona fide* given, by the Raj may have prevented a falling off in the cultivation, but I cannot ascertain how far this may or may not have been the case;
- (3) that opposition to poppy cultivation by the Raj amla was natural, and probably did therefore previously exist.

With reference to the last-mentioned point, I would remark that in the Shahabad district "guzashta" tenures, in which the tenants have permanent rights of occupancy at fixed rates, are more than usually common. Such tenures are necessarily hurtful to the interests of the zamindars, who take every opportunity to break them down. Against such attempts the records of the Opium Department are of invaluable assistance to the raiyats, and the longer they cultivate poppy the stronger the evidence in their favour becomes. Similarly, the construction of pukka wells from advances by the opium officers establishes the raiyat's ownership adverse to the zamindar. The object, therefore, of the amla in discountenancing poppy is not far to seek. Let alone the interests of the zamindar himself, the more the amla can reduce the raiyats to servility, the better they can feather their own nests. The greater the independence of the raiyats, the less their chances of doing so.

10. I thought it as well also to send a copy of Mr. Christian's memorandum of the 30th August to Mr. C. R. Marindin, C.S., the collector of Shahabad, and to inquire from him whether there was any reason to suppose that any compulsion had been used, and if so, in what manner, by the opium officers or the Dewan of the Dumraon Raj towards the cultivators in the Raj estates to induce them to undertake or to continue the cultivation of poppy. Mr. Marindin's reply, which has only now been submitted after the completion of his cold-weather tour through the district, assures me that there is no reason to suppose anything of the kind. Coming from an officer of Mr. Marindin's position and experience, this assurance is especially satisfactory.

11. I now come to the third case to which I referred in my evidence before the Commission. The manner in which the matter came to light was as follows: Mr. Additional Commissioner Wace had undertaken, as a test of the truth or otherwise, of the compulsion theory, to

APP. XXXII. institute an inquiry into the comparative areas under poppy in Government and Wards' estates (managed by Government), and in the adjoining estates belonging to private owners, and with which Government had no concern. In the course of this inquiry, Mr. Wace, on the day before the Commission left Bankipore (and after he had given his evidence), heard demi-officially from Mr. Marindin that Mr. Skrine, the late collector of Shahabad, had, shortly before leaving the district, written to the subdivisional officers, and to the manager of the D and D Kumar Court of Wards' Estate, telling them to extend opium cultivation in Government and Court of Wards' estates. There was of course no time to make any further inquiries then, so in this as in the other cases I merely mentioned to the Commission (on the last day they sat here) the fact of the matter having come to my notice and undertook to inquire into it. Accordingly after the Commission had left, I sent for the file of correspondence from the Shahabad collector's office, and have since then during my occasional visits to head-quarters (having been absent on tour most of the time in the other districts) pursued the inquiry.

12. I find that the facts are as follows:—

On the 2nd September last, Mr. Skrine, who was then collector of Shahabad, issued a circular letter No. 2004, dated 2nd of that month, a copy of which I enclose (Appendix D), to the subdivisional officers (of Buxar, Bhabua, and Sasaram), and to the manager of the D and D Kumar's Wards' estate at Arrah, instructing them to supply the sub-deputy opium agent with a list of Government and Court of Wards' villages containing lands fit for opium cultivation, and to direct the tahsildars to co-operate with that officer in inducing the raiyats to take advances.

13. Meanwhile, on the 16th October, Mr. Marindin relieved Mr. Skrine. A few days after, on the matter coming to his notice on a reference from the sub-deputy opium agent, Mr. Marindin directed the several officers addressed by Mr. Skrine to submit their views on the subject before taking any action, but if they had already done so, they were to report what steps they had taken. In reply, the subdivisional officer of Buxar (Mr. Oldham, C.S.) demurred to the policy initiated by Mr. Skrine, pointing out that any interference of the kind suggested by the Civil Officers of Government would be unauthorised and injudicious, liable to be regarded as coercion, and not calculated to promote the interests of Government. The subdivisional officer of Bhabua (Sheikh Abdullah) reported that in 4 out of 28 Government estates in his subdivision, 19 bighas odd had been brought under poppy, and that in three other villages there were 14 bighas fit for poppy, but that wells for irrigation would first have to be constructed. In reply, Mr. Marindin directed the subdivisional officer "to take care that the orders that had been issued from the Collector's office were not misunderstood; and that no raiyat should be made to take an advance for poppy cultivation who was not willing to do so; that this should be explained to the manager for his future guidance; and that, if any of the raiyats had taken an advance for the current season, they should be made to understand that their doing so next year was a matter for the exercise of their own free will."

4. In Sasaram matters were unfortunately carried further than in either of the other two subdivisions. On receipt of the collector's orders of the 2nd September, the subdivisional officer (Babu Kedar Nath Dutt) directed the manager of the Government estates in that subdivision to wait upon the sub-deputy opium agent with a list of villages in which there were lands fit for opium, and in which it had not hitherto been cultivated, or there were still lands fit for it. The manager accordingly put in a list of 45 villages in which it was

*The total area of the Government estates in the Sasaram subdivision is about 177,000 acres.—A. F.

roughly estimated that new or additional cultivation, measuring 495* bighas, could be secured. The sub-deputy agent then sent his gumashta and muharrirs to ascertain if the raiyats would take advances, and to what extent. The result was that advances for 223 bighas were given out, the amounts being distributed so the raiyats, partly by the sub-deputy opium agent, and partly by his assistant, Mr. Power. This was in September and October. The subsequent measurements showed that out of the 223 bighas, 188 were duly cultivated, and 35 were not. The advances for these 35 bighas were returned by the raiyats to the khattahdars or were not distributed by

the latter. In one village (Bhitari Bandh) the cultivators reported that they had insufficient means of irrigation, and they were at once released from their engagements. The Manager adds that the raiyats of this village intend to petition the collector to construct a pukka well in the village, in order to enable them to grow poppy, as they wish to do so.

15. The above is the account given me by the sub-deputy opium agent and the manager whom I have verbally examined on the subject. But that things were pushed further than they ought to have been I have myself very little doubt, for I find that Mr. Drake-Brockman, C.S., who on the 14th November succeeded Babu Kedar Nath Dutt in the charge of the sub-division, reported to Mr. Marindin that a number of objections (I have ascertained that there were in all 42 of them) had been filed by the raiyats, most of which, however, he or his predecessor had rejected on the ground that the raiyats had received the advances, and must therefore carry out their engagements. In a few cases only, viz., of Rajput and Brahmin cultivators, the petitions were allowed, as the women of these castes do not work out of doors. Mr. Drake-Brockman in conclusion submitted that the question was one which should be left to the option of the villagers themselves, of whom there was always likely to be a large number willing to cultivate. Mr. Marindin in reply issued orders similar to those conveyed to the sub-divisional officer of Bhabua (see paragraph 13 above).

16. Under orders from Government, I called upon Mr. Skrine, who is now employed in another division, to explain his action in issuing his orders of the 2nd September, and enclose a copy (Appendix E) of his reply. All I can say is that the orders were such as I should certainly not have approved had they come to my notice; nor are they warranted, so far as I am aware, by any instructions that have ever been issued by Government or by the Board of Revenue.

Annexure A.

No. 209, dated Muzaffarpur, 30th January 1894.

From L. HARE, Esq., Magistrate of Muzaffarpur, to the COMMISSIONER of the PATNA DIVISION.

In reply to your No. 334R., dated 16th January 1894, calling upon me to make inquiry as to whether any, and if so what, measures of compulsion had been used to induce certain cultivators to grow opium, I have the honour to submit the depositions of the witnesses recorded by Maulvi Syed Ali Hosain, Deputy Magistrate and Collector in the village in question.

I cannot discover that any sort of compulsion whatever has been used. All that appears is that the lands of the village Hosainpur are not very well suited for opium cultivation in dry years, and that the crop failed in two successive years. Under these circumstances the cultivators became disheartened, and intended to give up the cultivation. The zilladar, however, wished them to continue the cultivation, and persuaded them by reasonable argument to give the crop a trial for one year more, as, owing to the heavy rains and floods this year it was likely that there would be no want of moisture in the soil to which the previous failures were attributed. I may add that his arguments seem likely to be justified, and that there is every probability of a good crop this year. No touch or trace of any attempt at compulsion appears, and indeed it is very difficult to see what kind of compulsion it would be possible for him to use. I do not even find in Mr. Lyon's remarks any assertion that compulsion was used. It is a pity that Mr. Lyon did not himself follow up his inquiry and ascertain precisely what was done to induce the cultivators to continue growing opium, before hinting or suggesting that any improper means was used. An inferior in this country always speaks of being permitted to do what he is fully entitled to do, and cannot be prevented from doing; but this is only the traditional language of politeness, and it is perfectly clear in this case that the cultivators fully and clearly understand that the cultivation is entirely optional, and that they can relinquish it if they please. It is probable that if this year's crop is successful they will not do so, but if otherwise they intend to do so, and they clearly know that they cannot be interfered with for doing so.

Report by MAULVI SYED ALI HOSAIN, Deputy Magistrate-Collector, of inquiry made by him into the case reported by Mr. LYON.

I WENT to Hosainpur in the thana Mahua. I inquired into the matter fully from the raiyats, and took down what they said. Zilladar had come in the village, and he stayed for some days in the house of khattahdar, whose name is Tulsi. The zilladar was detained owing to the incessant falling of rain during the rainy season when he had been in the village. It is not said that there was any other reason for his staying for so many days, excepting that he was compelled to do so by the continual fall of rain during those days.

From inquiry it appears that villagers wished to give up to produce opium for the reason that rain was not generally sufficient in previous years to favour the poppy cultivation, and the heat of the sun dried up the crop. They say that the productive powers of the soil have greatly deteriorated, or thereupon opium does not prove to them so advantageous as it used to do before. The zilladar, who had been in the village, told the raiyats to try once more, and advocated that rain was sufficient to prosper the growth of poppy. I see that no force was used, or any threatening attitude was shown by the zilladar to the villagers. It was the villagers themselves who considered the matter on the advice of the zilladar, and thought that rain was in sufficient quantity for the cultivation of poppy, and took up a trial this year. They affirmed that it was optional to them to grow or not to grow, as they liked. What the zilladar seems to have done was that he insisted a little too much upon the khattahdar to receive dadni, and holding out good hopes for the poppy growth owing to rains. But the raiyats took up to cultivate, seeing that the advice of the zilladar was reasonable, and cultivation would prosper this year. The raiyats did cultivate this year, owing to inducement given to them by the sufficient quantity of rain during the late rainy season, much less to any force or compulsion on the part of the zilladar. It is not said that the zilladar went from house to house or gathered all villagers to put any force upon them. I clearly asked them if they were said to be imprisoned or sent to gaol, or they were threatened with any criminal and civil suit if they would not take up to cultivate poppy; they say that there was nothing of this sort, but that the zilladar held out that the crop would prosper this year, and they should try, as the rain was favourable. The zamindar of the village, Manour Ali, whose statement I have taken, distinctly says that there was no force put upon the raiyats, but they cultivated poppy of their own accord and free-will.

The name of the zilladar who stayed in the house of the khattahdar is Kheda Bux. He has been since transferred to other circle. The villagers could not tell me where he has been transferred. His mistake, I believe, is only so much that he pressed the khattahdar a little too much to receive dadni (or advance), but it is not said that any force was used.

A letter may be written to the sub-deputy opium agent for sending the zilladar for his statement, if necessary; but as the evidence of the raiyats shows that there was no kind of violence used by him in compelling them to grow opium, I do not think that it is necessary.

The 27th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Paroo states—My house is in this village. I have got a khet.* I do poppy cultivation. I saw the zilladar who was before. He has been transferred. He was in this village for three or four days in the house of Tulsi. It was owing to rains, and he remained to tell us that we should cultivate. He did not go to my house. He did not threaten me with any imprisonment, any criminal case, or assault. He said only that we should cultivate poppy. I have received dadni.† I am cultivating this year as a trial. I cannot say how he threatened us. He persuaded us to grow opium. I would not cultivate from the next year if I do not derive any benefit from opium. It is optional for me to grow or not to grow.

The 28th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

* Field.

† Advance.

Shaik Hidayat Ali says—I have got poppy cultivation. I have other khets too. I do not derive any benefit from opium nowadays. The productive powers of the land have been greatly deteriorated. It does not produce so successfully as it used to grow. I would have left off the cultivation, but I was told that this year may succeed, as we had sufficient rain for the poppy cultivation. Zilladar came and put up with khattahdar, who is ill. He persuaded us to grow opium. He insisted Tulsi to receive dadni. If I would not have got dadni, I would not have grown poppy. The zilladar did not say that I would be convicted or sent to gaol if I did not cultivate poppy. He stayed for three or four days to persuade us to grow opium. Rain was falling when he stayed. It may be that he was detained owing to the incessant fall of rain. He did not come to my house to tell this fact. I met him somewhere. It may be at Tulsi's house. He did not beat any of us. He said that we should grow as rain was enough for poppy cultivation. His fault was to compel khattahdar to receive advance. We had since fear that if we did not cultivate we would be falsely proceeded against by zilladar with some suit of accusation. We would leave off cultivating if we do not succeed in getting good harvest this year. Opium cultivation requires a good quantity of rain in this village. The zilladar who told me to grow opium has been transferred.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Bansi Mahton states—My brother is khattahdar of this village. His name is Tulsi. Dadni was advanced in Assin and distributed among the raiyats cultivating poppy. About 10 bighas of land is cultivated for growing opium. The name of the zilladar is not known to me. The former zilladar is transferred. A new zilladar has now come. The former zilladar induced us to cultivate poppy, and told us to try for this year. The land is not capable of producing opium. The productive powers have been diminished lately. I also cultivate poppy in about five cottahs. I grow tobacco and other crops as well. The benefit from tobacco and opium is on a par, but we have to labour much for tobacco. The land nowadays dries up, and so poppy is not satisfactorily grown. Poppy nowadays dries up, and then it becomes useless. We did not file any petition of resignation, but we said that we would stop as we do not derive benefit. Zilladar said that rain has been plenty this year, and the poppy cultivation would succeed. He took my brother to Hajipur. My brother was unwilling to go, and he said that we would not grow opium. Since his return from Hajipur he is ill. We are watching the result of the cultivation. If it would not prosper we would give it up. If we would derive benefit we would continue. We receive dadni (advance) at the rate of Rs. 3 a bigha. Khattahdar is paid, and therefore he might have persuaded us to continue the cultivation. The former zilladar lived with my brother, who is khattahdar, for some days. The reason was that rain was continually falling. He did not force us in the way of cultivating khets with his ploughs, but he said that we should cultivate poppy. He did not threaten us with punishment if we did not grow. But he pressed us to do so by taking my brother to Hajipur for receiving dadni. I did not tell Saheb (Mr. Lyon) anything, as I was not here at that time.

The 26th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Gudri Mahton says—I have got poppy cultivation. I would not grow from the next year if I do not get any benefit this year. We expect a good result owing to the rains that have been more than the previous year. But I cannot with certainty say that the crop would be in a very prosperous state. It depends upon time. Zilladar had come and put up with Tulsi, who has taken to Hajipur. We are trying for this year. Zilladar had been in the village for some days. I cannot say what was his real intention of staying for those days, but apparent reason was that rain was incessantly falling. I cannot say that he told each and every villager to grow opium. But he did me. He did not say that I would be sent to gaol if I do not

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grow. He told me that we should cultivate poppy. He did not tell what would be the result if we do not grow. But he pressed Tulsī to take advance. It may be for his own benefit.

The 26th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Lakhoo Koeri says—I have got a khet of poppy cultivation. I have got seven cottahs of land. Besides opium I grow tobacco, banga, ahur. This year I cultivate poppy as a trial. The zilladar had told us that we should grow opium. He did not say that we would be imprisoned if we do not cultivate poppy. He did not threaten us with assault. He spoke that we should cultivate as rain was sufficient for the purpose. We have this benefit from dadni, that we have nothing to pay any interest to mahajans. The zilladar took the khattahdar to receive dadni. We received advance from khattahdar. I do not know his name. That zilladar has been transferred. We consented afterwards to cultivate poppy. We were not forced to grow.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Babu Ram Mahto says—I am resident of this village. I am cultivating poppy in one cottah khet. Sometimes we derive benefit from opium and sometimes we do not. When the sun dries up poppy the crop fails, and hence no advantage. This year we are growing as a trial. Zilladar forced khattahdar to go to Hajipur to receive dadni. I did not file any petition against zilladar and for giving up the cultivation. Tulsī is ill since a long time. Zilladar had waited for some days in the house of Tulsī. Then rain was falling. The zilladar did not tell us that we would be prosecuted if we did not grow opium. I do not know when Saheb (Mr. Lyon) had come. I have got khet of dhan, alua, and soothni.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Tulsī Mahton says—I am khattahdar of this village. It is eight or nine years that I am khattahdar. I distribute money to the raiyats who grow opium. First I receive dadni (advance) and then I distribute among the raiyats cultivating poppy. In this village about 10 bighas of land is cultivated to grow opium. There are khets of tobacco and of other produce in the village. Tobacco is also produced here. Khoda Bux was the zilladar when I got dadni. But nowadays another man has come, whose name I do not know. Khoda Bux has been transferred to some other place. Khoda Bux took me to Hajipur for receiving dadni. He told me that we must grow opium. He advised us to cultivate poppy, as we had no mind to grow this year. He said that I must go to receive advance. On the return from Hajipur, where I had gone to get dadni, I have been ill. I have not recovered. The zilladar had come and he stayed for three or four days. He put up in my house. It was raining incessantly for those days. He was obliged to remain. During that period he persuaded me that dadni should be received, and that opium should be produced. We had no mind to take up poppy cultivation. But since the advice of the zilladar I took the advance. We would not have cultivated if we would not have been told by the zilladar. The productive powers of the soil have greatly deteriorated for opium cultivation. We would not grow the next year if it would fail this year. We derived benefit by cultivating poppy, but we have no advantage now.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Darshan Mahton says—I am cultivating khet of poppy. It is about two cottahs. I am growing since a long time. Lakhoo, Gudri, Nathuni, Kodai, Patto, Hidayat Ali, and others cultivate poppy. Tulsī is khattahdar. We receive dadni from khattahdar, who brings from Opium Department. He distributes us. I did not see the zilladar. I had no conversation with him. I only

heard that he said that it would be better for us this year to grow opium. We do not get so much by growing opium as we used to get previously. The land for cultivating poppy has become worse. We derive benefit from tobacco also. The zilladar did not tell that he would punish us or convict us. We receive dadni willingly. It gives some help. We have to pay no interest to the mahajans.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Patto says—I am cultivating poppy. I have received advances through Tulsī. Tulsī is khattahdar. He was taken by zilladar for receiving dadni (advance). Khattahdar was not willing to go. He is ill at home. We did not give any petition of resignation. Owing to failure of opium growth we had no mind to cultivate poppy this year. We cultivated when advised by the zilladar. He had been here and stayed with khattahdar Tulsī. He was detained, for the rain was falling. I grow opium in 2½ cottahs. If the crop would fail I would not cultivate the next year. When zilladar told us, then we consented. He did not threaten us with conviction or punishment, but told us that we should grow as rain is sufficient for the purpose. The power of land to grow poppy has been greatly diminished. We grow tobacco also. We had to labour at tobacco more than we do in the cultivation of poppy. The advantage, if the growth be successful, will be the same in both cases. If we would have not liked, we would not have cultivated, even if zilladar would have threatened us. He only insisted that we should grow, as it would succeed this year.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Khoda Bux says—I am resident at Juggado (this village is close to Hosainpur). I receive dadni from Tulsī. I did not meet the zilladar. The zilladar has never forced me to grow opium. I am willingly cultivating. I would leave off from the next year if we do not derive any benefit this year. I have never heard that force was put upon the raiyats by zilladar to grow poppy.

The 25th January 1884.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Sheik Manour Ali says—I am malik in this village. There are other maliks, but they are living in other villages. Tulsī Mahton is khattahdar of this village. He is ill. This village may be about 219 acres in area. I have got zariat about 26 or 27 bighas. I do not cultivate poppy or grow tobacco. Opium is produced in this village. It is to-day that zilladar had come. I had not seen the former zilladar, as I sometimes remain out. Lyon Saheb (Mr. Lyon) a deputy of survey, and amin saheb had come here. Saheb (Mr. Lyon) had come in the beginning of this month. The raiyats had told him something about opium. It was said to him that zilladar told the raiyats to grow opium this year. I do not know of any compulsion used by the zilladar. I did not hear of any force upon the raiyats. I heard that he told the raiyats to cultivate poppy once more this year. He told them to try. If the cultivation would fail, they would not do the next year. I heard that zilladar had put up with Tulsī. No force was put upon the raiyats; the raiyats took up the cultivation willingly. Had they not been willing they would not have done cultivation. It depended upon their option. They are induced to grow opium, owing to dadni which is paid before, and which at times relieves them of the interest that they have to pay to mahajans upon the money borrowed. They have their inclination in producing any crop they like. I do not see how any compulsion could have been used by zilladar. Tulsī khattahdar is ill from some time past. I do not know what benefit the raiyats derive from opium. I cannot blame the zilladar in this respect.

The 25th January 1894.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

Thaga Mahton states—I am cultivating poppy. There is every probability that it may prove advantageous to us this year, as there was sufficient rain. Zilladar, whose name I do not know, had come. He was detained owing to rains. I cannot say what other intention he had in staying for three or four days. But apparent it was that he could not go, as rain was incessantly falling. Zilladar did not gather the villagers. He did not tell that we would be punished, or any criminal or civil suit would be brought if we did not grow. He only said that as a trial we may cultivate poppy this year. Khattadar is ill since his return from Hajipur. He has got fever. I cannot say if any compulsion was used by the zilladar upon the khattadar for receiving dadni.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

The 25th January 1894.

Sheikh Asgar states—I have got five cottahs of poppy cultivation. I have khets for other cultivation as well. Poppy cultivation is not so beneficial nowadays as it was before. Zilladar, whose name I do not know, had come many times. The former zilladar is not coming now. A new man is seen. The former zilladar stayed with Tulsī for some days, owing to continual falling of rain in rainy season when he had come. He said that as a trial we should cultivate this year. The fault was with us to agree. It was optional for me to grow opium or not. Zilladar cannot imprison us. I know that he cannot threaten to compel the growing of poppy.

ALI HOSAIN,
Deputy Magistrate.

The 25th January 1894.

Annexure B.

No. 9.

Mr. JOHN CHRISTIAN'S NOTE, dated Arrah, the 30th August 1893.

On the 28th evening Mr. Sen and I went up to Dumraon to interview the Maharaja's Dewan regarding the poppy cultivation in the Maharaja's zamindari, and to make certain other local inquiries about the cause of the reluctance of the cultivators to engage the full area.

We met the Dewan on the night of the 28th, and again on the 29th, and saw also the Maharaja on the latter date. We also drove to Basdewa on the 29th, as advised by Mr. Skrine, and met Rai Sanker Dyal, the Rajput zamindar of Kessat, and head of the Rajput house in that vicinity. The Dewan is very favourable to the poppy cultivation, and both he and the Rai recommend "assamiwar" payments in local and convenient centres, which both think would support and help our cultivation. The yearly decreasing profits from poppy cultivation, coupled with the comparative uncertainty of the crop, have been the main causes, according to Rai Sanker Dyal, that have contributed to make our cultivation unpopular in recent years. Along with this he states that the Bhojpur raiyats have not been treated properly by Mr. Wintle. He spoke of the good treatment they received during Mr. Peppe's time. The upshot of both these interviews was that we have arranged as follows:—

(a.) Mr. Sen will be deputed to make local payments in the Bhojpur and Chowwa kothis in convenient centres. Sidipur was a centre suggested by Rai Sanker Dyal.

(b.) In the meantime the gumashtas, muharrirs, and zilladars will be deputed to make inquiries, especially in villages in which the poppy cultivation does not exist at present. Mr. Sen will begin payments as soon as a sufficient time has been allowed for our amla to go round their elaka.

(c.) The Dewan has promised to depute a tahsildar of his for helping us, and will issue order to his local gumashtas to inform the cultivators that wherever they prefer they will receive the opium advances individually. Rai Sanker Dyal has promised to make inquiries in the meantime, and inform me in two or three days what villages are willing to take up the cultivation. Both have promised to do their best to prevent their subordinates from throwing obstacles and difficulties in the way of the raiyats, which I find has been done, and to which cause, as much as to any other, I ascribe the unpopularity of our cultivation.

Behar Poppy.

Annexure C.

No. 67M., dated Camp Barehpur, the 12th February 1894.

From JOHN CHRISTIAN, Esq., Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, of Shahabad, to the COMMISSIONER of the PATNA DIVISION.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 445R. and 447R., dated the 17th and 18th January respectively, and to submit the following information under the several heads suggested in your letter under reply.

1. "What subsequent steps the Dewan of the Raj actually took to carry out the arrangement agreed on with you? Has there been any increase in the area under poppy cultivation in the Raj villages; and if so, to what extent?"

It appears that after the interview (mentioned in my letter No. 24M., dated 15th January 1894), the Dewan of the Dumraon Raj issued a circular to his tahsildars, asking them to use their endeavours to help our cultivation. From inquiries I have made, it appears that the tahsildars explained to the raiyats the profits resulting from poppy cultivation; that the Opium Department was prepared to pay their accounts individually instead of through the khattadars, if they so desire it; and that the Raj countenanced the cultivation and would help them. To give specific instances of the kind of help given by the Raj, I would mention here the examples cited by the tahsildar in his conversation with me on the subject: when a raiyat came and said he had no suitable land for poppy, the tahsildar endeavoured to arrange for it, and if he succeeded the raiyat came for advance; secondly, if a raiyat said he had difficulty of water, the tahsildar arranged for it by asking the ticcadar of the village or jet raiyat who possessed a well to allow him to take water from it; thirdly, if the rent charged by the ticcadar for the opium land was exorbitant, the tahsildar spoke to the ticcadar and got the rent reduced, &c. These are a few of the several ways the Raj amla helped the raiyats. The procedure adopted appears to have been somewhat as follows: The Raj amla explained as above to the cultivators, and those who agreed to cultivate came for advances to four centres fixed for payment, namely, Arrah, Dumraon, Buxar, and Chowwa. I have been assured by the chief tahsildar of the Raj that no pressure whatever was used, and from the local inquiries I have made in the district, I have no grounds to think that pressure was employed.

From the subjoined table giving the results of the opium settlements in the Dumraon villages, it would appear that whatever the efforts of the Raj amla, they were not attended with success as regards increasing our area; for the aggregate settlements in these villages barely reached the area of the previous year. We obtained four new villages with an aggregate cultivation of 14 bighas 4 cottahs. These, as shown by the measurements just completed, have cultivated 15b. 4k. 2d., i.e., 1b. 2d. in excess of the settlements.

APP. XXXII.

ABSTRACT showing the NUMBER of VILLAGES and AREA settled in the Villages in the Dumraon Raj in comparison with last year.

Name of Kothi.	Number of Villages.		Area settled.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1892-93.	1893-94.	1892-93.	1893-94.		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Arrah	28	29	Bg. c. 639 4	Bg. c. 642 5	Bg. c. 8 1	Bg. c. 5 0
Gurhani	9	9	155 0	157 16	2 16	—
Bhojpur	120	123	2,436 8	2,428 12	31 12	39 8
Chowra	2	2	61 8	59 8	—	2 0
Total	159	163	3,292 0	3,288 1	42 9	46 8

Actual decrease 3 bighas 19 cottahs.

2. "To further explain what 'obstacle' you refer to as having been thrown in the way of opium cultivation by the Raj amla, and for what purpose they did so."

The obstacles I refer to may be chiefly classed under the following heads:—

- (1.) Attempts to break down or weaken the guzashta tenures of cultivators.
- (2.) Preventing or discouraging their taking well advances from the Opium Department, which would strengthen their tenures.
- (3.) Enhancement of rent of poppy lands.
- (4.) Requiring or insisting the cultivators to change their poppy lands, so as to weaken their guzashta rights.

In our intercourse with the opium cultivators, these complaints have been brought to our notice by them from time to time. I would here invite your attention to the Koransarae and Itáon cases mentioned by Mr. Sen in his report (submitted herewith*) as specific instances of the difficulties not infrequently thrown in the way of opium cultivators, and beg to add that I have ascertained from local inquiry that the facts stated are correct.

It is not difficult to see the object the maliks have in view in throwing these difficulties in the way of opium cultivators. The interests of the zamindar and those of the opium cultivator do not always coincide; opium cultivation helps a raiyat to establish his claim to his holding and pukka wells built under the system of advances made by the Opium Department, give him a prescriptive right to the land on which they are constructed. Hence it is to the interest of the zamindar to break down and weaken the guzashta tenure of the cultivators. He cannot do this easily in the case of an opium cultivator. The documentary proof the latter can bring forward for a number of years of his possession of a certain holding militates against the attempt that a zamindar not infrequently makes to break or throw doubt on the guzashta rights of a cultivator. Hence it is that obstacles and difficulties are thrown in the way of opium cultivators, and they are subjected to petty annoyances, which I find from experience can be more easily smoothed over by conciliating the zamindar and securing his co-operation than by adopting a hostile attitude or having recourse to law, or by setting the raiyat to fight against his malik.

Annexure D.

No. 20004G., dated Arrah, the 2nd September 1894.

From F. H. B. SKRINE, Esq., Collector of Shahabad, to the SUBDIVISIONAL OFFICERS of BUXAR, BHARUA, SASARUM, MANAGER D. and D. KUMAR'S ESTATE.

As it is the policy of Government to extend opium cultivation in Wards' and Government estates, I have the honour to request that you will furnish the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent with a list of mauzas, specifying police station or outpost in which each is situated which contain lands fit for the cultivation of opium. Further, that you will instruct your tahsildars to use their utmost efforts in co-operation with the Sub-Deputy

* Not received by the Commission.

Opium Agent to induce our raiyats to take opium advances. Any information required by the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent should be at once supplied to him.

Annexure E.

No. 2520G., dated Bhagalpur, the 26th February 1894.

From F. H. B. SKRINE, Esq., Collector of Bhagalpur, to the COMMISSIONER of the PATNA DIVISION.

I have the honour to furnish the explanation called for in your letter No. 481R., of the 14th current, on the subject of my action in fostering the cultivation of opium in the Government and Wards' estates of Shahabad during my incumbency as collector of that district.

2. About the middle of August last, Mr. J. Christian, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Shahabad, called on me with a view, he said, to obtain my co-operation in restoring the area under poppy to its normal. He told me that owing to a variety of causes there had been a serious falling off in the cultivation of recent years, that the Board of Revenue viewed the resulting depletion of their reserve with some apprehension, and that the opium agent of Bihar had instructed him to consult me with regard to the causes of decline and the means of arresting it.

3. I replied that I should be most happy to afford them all the assistance in my power. I had been for nearly two years in the district, and had visited every part of it during my cold-weather tours. My experience had convinced me that the poppy crop was an immense blessing to the cultivator. In the first place, the cash advances came at a time when money was scarce and landlords pressing for rent. Then, in the absence of catastrophes, such as hail storm or heavy rain between December and February, the crop was a most paying one. The Koeri caste, who form the bulk of our opium cultivators, enjoy a degree of material comfort, superior to that seen in any other section of the raiyat class. Lastly, I regarded the influence of the Department as beneficial to the latter, inasmuch as it gave them indirectly a means of securing fixity of tenure, increased their facilities for irrigation, and in some measure counterbalanced the enormous power wielded by zamindars in South Bihar.

4. Mr. Christian suggested that I should issue a circular to the sub-divisional officers under my supervision, asking them to give him information as to the area in Government and Wards' estates capable of being brought under poppy, and to co-operate with him in extending the cultivation. I undertook to do so.

5. Soon after this interview my attention became engrossed by an agitation amongst the Hindu community directed against the slaughter of cattle for food. This led to strained relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans which culminated in a serious riot at Koath on the 28th August. It was not till the 1st September last I was able to take any steps in the matter suggested by Mr. Christian. On that day I received a demi-official letter from Mr. N. C. Sen, assistant sub-

deputy agent of Shahabad, reminding me of my promise. Thereon I addressed a circular, No. 2004G., of 2nd September, to the sub-divisional officers of Bhabua, Buxar, and Sasaram, and the manager of D. and D. Kumar's Ward estate, in which I informed them that it was the policy of Government to extend opium cultivation in Wards' and Government estates. I asked them to give the sub-deputy opium agent a list of villages in their charge which contained lands suitable for sowing opium, and to instruct their tahsildars to use their utmost efforts in co-operation with the sub-deputy opium agent to induce our raiyat to take opium advances. A separate order directed the tahsildar of Government estates in the headquarters sub-division to furnish the sub-deputy opium agent with a list of such villages under his immediate control.

6. In justice to myself, I wish to offer some explanation as to the wording of this circular. It was written at a time when my attention was concentrated on the task of restoring peace to my district, and when the memory of the riots at Koath was fresh, and others seemed imminent, the time for reflection and weighing my words was wanting. Had it been otherwise, the phraseology of the opening sentence of my circular would have been different. I am well aware that Government has never, directly or indirectly, inculcated in its executive officers the duty of increasing the area

under poppy. Our attitude with regard to the Opium Department has always been one of strict non-interference; we are ready to intervene in the rare occurrences (I have never had personal experience of one) in which abuses of any kind are brought to light, but there our functions end. Mr. Christian, too, had told me that the Board of Revenue wished to see a larger area under opium than had been the case in recent years, and I was honestly persuaded that the extension of poppy cultivation meant increased prosperity to our raiyats and increased punctuality in the payment of our rents.

7. I never supposed that my instructions would be construed by my subordinates as authorising them to bring pressure to bear on cultivators. They were to place the department in relation with the latter, and explain to them the advantage of the cultivation, and that was all; nor would it have been in my power to do more. For it has been the fixed policy of Government for years past to concede, and indeed foster the acquisition by its tenants of occupancy rights. Nearly all of them now enjoy a fixity of tenure, and they would resist successfully any efforts on our part to dictate to them the crops which they were to grow or not to grow in their holdings; if the tenor of my instructions has been misunderstood, and any subordinate official has shown excessive zeal in acting thereon, I can only say that I regret the mistake.

APP. XXXII.
Behar Poppy.

APPENDIX XXXIII.

APP. XXXIII
China.

ADDRESS BY ANTI-OPIMUM SOCIETIES to the CHINESE AMBASSADOR to the UNITED KINGDOM and FRANCE,
with his reply.

To His Excellency, SIEH, His Chinese Imperial Majesty's Minister to Great Britain and France.

MAY it please your Excellency to consider the request of the undersigned. We have for years past been engaged in seeking to enlighten our countrymen on the evils associated, both in the past and at the present time, with the opium traffic, and in endeavouring to form a public opinion which should insist on the entire prohibition of the opium export from India to China. God has been pleased to favour our efforts, and the efforts of others in the same behalf, and, as your Excellency may be aware, there is now in this country a very strong feeling on the part of a large section of our people that the time has come when the Indo-Chinese opium trade should cease.

We approach your Excellency in the confidence that we have your hearty sympathy in this cause, and that you would rejoice with us in seeing the opium trade brought to an end. Such is the state of feeling against the opium traffic in this country now, that any clear expression of your personal opinion in condemnation of the trade before your departure from this country, would be exceedingly helpful to our efforts. We would further earnestly beg of you, that on your return to China, you would move His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China to take such steps as would make it clear that China desires to bring this trade to an end.

It is constantly asserted that the Indian opium trade brings in so much revenue to the Chinese Government, that it would shrink from any course which would diminish that revenue, and that it is, indeed, as much in love with the trade as the Indian Government itself. We ourselves do not believe this, and it would rejoice us exceedingly, and materially strengthen our position, if, in opposition to such assertions, we could secure a distinct pronouncement on the subject,

DONALD MATHESON.
J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE.
JAMES E. MATHESON.
ROBERT SCOTT.
JAMES L. MAXWELL.
B. BROOMHALL.
RACHEL B. BRAITHWAITE.
Representing the four Anti-Opium
Societies of London.

London, May 1894.

TRANSLATION of the REPLY to the ABOVE.

Legation de Chine, Paris,
Kwang-sü, 20th Year, 4th Moon
May, 1894.

To the PHILANTHROPIC GENTLEMEN representing
ANTI-OPIMUM SOCIETIES of GREAT BRITAIN.

SIRS,

I HAVE the honour to communicate the following answer to your favour lately received.

From your letter I find that in the matter of suppressing opium, the zeal of your philanthropic hearts during these many years has not waned, nor have your schemes of philanthropy ceased, hoping earnestly to stop the noxious evils that spring from the drug, and to ensure to all the blessings of abstinence from it.

The reading of your letter gave me extreme gratification, which cannot but be lasting.

Evidences are that there has been a growing harmony in the intercourse between your country and mine, and an increasing prosperity in our international commerce. It is a satisfaction to me that during my residence in London, which was longer than in Paris, I so enjoyed the confidence of your Government that various matters which arose were settled without any difficulty. It is also a pleasure to see the philanthropy of your various associations, showing that your country is rich in men of noble character.

The efforts of the various anti-opium societies have my hearty sympathy, and what I now desire to say is merely to emphasise the fact that my Government, the local authorities, the literati, and the people are sincere in their wish to suppress opium. That you and we feel alike in this matter is another instance that "in the principle of doing good to others, foreigners and Chinese are in accord," and that "while there is opportunity one should think of prevention and cure."

The effects of opium indulgence are most pernicious, and if its use were to extend not only would China be ruined, but the people of India would fall into the habit and would suffer endless evils.

APP. XXXIII.

I understand that your Government has at divers times strictly prohibited the culture of the poppy,* and the trade in it, and now if the anti-opium societies would lead and guide public opinion, and would, as occasion offers, support your Government, the good resulting therefrom would be incalculable. For, it is evident that if henceforth each party would devise measures to restrict the culture and to lessen the traffic, the article would decrease, and the evil thereof cure of itself. Though the final extinction might take time, yet it would come some day.

* NOTE BY THE SIGNATORIES.—We suppose that his Excellency is here referring to the following words of the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith, in the House of Commons, on April 10th 1891:—"The course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken, during the last few years—for the present Government take no credit for greater care and consideration for the morality of the people of India than has been shown by preceding Governments—has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India to an extent, in the last five years at any rate, of 20 per cent. The production and sale of opium has been decreased considerably in each year, and that must be taken as an indication of the policy of the Government."

Whilst we do not for a moment question the good faith of the late leader of the House of Commons, it has since been shown by the Indian authorities themselves that he had entirely misapprehended the meaning of the temporary reduction in their output of opium.

I earnestly hope that your societies will put forth greater efforts, and ventilate the question more and more, till this old evil is uprooted and new benefits rise in its stead. Not only is this accomplishment my personal profound wish, but from it both my country and yours will surely reap advantage.

My tenure of office soon expires, and my departure is at hand, but I shall consider it my duty to fulfil your earnest request in making known to my Government your benevolent desires.

I send this answer on the eve of my journey; I have much to say, but time fails.

I present my compliments. May I always have your good will. To express which sentiments I avail myself of this opportunity, and write no separate letter [to the various signatories].

(Signed) SIEH FU-CHUNG,
His Chinese Imperial Majesty's Minister
to Great Britain and France.

APP. XXXIV.

duction of
vidence.

APPENDIX XXXIV.

CORRESPONDENCE relating to the ARRANGEMENTS made by the GOVERNMENT of INDIA for the PRODUCTION of EVIDENCE before the ROYAL COMMISSION.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

SEPARATE REVENUE.

OPIUM.

A.

No. 306 of 1893.

To the Right Honourable the EARL of KIMBERLEY, K.G.,
Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Simla,

the 20th September 1893.

MY LORD,
ON the 11th August 1893, His Excellency the Viceroy received from your Lordship the following telegram:—

"Opium Commission. Following is on behalf of Chairman:—Do you prefer that he should arrive India 1st November next, or 15th November next? Lyall will accompany him. He assumes that you are arranging course of inquiry, places to be visited, and witnesses, and that they will begin with official witnesses."

2. On the 15th idem we replied to your Lordship in the following telegram:—

"Your telegram of 11th instant, Opium Commission. We think it best that Commission should be ready to begin inquiry at Calcutta about 15th November. We had not intended to arrange course of inquiry and places to be visited, as we expected Commission would do so; but we will now prepare programme for consideration of Commission and send copy when ready. We are not certain what is meant by official witnesses. If by that term is meant witnesses who will give evidence as to extent of opium cultivation in India, amount of consumption, system of taxation, and so forth, we see no objection to their being examined in the first instance. But we think that, as a rule, the witnesses who are in favour of interfering with the present condition of things, by either prohibiting the use of opium, or imposing further restrictions, should be examined before the witnesses who are in favour of leaving matters as they are. In particular, we think it very desirable that such anti-opium evidence as may be available in England should be taken before the Commission come to this country. This would give both the Commissioners and the Government of India an idea of the points upon which Indian evidence was most wanted. At same time it must be recollected

that many witnesses can only give evidence at particular places and times, and that no hard-and-fast rule as to order of examination can be followed. We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses, who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society."

3. Subsequently, on the 23rd August, we received from your Lordship the following telegram:—

"Opium Commission. Following from Lord Brassey:—We propose to take some evidence here before going out, and to begin work in India in that week in November, opening with anti-opium witnesses: then go on as you may arrange."

4. In order to meet the wishes of the Chairman, we have prepared for the consideration of the Commission a provisional list of places which it may be convenient to visit. A copy of this list and copies of a resolution, No. 3910-Ex., dated the 8th instant, and of letters which we have addressed to Local Governments and Administrations, and to certain political officers, and to the Adjutant-General in India, regarding the appointment of the Royal Commission on Opium, the places to be visited by the Commission, and the course of the inquiry, are herewith forwarded for information. We request that these papers may be communicated to the Chairman of the Commission.

We have, &c.

(Signed) LANSLOWNE,
G. S. WHITE,
P. P. HUTCHINS,
D. BARBOUR,
A. E. MILLER,
H. BRACKENBURY,
C. B. PRITCHARD.

B.—1.
No. 3910—Ex.
RESOLUTION.

Simla,
the 8th September, 1893.

Read—

The following resolution adopted by the House of Commons on the 30th June 1893, on the motion of Her Majesty's Government, viz. :—

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

- (1.) Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States.
- (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 part the cost of prohibitive measures.

Resolution.—The Right Honourable Lord Brassey, who has been appointed Chairman of the Royal Commission referred to in the resolution recited in the preamble, has, through the Secretary of State, intimated his expectation that the Government of India would arrange the course of the inquiry to be undertaken by the Commission, the places to be visited, and the witnesses to be called to give evidence.

2. Until the Commission has been fully constituted, and the members have had an opportunity of conferring together regarding the course to be followed, it is probable that the matters referred to by the Chairman cannot be definitely arranged. In order, however, to meet as far as possible the wishes of the Chairman, the Government of India have prepared an outline of the course which may, it is thought, be conveniently observed in conducting the inquiry, and a general outline of the route which the Commission might follow in the ordering of its tour throughout the provinces of India. The Government of India desire it to be understood that in proposing a programme and itinerary they are merely putting forward suggestions for the consideration of the Commission in the hope of thereby facilitating the completion of their labours, and that all questions connected with the course of inquiry places to be visited, and witnesses to be examined will be finally decided by the Commission.

3. The chief places which it is thought that the Commission should visit, and the order in which it would probably be convenient to visit them, are set forth in an appendix attached to this resolution. The itinerary has been drawn up on the assumption that the Commission will begin their inquiry in Calcutta in the third

week of November 1893. It is not yet known what length of time the Commission will require for the completion of their task. The scope of the inquiry is so wide, and the interests of India are so vitally concerned, that the time must necessarily be considerable. It may be that the Commission will desire to visit other places besides those now suggested. It may also happen that the number of persons desiring to give evidence may be so great that the time allotted to each centre of inquiry may differ widely from any estimate that it would be possible to make beforehand. It has, therefore, been decided for the present not to indicate any dates as likely to be observed in visiting particular places. As soon as possible after the commencement of the proceedings, dates can be notified as far in advance as may be practicable in order that all persons who desire to offer evidence may have ample notice when their attendance is likely to be required.

4. It is understood that on arrival in Calcutta the Commission will begin by taking the evidence of witnesses who are in favour of the prohibition or greater restriction of the consumption of opium. As regards the subsequent course of the inquiry, it appears to the Government of India that the several matters comprised in the reference to the Commission may most conveniently be taken up in the following order, which corresponds with what seems to be their natural sequence, namely :—

- (1.) The production and consumption of opium throughout India, and the various systems under which the poppy is cultivated and opium manufactured, and revenue raised therefrom in different parts of India.

This head of inquiry, it will be seen, is not expressly mentioned in the resolution of the House of Commons, except in so far as it is included in the fifth clause of the reference. But a correct understanding of the existing arrangements is manifestly a necessary preliminary to an inquiry into proposals for change.

- (2.) 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.
- (3.) The disposition of the people of India in regard to—
 - (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes ; and
 - (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures.
- (4.) 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, those arrangements could with justice be terminated.
- (5.) 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 ; and
 - (c) the loss of revenue.
- (6.) 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 ; and
- (7.) 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. Although it is suggested that the course of inquiry may conveniently follow the order indicated above, it will not be possible to adhere to it exactly. Some of the official witnesses will give evidence on more than one of the matters enumerated. The non-official witnesses also in many cases will probably wish to do the same ; and some of these may be unwilling or unable to arrange their evidence in accordance with the suggested classification. In all cases the convenience of the witnesses will have to be considered in regard to the place and time of their examination ; and the order in which successive branches of the inquiry are taken up must be subordinated to the necessity of examining each witness at some centre within a reasonable distance of his home. Moreover, it cannot be expected that any branch of the inquiry will be exhausted at one place, and a strict adherence to the order suggested

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Production of
Evidence.

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might necessitate a second visit of the Commission to one or more of the places entered in the earlier part of their tour. So far, however, as these considerations permit, the Government of India are of opinion that the course of the Commission's inquiries may advantageously follow the order indicated in the last preceding paragraph.

6. Evidence regarding the first head of the inquiry can, it is thought be most conveniently laid before the Commission either in the form of written statements, or orally, by selected officers authorised to produce official figures and explain the existing systems. The Government of India will therefore arrange, in communication with the respective local governments, to call witnesses in the first instance who will give evidence regarding the extent of cultivation of the poppy, the manufacture and consumption of opium in India, the various systems of taxation, and other matters falling under the first or preliminary head of inquiry specified in paragraph 4 above.*

7. When the ground has thus been cleared, the subsequent procedure in regard to the calling of witnesses must, it is thought, depend on the pleasure of the Commission. It is probable that the Commission will wish to receive evidence from all persons who possess information regarding any of the matters referred to them by the resolution of the House of Commons, and who are desirous of being examined. The Commission will doubtless invite all such persons to come forward and will intimate the dates and places at which they will be examined. It is anticipated that of the persons who tender themselves voluntarily for examination, some will be in favour of maintaining the existing arrangements in respect of opium more or less unchanged; while others will desire to advocate measures of restriction or prohibition. The Government of India consider that, after the preliminary official evidence as to existing arrangements has been recorded, it will be convenient at each centre of examination to receive the testimony of those persons or bodies who desire to see alterations introduced: it has been ascertained that this arrangement is in accordance with the wishes of the chairman.

8. When these have been examined, the Government will be prepared to produce further witnesses to deal with those heads of the inquiry regarding which official evidence may be found to be necessary. Thus, in respect of the second head of inquiry, it is probable that the ground will have been covered to some extent by the witnesses referred to in paragraph 6. Further detailed evidence will, however, be given in each province by selected officers of experience regarding the consumption of opium by different races and in different parts of India. Gentlemen of the medical profession, including both officers in the service of Government and private practitioners, who have had opportunities of observing the moral and physical effects of the consumption of opium, will be invited to lay the results of their experience before the Commission. The Government also hope to be able to suggest the names of a number of non-official gentlemen of recognized standing, whose experience and opinions will present the case from a different point of view.

9. As regards the third head of inquiry, it is anticipated that the official witnesses already referred to will be able to give evidence regarding the disposition of the people of India in respect of the use of opium, and their willingness to bear the cost of prohibitive measures. On these points, however, the Commission will probably wish to receive as much evidence as possible from gentlemen not directly connected with the Government. Some of the non-official witnesses referred to in paragraphs 7 and 8, especially those of them who hold a representative position among the native community, will be able to speak with authority regarding the feelings of their fellow-countrymen on the subject.

10. As regards the arrangements with native states, the Government of India will undertake to place before the Commission a full statement of all agreements now in force regarding the production of opium in the states in question, its export from, and import into, these states. It is probable that the Commission will hold sittings in or near some of the principal states which are concerned with the production or trade in opium, or which consume it on a considerable scale, and the Government of India will be prepared to give the

Commission every assistance in procuring a representation of the views of the durbars affected regarding the possibility of prohibiting or restricting the production of opium within their territories, or its export through British territory, and as to the compensation (if any) to which they would consider themselves to be entitled in the event of such measures being adopted.

11. As regards the effect on the finances of India of prohibitive measures, the Government of India will place before the Commission the best estimates that can be prepared. It will not be possible to frame an estimate of the cost of preventive measures until it is known to what area and over what length of frontier they are desired to be applied.

12. The remaining branches of the inquiry do not at present call for particular notice. They appear to be rather of the nature of inferences to be deduced from the evidence given and from the conclusions arrived at upon the previous questions. The Government of India will, however, be prepared to render any assistance in regard to them which the Commission may desire to have, either by tendering witnesses for examination, or in any other way that may be preferred.

ORDER.—Ordered, that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the local governments and administrations noted in the margin.

Madras, Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Punjab, Burma, Central Provinces, and Assam.

Ordered also, that copies be forwarded to the Foreign Department for communication to the agents to the Governor-General, Central India and Rajputana, and to the residents at Baroda and Hyderabad.

J. F. FINLAY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

B.—2.

PLACES to be VISITED by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

1. *Calcutta*.—Starting thence, as a centre, the Commission will visit:—

- (a.) Orissa, including the districts of Cuttack and Balasore.
- (b.) North-Eastern Bengal, including the districts of Dinagepore and Rungpore.
- (c.) Assam, including the districts of Lakhimpur and Sibsaugor.
- (d.) Behar, visiting the factory at Patna, and possibly one or two of the opium-growing districts.

Of the above localities, the districts enumerated in (a.) (b.) and (c.) are those in which the consumption of opium is most considerable. In Behar a great part of the opium of Bengal is produced. It will be desirable to visit Behar during January or February when the crop is in flower.

2. *Burma*.—Both Upper and Lower Burma should be visited, and the conditions of each province considered separately. The Arakan division, and the town of Akyab, will probably require attention, as the consumption of opium has been greatest there. The new system by which the consumption of opium by Burmas is generally prohibited in Lower as well as in Upper Burma will be introduced before the arrival of the Commission, and it will not be possible to study easily the working of either the old or the new system.

3. *The North-Western Provinces and Oudh*.—The chief places to be visited are:—

- (a.) Benares. The factory at Ghazipur may be visited from here.
- (b.) Allahabad.
- (c.) Cawnpore.
- (d.) Lucknow.

4. *The Punjab*.—The chief places to be visited are:—

- (a.) Delhi.
- (b.) Umballa.
- (c.) Ludhiana.
- (d.) Amritsar.
- (e.) Lahore.
- (f.) Ferozepore.

* This evidence can, if necessary, be supplemented by the evidence of additional witnesses at each place which the Commission may decide to visit.

These are all districts in which the consumption is considerable. From Umballa, or Aurlitsar, some of the native states might be visited, and also the district of Gurdaspur. From Lahore, the Dera Gnazi Khan district might be visited if time can be made available.

5. *Ajmere*.—This place is not of itself very important for the present purpose; but as being British territory, and situated in the midst of the states in which Malwa opium is produced, it is a convenient centre for inquiring into the latter trade. The following states in the Rajputana and Central India Agencies are those which produce most opium, and might be visited:—

- | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|------------------------------|
| (a.) Meywar | - | - | in the Rajputana Agency. |
| (b.) Jhallawar | - | - | |
| (c.) Indore | - | - | |
| (d.) Bhopal | - | - | in the Central India Agency. |
| (e.) Gwalior | - | - | |

6. *The Central Provinces and Berar*.—The following towns might be visited:—

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|---------------------------|
| (a.) Jubbulpore | - | - | in the Central Provinces. |
| (b.) Nagpur | - | - | |
| (c.) Amraoti, in Berar. | - | - | |

7. *The Bombay Presidency*.—The Government of India will leave it to the local government to suggest the places to be visited in Bombay; they should, it is thought, include the native state of Baroda, and perhaps some others.

8. *Hyderabad*.—The capital of the Nizam's dominions may be visited if time permits.

9. *The Madras Presidency*. Here also the Government of India prefer to leave it to the local government to suggest the places to be visited. These might, perhaps, include some of the hill tracts, in which special arrangements in regard to opium are in force.

B.—3.*

No. 3917-Ex.

To the SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, Bengal.

Simla,

8th September 1893.

SIR,

I AM directed to forward herewith, for the information of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, a copy of a resolution of the Government of India of this date, with its enclosure, regarding the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the production and sale of, and trade in, opium in India.

2. The general course of the inquiry, and the places which the Commission will probably visit, so far as they can now be determined, are set forth in the resolution and its appendix, which also contain some account of the points on which it is proposed that evidence should be adduced by the Government, and of the classes of witnesses by whom it should be presented. I am now directed to indicate more precisely the matters as to which evidence will be brought forward by the Government of India, and those as to which the local governments, including that of Bengal, are desired to call witnesses.

3. The Government of India will be responsible for the production of evidence dealing with the following points, namely:—

- (1) the existing systems under which opium is produced and sold, or revenue raised from it;
- (2) the effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of opium;
- (3) the arrangements with native states, and the effects of prohibitive measures with regard to them; and
- (4) the consideration of prohibitive measures as affecting the native army.

As regards the first of these points, however, it is thought that an account of the Bengal system can be most conveniently given by one or more experienced officers, well acquainted with that system, to be nominated by the Government of Bengal. I am to request therefore that his Honour may be moved to select witnesses for this purpose and to cause a clear account

of the Bengal system, with full statistics, to be prepared, which one of these witnesses may lay before the Commission.

4. The evidence adduced by the Government of India should be supplemented in respect of Bengal by the evidence of experienced officers, well acquainted with local conditions, with especial reference to the following branches of the inquiry, namely:—

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

I am to request that the Government of Bengal will be good enough to select a suitable number of experienced and capable officers who will give evidence on these matters at each place where the Commission may arrange to take evidence within the province of Bengal. It should be arranged that one or more of these witnesses, as may be convenient, shall be in a position to lay before the Commission such figures or statistics as, in the opinion of his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, may be required or are likely to be useful.

5. The Commission will probably wish to visit one or both of the factories at Patna and Ghazipur, and some of the districts in which the poppy is cultivated. Arrangements to this effect have been made in the provisional itinerary which is appended to the resolution. The gentlemen who may be selected to give evidence at Patna or in other poppy-growing districts should include some who are able to explain clearly the magnitude of the interests bound up with opium in those districts, the extent of cultivation, the money which it brings into the pockets of cultivators and landholders, and the manner in which its prohibition would affect rents, and the revenue derived from land. Some of these witnesses should also be in a position to represent with authority the views of the classes who as landholders, cultivators, or factory hands, are concerned in the industry. It is thought that the non-official witnesses referred to in paragraph 7 below will be able to give valuable evidence in this connexion.

6. It is especially important that the medical evidence to be laid before the Commission shall be the best and most complete that can be obtained; and in nominating the witnesses of this class, both official and non-official, I am to request that care may be taken to select those gentlemen who are of the highest standing in their profession, and who have enjoyed the most extensive experience of the effects of the use of opium and of other stimulants and narcotics.

7. In addition to officers of Government it will be necessary to adduce the evidence of independent non-official gentlemen, especially natives of India, whose knowledge of their fellow countrymen will throw valuable light on the disposition of the people in regard to the use of opium, and their willingness to bear the additional taxation involved in the adoption of prohibitive measures. The selection of these witnesses will require careful consideration. It is desirable that they should, if possible, be gentlemen of some social standing, of independence of character and good general intelligence, and so completely in touch with public feeling in their respective provinces as to command the respect and confidence alike of the people of India and of the members of the Commission.

8. I am to request that a list of the witnesses whom his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to nominate may be submitted to the Government of India, together with some indication of the branches of the inquiry regarding which each witness proposes to give evidence. This list, together with any observations which his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor may desire to offer, should be forwarded so as to reach this office not later than the 15th October 1893. It will doubtless be possible to put forward additional witnesses at a subsequent period if it should appear necessary to do so.

I have, &c.
J. F. FINLAY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

* This and the two following documents are reproduced as specimens of the letters addressed to local authorities on the subject.

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B.—4.

No. 3165-I.

From the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, to
the AGENT to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL in CENTRAL
INDIA.

Simla,

9th September 1893.

SIR,

I AM directed to forward herewith a copy of a Resolution which was adopted by the House of Commons on the 30th June 1893, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report on certain matters connected with the production and sale of, and trade in, opium in India. A copy of a Resolution of the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, dated the 8th September 1893, and of a list of places which the Commission will probably wish to visit are also forwarded for your information.

2. The branches of the inquiry to be made by the Commission which concern the Native States are—

- (1) Whether, if the production and use of opium for non-medical purposes are prohibited throughout British India, 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 whether those arrangements could be with justice terminated; and
- (3) To what compensation would the Native States be fairly entitled in the event of measures of prohibition being adopted.

3. I am to request that you will be good enough to cause the Darbars of all the States within the Central India Agency to be fully informed of the appointment of the Royal Commission, by order of Her Majesty the Queen, Empress of India, and of the nature of the inquiry which the Commission has been instructed to make. Within the Central India Agency, the States in which opium is most extensively produced are Indore, Bhopal, and Gwalior; but several others also produce it in some quantity, and almost all are interested in the question to a considerable extent. It should be explained to the Darbars that the Government of India are most anxious that their interests should not be overlooked, and that a full expression of their views should be placed before the Commission. The Governor-General in Council therefore desires that the Darbars may be invited to nominate witnesses to give evidence before the Commission regarding the matters mentioned in paragraph 2 of this letter, and any others to which the Darbars may wish to call attention.

4. I am also to request that you will report, after ascertaining, in as quiet and informal a manner as may be possible, the views of the Darbars concerned, whether the three States named in paragraph 3, or any others in which the opium question is of importance, would be likely to raise difficulties in the event of the Commission wishing to visit their territory, for the purpose of taking evidence or otherwise prosecuting their inquiries. This matter is one which requires delicate handling, and no formal reference should, at present, be made to the Darbars on this point.

5. It will be understood that the places to be visited by the Commission have not yet been finally settled, and the itinerary enclosed with this letter is provisional only. It would be convenient if it could be arranged that the witnesses who may be nominated to give evidence regarding the Native States in Central India should be examined at a few central places, so as to obviate the delay which must be incurred if the Commission is required to visit a large number of places.

I am to inquire whether you can suggest any place, which should be in British territory if possible, which would be a convenient centre for the examination of all witnesses from the Central India Agency.

6. In addition to witnesses from the Darbars, in response to the invitation referred to in paragraph 3 of this letter, may nominate to state their views, it will be necessary to have the evidence of one or two political officers in the service of Government, who possess a thorough acquaintance with the opium question in the Central India Agency. They will be required to lay before the Commission full information, supported by such figures and statistics as may be found necessary, regarding the extent of poppy cultivation within each State in the Agency, the production of opium, the local consumption and export, the revenue which each

Darbar derives from it, either directly or otherwise, the nature of the agreements under which the drug is exported through British territory, and the compensation to which each State might reasonably be entitled if the production of opium were stopped or its export prohibited. I am to request that you will nominate one or two of the most experienced and trustworthy officers in your Agency for this purpose, and that you will submit their names, together with a brief outline of the evidence which each can give, so as to reach this office not later than the 15th October next. If you would prefer to give evidence yourself regarding these matters, or any of them, the Governor-General in Council would welcome your assistance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. J. CUNINGHAM,
for Secretary to the Government of India.

B.—5.

No. 4431-D., dated 15th September 1893.

From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR E. H. H. COLLEN, K.C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Military
Department, to the ADJUTANT-GENERAL in India.

WITH reference to your letter No. 3861-B., dated the 13th September 1893, I am directed to forward herewith the draft of a circular which it has been decided to issue to officers commanding regiments and batteries of the Native Army regarding the extent to which opium is used by native troops, and to request that, under the orders of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, you will be so good as to issue it as early as practicable.

2. I am further to request that the Government of India may be furnished at a very early date, with a copy of the circular for transmission to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India.

Draft of a Circular to be issued to the Officer Commanding every regiment and battery of the Native Army.

1. It is desired to place before the Royal Commission on Opium, which will take evidence in India during the ensuing cold weather, information regarding the extent to which Opium is used in the Native Army and the effects of its consumption on the health of the troops.

2. You are accordingly requested to report in respect to the Regiment
Battery under your command:—

- (a) the number and proportion of men by whom opium is commonly used, as well as the proportion of men who use opium (1) in moderation, and (2) to excess;
- (b) the average consumption per man;
- (c) whether, and to what extent, the use of opium by the men has been productive of injurious results, either physically or morally.

3. In forwarding the information you may obtain upon these points, you should state your own opinions with regard to each of them.

4. It is requested that your reply may reach this office not later than the 15th October.

C.—1.

No. 95 Ex.

To the SECRETARY, ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION.

Calcutta,

6th January 1894.

SIR,

THE attention of the Governor-General in Council has been drawn to passages in the published reports of proceedings of the Royal Opium Commission, from which it appears that the action of the Government in respect of the inquiry entrusted to the Commission has been called in question by one of its members. I am desired to address you with reference to these incidents.

2. The first of them arose out of a statement made by the Chairman, in the course of the proceedings of December 21st, and the report of it in the *Calcutta Englishman* is set forth in Annexure A.

3. The Governor-General in Council noticed with pleasure that the Chairman of the Commission had expressed, apparently with the concurrence of his colleagues, his satisfaction at the manner in which the Government of India had co-operated with the Commission. His Excellency in Council therefore learned with regret that one, at least, of Lord Brassey's colleagues found himself unable to agree in his Lordship's observations.

4. The Government of India have undertaken the duty of facilitating the inquiries of the Commission in every way in their power, and the steps they have taken with this object, beginning with the resolution in the Financial Department, No. 3910, dated 8th September, and the letters to local governments issued upon the same date, have been communicated to the Commission from time to time. No exception has, so far as the Government of India is aware, been taken by the Commission to any of those proceedings; nor do they know of a single instance in which they themselves or their officers have not done their utmost to meet any wish expressed by the Commission or by any of its members.

5. It was not the intention of the Government of India to take immediate notice of the observation made by Mr. Wilson at the sitting of the 22nd, and they would have preferred to reserve for a more suitable opportunity any comments for which it might have seemed to call. Further observations were, however, made by the same member of the Commission upon the occasion of the sitting of December 27th, which, in the opinion of his Excellency in Council, render it necessary that the matter should not remain any longer unnoticed.

6. This second incident arose out of a conference held on the 11th instant, at Lord Brassey's request, between himself and Mr. Westland. A desire had been expressed by Lord Brassey on the part of the Commission that the volume of evidence offered by the Governments of Assam and of Madras might be reduced, and the question was what communications might be made to these Governments with this object. Mr. Westland's statements made at that conference were, at the sitting of December 27th explained to the Commission with substantial accuracy by Lord Brassey; and then, according to the newspaper report, the conversation set out in Annexure B, took place.

7. I am to explain, with reference to this conversation, that the Government of India have no intention of adopting any view of their duty towards the Commission other than that which they have held from the time when they were first invited to afford assistance to the Commission. Mr. Westland's statement of the position of the Government was not intended to mark a new departure, but will be found to be in accordance with the resolution of September 8th, and with the letters issued to the local governments on the same date; documents of which the full text is in possession of the Commission.

8. The document to which, if the newspaper report is correct, Mr. Wilson must presumably have referred when he questioned the accuracy of the memorandum, was the telegram from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, despatched on August 15th (Annexure C), when it first came to the knowledge of the Government of India that they were expected by the Commission to prepare a programme of proceedings.

9. The intentions declared in this telegram are the same as those which were more fully set out in the proceedings of September 8th, and are in accordance with Mr. Westland's explanations as read out by the Chairman. It is said in the telegram that while the Government of India were prepared to suggest non-official witnesses, who would give "independent" evidence, they "cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium." This statement was obviously not tantamount to an announcement that the Government of India refused to "undertake to present any evidence except that which practically favoured the present policy." As a matter of fact, some of the witnesses tendered by the local governments, under instructions from the Government of India, have, as was to be expected, shown that they did not favour the use of opium.

10. His Excellency in Council is anxious that there should be no misunderstanding as to the conditions

upon which the Government of India have, from the first, undertaken, at the instance of the Royal Commission, to make arrangements for the course of the inquiry, and for the production of the evidence of non-official as well as official witnesses, and I am to say that, if those arrangements have in any respect appeared to the Commissioners to fall short of what was necessary in order to elicit the material facts, his Excellency in Council will be grateful for the earliest possible intimation which the Commission may find it possible to make.

I have, &c.
J. F. FINLAY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

C.—2.

Annexure A.

REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION from the CALCUTTA "ENGLISHMAN" of various dates.

Thursday, 21st December.—"Lord Brassey: I should like to say, Mr. Lyall, that I shall be expressing the general feeling of the Commission when I say that we are satisfied that the Government of India have taken very proper steps to put their case before us, and that we are sensible that they have done their best to co-operate with the Commission in the not easy task of eliciting all the facts which it is desirable to bring before this Commission in dealing with an extremely complicated question. We have read your circulars, and they seem to be circulars which it is very proper that the Government should prepare and distribute amongst those who are competent to give evidence before the Commission."

Friday, 22nd December.—"Lord Brassey: In dismissing Mr. Lyall yesterday from the chair occupied by witnesses, I made some observations with reference to the arrangements which have been made by the Government of India for the purpose of conducting our inquiry in this country. Those observations seemed to come from the chair, in the name of the general body of the Commission; but I find that what I said must be taken to represent my individual view, and that, in order to put the case fully before the public, it will be necessary for Mr. Wilson to make a statement representing his own individual impressions."

"Mr. Wilson: I wish only to say that I regret that any difference of opinion should exist between Lord Brassey and myself on any matter in connexion with this Commission; but I am obliged to say that I am unable to endorse his observations to Mr. Lyall as to the action of the Indian authorities in regard to this Commission."

C.—3.

Annexure B.

"Mr. Wilson: I wish to direct attention to the last sentence in the first paragraph—'The Government, however, will not reply to such evidence as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts.' Now in previous papers put before us the Government distinctly stated that it was no part of their business—that they would not undertake to present any evidence except that which practically favoured the present policy. Therefore, this is scarcely consistent with their previous statement. I only wish to point that out."

"Lord Brassey: The memorandum must be understood to represent the view now taken by the Government of their duty towards the Commission."

"Mr. Fanshawe (to Mr. Wilson): Would you kindly let me know what previous paper you are referring to?"

"Mr. Wilson: I do not think we have had it put before us in print, and I do not think, therefore, that I have a copy. But I have no doubt that our secretary will remember that a document was circulated at a comparatively early stage of our proceedings, in which the distinct statement was made, and noted by myself at the time, that the Government did not consider it a part of its duty—I cannot recall the exact words—to

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produce anything, to use a common phrase, like anti-opium evidence. Therefore, I do not think it is quite correct to say the Government declines the position of a defendant.

"Lord Brassey: At any rate, speaking to me through Mr. Westland, they desire now to take a broader position, and I think we may accept the statement of what passed as read by me for the purpose of its being put on our minutes. I did not propose to raise any discussion upon this memorandum. I thought, as Mr. Westland had desired it, that I ought to make a report of the interview in writing, so that it might be submitted to the Government before it came before us to-day. I think we had better proceed with our business."

C.—4.

Annexure C.

TELEGRAM FROM THE VICEROY TO HER MAJESTY'S
SECRETARY OF STATE.

(This telegram is included in the Despatch marked A. in this Appendix).

D.—1.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.
Camp Umballa,

DEAR LORD BRASSEY, 17th January 1894.

1. The letter from the Government of India, No. 95 Ex., dated the 6th January 1894, has received my careful consideration, and I deem it my duty to set forth as clearly as I can the grounds on which I complained, and still complain, of the action of the authorities in India.

2. When I felt obliged, on the 22nd December last, to dissent from your lordship's compliment, through Mr. Lyall, to the Government of India, I did so partly on account of information which I was not then, and am not now, at liberty to divulge, and partly on account of some of the matters to which I am about to allude.

3. As to my remarks on the 27th December last, I frankly admit that the Government of India is technically accurate in pointing out that the actual language of the telegram of the 15th August last, does not justify the description of it given by me. But I was speaking from memory, as the report quoted shows, and I gave the impression which the perusal of the telegram had left upon my own mind. That this impression was not entirely erroneous will now, I think, be apparent.

4. A circular was issued by Mr. Lyall, dated the 11th November 1893, in which, following the resolution of the Government of India, dated the 8th September 1893, too much prominence is given to the question of "the disposition of the people" in regard to "their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures." Its insertion as the second point in the circular is in variance of the order of subjects for inquiry laid down in the Resolution of the House of Commons upon which the Royal Commission was appointed, in which it was given the last place. Again, having regard to the order of subjects as laid down in the circular itself, the proper place for this subject would appear to be after the 5th. The order of subjects laid down in the Resolution of the House of Commons and that laid down in the circular in question are set out in Appendix I. This document has had a very wide circulation, and whatever the intention of the alteration may have been, it is obvious that its tendency was to frighten many of the witnesses at the very outset with the prospect of having to bear the cost of preventive measures, as the necessary consequence of the total or partial prohibition of opium traffic; and it has had that effect to a considerable extent.

5. On the 21st December last, some official correspondence was circulated for information. It appeared therefrom that the Government of India, in a telegram, 5426 Ex., dated the 13th December last, asked the Government of Madras to do as follows: "Send abstracts of evidence of witnesses named in your list of 24th November. Letter follows. Await its receipt before replying regarding the question of what witnesses should go to Bombay." There is something remarkable in the anxiety which the Government in this

instance, as in several others, have shown not to allow any evidence to reach the Commission direct, without passing through a process of filtration, as it were, at their hands.

6. Bábu Govinda Rám Chowdry, Tahsildár at Gauhati, Assam, had promised to Mr. Thomas Evans to give evidence before the Commission, and his views were known to be opposed to the Government policy. He was, however, prevented by the Deputy Commissioner of Gauhati from coming to Calcutta (*see* Appendix III. a telegram dated the 13th December last).

7. On the 17th December last, Mr. Hewett, the Secretary to the Commission, sent me a printed list of 20 witnesses, dated the 20th November 1893, and signed by Mr. Driberg, Commissioner of Excise, Assam. Mr. Driberg was examined on the 22nd December last, and he put in a new list also of 20 witnesses, omitting three names and adding three.

One of the names omitted was that of Bábu Haribilás Agarwála, Tezpur (District Darrang). Having ascertained from Mr. Driberg on the 22nd December that he did not intend to call this witness, I invited him to give evidence, and he did so as an anti-opiumist, although he is himself a dealer in opium. Although Mr. Driberg stated on the 27th December that he did not drop this witness, it is quite clear that when the abstract of the intended evidence showed what its character would be, Mr. Driberg did not have it printed and took no further notice of the witness. This seems inconsistent with the declared intention of the Government to produce "non-official witnesses who will give independent evidence." Then on the 22nd December last, Mr. Driberg told the Commission that three of the witnesses in the second list could not come, two (*i.e.*, Bábus Hem Chandra Barua and Benudhar Barua) on account of illness and one (*i.e.*, Dr. Mullane) owing to public duty. On the 27th idem, the Commission, however, expressed a desire to examine these three gentlemen, and your Lordship intimated that "arrangements will no doubt be made for the purpose." I should add that Dr. Mullane is a civil surgeon of longer standing than Dr. Dobson who was examined. He says in his abstract of evidence that "an old opium-eater attacked with dysentery or diarrhoea enjoys a smaller chance of recovery than a non-opium eater." Bábu Hem Chandra Barua, retired superintendent of the Commissioner's Office, Assam Valley District, is the author of a popular play in Assamese the purpose of which is to condemn the use of opium. Both he and Bábu Benudhar Barua say in their abstracts that opium consumption, to a certain extent, injuriously affects the physical condition of the consumer and that the poorer opium-eaters commit theft, and sometimes perjury. Some of these facts were brought out in my examination of Mr. Driberg.

It is not needful now to say more in reference to the two incidents mentioned in the letter of the Government of India. But I have since had occasion to make remarks, or put questions, on other points, of a more or less similar kind, and I think it will be convenient now to mention them.

8. As another instance of the process of filtration referred to in paragraph 5, I may mention a document dated the 30th December last (Appendix II.) issued by the Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh, asking officials not to communicate with the Secretary to the Commission direct.

9. At Bámkipur, a list of witnesses intended to be called on the 3rd January was supplied to me. It included the name of Rái Bahádúr Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E., Dewán of Dumraon. This gentleman represents a large estate in which poppy is extensively cultivated. He was not called. Information from two sources leads me to believe that his evidence would not have been altogether favourable to the Government.

10. At Benares, I was informed that some witnesses who had been communicated with by the authorities and who had sent abstracts of evidence, somewhat unfavorable to opium, had been told that their attendance was not desired. One of them, Babu Ishan Chandra Roy, a medical practitioner, was however examined as an anti-opiumist witness, and he spoke strongly against opium.

11. Mr. R. M. Dane, I.C.S., who accompanies the Commission to manage the case on behalf of the Government of India, was, at my request, asked by the Commission while at Lucknow, to put in the list of persons who had been asked by the authorities to give

vide nec there, together with such abstracts of their evidence as had not already been produced. A paper list was put in by that gentleman, purporting to be a list of rejected witnesses with abstracts of evidence sent up from Allahabad. This is certainly a list, but apparently not the list which was required by the Commission. Now, what does the list put in show? It abstracts seventeen witnesses who were not called, of whom sixteen were received from sixteen, of whom four were known to entertain anti-opium views and four others were known to entertain strong observations against the use of opium. I would draw particular attention to the fact that of these gentlemen, namely, Mr. P. Wyndham-Sultany, Assistant Commissioner and Excise Officer, and Mirza Muhammad Beg, Deputy Collector of Allahabad, make the important statement that in their opinion the revenue and rents derived from land will not be seriously affected by the prohibition of poppy cultivation. A tabular statement of the names, rank, and official position of the witnesses, together with their opinions, is annexed hereto as Appendix IV. These gentlemen all express opinions on the subject more or less unfavourable to opium; and while produced, every one of the witnesses was much influenced by the authorities at Lucknow gave evidence more favourable to the Government.

12. I am informed by Mr. Alexander, who represents the Anti-Opium Society, that at Rangoon five Chinese witnesses were produced by the authorities, three of whom spoke in favour of the Government opium policy and two in favour of the Government opium policy both engaged against it. Now these two witnesses were to appear in the liquor trade, and it was thus made likely that the opposition to opium traffic amongst the Chinese community was confined to those who were likely to be benefited by its prohibition. So far, however, of time being the short interval between the signature and the Commission for no less than 305 witnesses at Government.

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the Indian opium revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to—

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

Mr. Lyall's Circular.

- (1.) The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts of this province, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people; and
- (2.) The disposition of the people of this province in regard to—
 - (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes; and
 - (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures.
- (3.) Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should in your opinion be prohibited, and whether you consider such prohibition possible.
- (4.) Whether any change short of prohibition should in your opinion be made in the existing arrangements regulating and restricting the opium traffic in the province, and raising a revenue therefrom.
- (5.) The magnitude of the interests bound up with opium in those districts in which the poppy is cultivated, the extent of cultivation, the money which it brings into the pockets of cultivators and landholders, and the manner in which its prohibition would affect the revenue derived from land.
- (6.) The views of the classes who, as landholders, cultivators, or factory hands, are concerned in the opium industry.

D.—3.

APPENDIX

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on the subject of the evidence to be produced before the Royal Commission on Opium, have communicated direct with the Secretary to the Commission, submitting to that officer abstracts of the evidence, or making inquiries as to the date of examination. I have the honour to point out that there is no authority for this procedure, and to say that all communications should be addressed to this Government.

D.—4.
APPENDIX III.

COPY of TELEGRAM, 13th December.

To BANGALORE, from PALASBARI, Assam. DEPUTY
To THOMAS EVANS (care of Rev. D. Jones), from I
COMMISSIONER, Gowhati. ed to
Govindram Chowdry is unable to proceed to Calcutta; it would have been courteous and advisable if you had consulted me before ordering my subordinates away when engaged in emergent work.

D.—5.

APPENDIX IV.

No. on Mr. Dane's List.	Name.	Rank, &c.	Quotations from, and Notes on, the Abstract of Evidence sent in.	Evidence
7	P. Wyndham, C.S. -	Excise Officer and Assistant Commissioner, Sultánpur.	<p><i>Smoking.</i>—"Effect on the moral character is self-respect and induce laziness." "The opium-smoker is more inclined to resort to crime than the opium-smoker in these parts has a sleepy jaw which is good-for-nothing with no energy left."</p> <p><i>Eating.</i>—No complaint.</p> <p>"Chandu contractor, is not a savoury individual, nor is he a man who is much respected by his fellow-district is the other hand of the opium-sellers in each district treas agent: he is not looked down on in any way this trade." revenue, profits and rents and no effect. Cultivation of the Fyzabad municipality.</p>	banish all opium-smoker the habitual look, is a sleepy jaw in him."
13	Muhammad Abdul Rahim	Assistant Surgeon, King's Hospital, Lucknow.	<p><i>Sub-head</i>—sad</p> <p>"The government is the only one who favours the opium trade."</p>	
16	Hakim Muhammad Sadiq	Lucknow	<p><i>Mudra</i>—opium is a popular commodity in the district.</p>	
17	Pandit Kalligi -	Baid	<p><i>Opium</i>—the opium trade is a profitable one in the district.</p>	
4	Rai Narain Bah -	Talukdar and Honorary Magistrate, Dariabad	<p><i>Opium</i>—the opium trade is a profitable one in the district.</p>	
5	Sheik Rurbán Ali -	Landholder, Sál	<p><i>Opium</i>—the opium trade is a profitable one in the district.</p>	
10	Mirza Muhammad Beg -	Deputy Collector	<p><i>Opium</i>—the opium trade is a profitable one in the district.</p>	
15	Nobin Chandra Mitra, L.M.S.	Retired Assistant Commissioner, now.	<p><i>Opium</i>—the opium trade is a profitable one in the district.</p>	

the telegram quoted by Mr. Wilson. The letter speaks for itself.

APP. XXXIV.
Production of
Evidence.

No. Ex.
5427.

To the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of MADRAS,
Revenue Department.

Calcutta, December 1893.

SIR,

In continuation of my telegram of this date, reproduced in the margin (in the margin the telegram is dated 3rd December) "I am directed to enclose copies of a letter of the 13th instant, received from the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium regarding the evidence relating to Madras to be placed before the Commission, and of the reply thereto. You will observe that the Commission desire to have in Bombay the evidence relating to Madras, and that the Government of India have replied that this request will be complied with. The Commission also desire that as much of the information relating to Madras as possible may be embodied in printed statements which can be forwarded by post to the Commission without requiring any officer to attend to present them. I am to request that this course may be followed.

The Commission also indicate that only those witnesses should be sent to Bombay whose evidence is considered to be specially important, and that the number of witnesses from Madras should be reduced. I am to request that you will forward the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses named in the list given in the resolution of the Board of Revenue, Madras, No. 4775, dated 24th November, and that you will inform the Government of India which of those witnesses His Excellency the Governor in Council considers to be of special importance, in order that those only may be deputed to Bombay. The abstracts should be prepared as requested in my telegram of the 1st of December."

The Government of India have now informed the Commission that they consider it desirable that the selection of witnesses from the Madras Presidency for examination at Bombay should be made by the Royal Commission, and an intimation to this effect has been made to the Madras Government.

With regard to the question of Assam evidence, Hewett has already placed the facts regarding Mr. Gobind Ram Chaudhuri before the Commission. As will, I understand, appear for examination

informed me that Appendix 5, which paragraph 7, has no

A.P. XXIV.

referred to by Mr. Wilson, as I think it shows clearly that even if Government had been anxious to exclude all evidence unfavourable to the use of opium, there could be no possible objection to his appearing to give evidence. The abstract is as follows:—I have had opportunities of observing opium-eaters both in the Punjab and in Assam. Generally speaking, the Sikhs are great opium-eaters, and as a fighting race, few better exist in this world. In Assam I have daily, for the last 13 years, been brought into contact with opium eaters. In several portions of the country opium is absolutely a necessity of life with the elder portion of the community. Its power as a prophylactic in malaria is, as far as my experience goes, universally admitted, while its effects in dysentery and diarrhoea are known to the most ignorant of the community. Quinine would certainly replace opium in the case of malaria, but it should be remembered that quinine, as an article of common every-day use amongst the rural population of Assam, is unknown. In fact, the drug to the vast bulk of the inhabitants has never been heard of. The total disuse of the opium would, in the present condition of affairs, lead to enormous suffering among the people, and would result in the depopulation of extensive areas. I do not intend it to be understood that I imply that opium is quite an unmixed blessing; for, although opium-eaters do undoubtedly enjoy a marked degree of immunity from malarial fever, dysentery, and diarrhoea, still an old opium-eater attacked with dysentery enjoys a smaller chance of recovery than a non-opium-eater.

The abstracts of evidence of the two Babus referred to are as follows:—

(1.) Babu Hem Chandra Barua, retired Superintendent of the Commissioner's Office, Assam Valley District, Gauhati, (district Kamrup).

Sale of opium by the Government should not, I think, be prohibited for non-medicinal purposes.

Such prohibition is not, in my opinion, practicable.

The consumption of opium is not confined to any particular race or races, but the people of almost all races take it more or less in the different districts of Assam; and such consumption, I think, in some cases injuriously affects the physical condition of the people, and many of the poorer opium-eaters become thieves, and give false evidence in our courts for what they get for perjuring themselves.

The people of Assam, in my opinion, are naturally disposed to use opium for non-medical purposes, and are not, I believe, willing to bear any part of the cost of prohibitive measures, nor can they afford to do so.

(2.) Babu Fenudhar Barua, Pleader and Chairman of Municipality Gauhati (district Kamrup).

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the printing of evidence of examination the attendance were allowed the Commission reference perform Government

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"revenue, prohibition, as far as I have seen, has produced no effect. Cultivation was recently prohibited within the Fyzabad municipal area. No fall in rent has been caused."

APP. XXXIV
Production of
Evidence.

I think the last quotation about rents and revenue would be more complete if the words used by Mr. Wyndham had been added:

"Potatoes and other garden crops can take the place of poppy, so far as rent and revenue are concerned, but the cultivator would object."

Mr. Wyndham also, in his abstract, made remarks on the subject of opium, which should also be considered before any opinion can be pronounced on the general tenor of his evidence. One of his remarks was: "In the Terai a Mahomedan takes to opium-eating at his middle age, just as a European takes tobacco on leaving school. The effect on the moral character is nil, unless of course a man takes to excess. I have only come across one such case. He was wanting in thrift, but in all other circumstances was as good as his fellows." Further on in the report he adds: "He looked well fed and nourished, and was bright and intelligent." Then he also says: "Effect on physical condition is generally beneficial. Effects cannot be detected by their looks, and they invariably sing the praises of the drug, and state that they are better and fitter than when they lived without it."

Under those circumstances, I submit that Mr. Wyndham's evidence is distinctly favourable to the use of opium.

With regard to the second witness, Muhammad Abdul Rahim, assistant surgeon, King's Hospital, Lucknow, the following quotation is given: "Opium strongly condemned as aphrodisiac; sad results. Does not think much of it as a febrifuge. The general disposition of the people of India as regards the free use of opium is not favourable. Is partly favourable to opium."

In another part of his abstract this gentleman writes: "Those who take it in small doses, such as from 2 to 6 grains, or a little more, in 24 hours as a medicine, or those who commence to take it at a pretty advanced age, say 40 or 45, and keep the dose under certain limits, do not suffer from any bad consequences in the long run; in fact they are benefited by it in receiving a sort of protection against the vicissitudes of climate so common in different parts of the country. They do not seem to suffer from any class of diseases."

from whose abstract the quotation is
Muhammad Sadiq, of
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APP. XXXIV.

The sixth witness referred to is Sheikh Kurban Ali. He also holds unfavourable views about the use of opium. The quotation given from the abstract fairly expresses his views on the subject as to the use and effects of opium. At the same time, however, I think it would only have been fair, as so much stress had been laid on the opinions expressed by Mr. Wyndham, and by Mirza Muhammad Beg, as to the effects of the prohibition of poppy cultivation on revenue and rents, to point out that Kurban Ali on that point holds diametrically opposite views. He said in his abstract "If poppy cultivation be stopped, the rent would be realised with greater difficulty than at present."

The seventh witness is Mirza Muhammad Beg, the deputy collector of Basti. The quotation given is, "People commence its use either as a medicine or to enhance sexual pleasure. It has peculiar sort of craving, which is quite irresistible."

"Rents.—The rents will not, I think, be affected very much. Cultivators would grow other crops. Opium is not considered a very valuable crop for various reasons."

I would invite careful reference to his abstract. He certainly writes strongly about the effects of the abuse of opium, but he adds: "But this no doubt is its abuse if people choose to abuse it, it is no fault of the opium." In another place in his abstract he says, "People derive great pleasure from its use, and I see no reason whatever why the use of it should be prohibited. Again, opium-eaters are very useful members of society. Use of opium never leads to commission of crime, and violence is unknown to them. There is no tendency in the use of opium to make the consumers less moral." The last witness referred to is Nobin Chandra Mitra, retired assistant surgeon, Victoria Street, Lucknow. His abstract is summed up as follows: "Speaks well of opium. 'The greatest drawback is that the doses require to be gradually increased if the action of the drug is to be kept up.' 'The febrifuge properties of opium are very slight. The statement that it acts as a prophylactic of fever in malarious districts should be accepted with caution, for immunity reported to be so enjoyed has proved, in many instances, to be imaginary.' Opium-eaters when found out make fever a pretence. He was in charge of hospital and lock-up in Burdwan, when malarious fever raged fearfully from 1861 to 1869. Moderate use does not seem to do much harm, but the temptation to indulge in large doses is great, and the result deplorable."

The following passages in his abstract appear to be worthy of reproduction, if any fair character of the evidence he was prepared to be obtained. Every medical practitioner admits that opium is a remedial agent in disease, and that

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That is all I know with regard to that point.

Q.: Have you anything else to say?

A.: The third point upon which I have any information is with regard to Dr. Mullane, Babu Hem Chundra Barua, and Babu Benudhar Barua, who are referred to in the second portion of the 7th paragraph. The Chairman gave me the following written instruction: "We are desirous to take the evidence of Dr. Mullane, " Babu Hem Chandra Barua and Babu Dhar Barua. It " will be desirable that these witnesses should " meet the Commission while on tour." I at once communicated this to Mr. Driberg, who, the following day, produced a telegram from the Deputy-Commissioner to the effect that both the native gentlemen were too unwell to leave their homes. This telegram was brought before the Commission; and I was instructed that under the circumstances it was not necessary that the Babus should be required to follow the Commissioners on tour.

To the best of my recollection I was asked by Mr. Driberg to endorse the paper in his possession to this effect, and I did so. The following telegrams have passed between the Chief Commissioner and the Government of India about Dr. Mullane :—

" From the Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Assam. To Finance. Dated January 8th, 1894. Driberg wires Spium Commission insist on Mullane, civil surgeon, Dibrugarh, proceeding at once give evidence. Please explain Commission, Mullane cannot possibly be spared until Abor expedition is over."

" Telegram, dated 8th January 1894. From Finance. To Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Assam. Your telegram of 8th, Mullane. When is Abor expedition likely to be over?"

" Telegram, dated 9th January 1894. From Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Assam. To Finance. Your telegram 8th. Abor Expedition starts 14th January. Chief Commissioner hopes that it will be over in a month, but it may be two months."

Upon this I took the Chairman's orders. His Lordship directed that Dr. Mullane might be asked to re-write his abstracts in such a form that it could be taken as evidence and supplemented with replies to questions which members of the Commission might put to him to answer, and when this was received it could be brought on the record by the Chairman called upon to produce it. This order was given to the Chairman on the 14th. I had no abstract, or I should have produced it to the member called upon to produce it. I have not yet done so.

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Production of
Evidence.

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"Patna; you have not sent in an abstract, if you do not do so the Commissioners will not hear you." He replied, "I will send you one." He then left, after saying that he was leaving Calcutta by that night's mail. Those are all the points upon which I have any knowledge. I was not at Patna the first two days.

The Chairman.—Your statement will be circulated to the Commission for consideration in connexion with Mr. Wilson's letter.

F.

Ajmere,

2nd Feb. 1894.

DEAR LORD BRASSEY,

It was understood that I would make some communication this morning; and I have considered:—

- (i.) the complaints in my letter of 17th January;
- (ii.) the additional incidents mentioned by me yesterday (including a reference to a communication of a semi-private character, and the treatment of the missionary memorial);
- (iii.) the printed statement of Mr. Hewett and Mr. Dane; and
- (iv.) the conversation at the sitting yesterday.

I have already intimated that in view of the explanations given, I withdraw my complaint relating to the Tahsildar of Gowhatti.

In view of the explanations, I also withdraw my reference to the non-production of Dr. Mullane.

I must ask to be excused for great brevity (unavoidable in the circumstances) in dealing with other matters.

I am conscious of the danger of putting a wrong construction on evidence which is unavoidably incomplete.

My endeavour has been to give full weight to this consideration, and I admit that full investigation, were it possible, might lead me to withdraw other complaints.

But at the present time I cannot dismiss from my mind the impression that some of the proceedings of the authorities have had a tendency to unfairly influence the character of the evidence, as well as the report of the Commission.

I am, therefore, unable at the present time to withdraw the other parts of my letter.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

VOL. VI.

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM

PART I.

THE REPORT,

WITH ANNEXURES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty



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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

FINAL REPORT.

SECTION I.

THE SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. Your Commissioners commenced their journey with a visit to Patna, the headquarters of one of the two opium agencies under the Government of India. Leaving Patna, we proceeded successively to the cities of Benares, Lucknow, Ambala, Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. The evidence regarding the Native States in Rajputana was taken at Jeypore and Ajmer, and early in February a section of the Commission visited Indore, where a similar inquiry was held in reference to the Native States in Malwa and the rest of the Central India Agency. The other members of the Commission proceeded to Ahmedabad, as being the most convenient centre for the attendance of witnesses from the numerous States under the political control of the Bombay Government in Gujarat. The full Commission reassembled at Bombay, where, after taking further evidence, the inquiry in India was concluded on the 22nd of February. Public sittings were held on 70 of the 83 working days spent in India. After we left Patna, indeed, there were only two working days that were not thus occupied.

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

p. 95-97.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. p. 362. 20. It must be obvious that, in cases where the exigencies of time required the cutting down of lists originally submitted, the selection of witnesses after their abstracts had been sent in, by Government subordinates at the request of the Commission, necessarily gave room for some difference of opinion as to the inclusion or omission of particular names. Questions of this kind have been raised, and communications have passed between the Commission and the Government of India, which are set forth at length in the last Appendix to Volume V. of our Proceedings, to which we would refer for any detailed consideration. We wish to say, however, that in none of these cases did we find any ground for the imputation of partiality or unfairness in the selection or omission of names.

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

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

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

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

SECTION II.

THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH PROVINCES.

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

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

II. p. 533.

II. p. 527.

PRODUCTION.

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

The Bengal monopoly.

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

II. p. 321.

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

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

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

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

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

Year.	Acres Cultivated.			Number of Cultivators.		
	Behar.	Benares.	Total.	Behar.	Benares.	Total.
1883-84	249,699	256,144	505,843	719,195	626,720	1,345,915
1884-85	270,726	294,520	565,246	665,353	713,973	1,379,326
1885-86	283,446	311,475	594,921	695,784	788,079	1,483,863
1886-87	286,416	275,636	562,052	717,043	731,465	1,448,508
1887-88	279,849	256,758	536,607	707,483	701,036	1,408,519
1888-89	253,666	206,198	459,864	632,718	563,049	1,195,767
1889-90	248,893	233,664	482,557	657,358	617,229	1,274,587
1890-91	254,975	246,744	501,719	654,870	651,871	1,306,741
1891-92	231,741	228,923	463,664	639,798	601,413	1,241,211
1892-93	241,100	213,056	454,156	637,585	558,286	1,195,871

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

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

Excise regulations. VII. p. 32.

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

First essays in excise in Bengal.

VII. pp. 50-51

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

General excise policy.

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

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

General features of the excise regulations.

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

Special measures.

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

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

Limitation of quantity saleable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Provision of
excise
opium.

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

Special
arrange-
ments in
Ajmer.
IV. p. 408.

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

Special
system in
the Panjab.
V. pp. 101-4.
V. p. 130.

V. p. 110.

V. p. 103.

V. p. 105.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

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

Forms in
which opium
is consumed
in India.

V. p. 110.
V. p. 57.
III. 18,795,
16,902.
II. p. 426.

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

General
extent of
consumption.

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

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

Province.	Area.	Population (1891).	In 1892-93.				To each Shop.		Annual Consumption of Opium per Head.
			Shops for sale of			Amount of Crude Opium issued.	Mean Area.	Mean Population.	
			Opium.	Smoking Prepara- tions only.	Poppy- heads only.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
	S. Miles.					lbs.	S. Miles.		Grs.
Assam - - -	45,504	5,433,199	866	16	—	109,741	52	6,160	141
Bengal - - -	144,443	71,069,643	1,714†	334	47	159,171	69	33,923	15
Berar - - -	17,718	2,897,491	478	—	—	37,876	37	6,062	91
Bombay - - -	77,275	15,985,270	845	—	—	108,980	91	18,918	47
Sindh - - -	47,789	2,871,774	300	—	—	18,052	159	9,572	44
Central Provinces	81,800*	10,046,546*	1,481‡	182§	—	52,248	49	6,041	34
Madras - - -	141,189	35,630,440	906	98	30	74,984	136	34,459	14
N.W. Provinces -	83,286	34,254,254	839	14¶	—	119,470	97	40,157	24
Oudh - - -	24,217	12,650,831	188	—	—	27,217	129	67,291	15
Panjab - - -	110,667	20,860,918	1,780	—	—	125,292	62	11,158	42
Total - - -	773,388	211,700,361	9,397	644	77	833,031	76	20,923	27

* Excluding mediatized chieftainships.
‡ Including 10 temporary licenses.

† Excluding 1,264 druggists' licenses.
|| Includes the sale of poppy-heads.

‡ Including 508 temporary licenses at fairs and markets.
¶ To be closed on expiration of current licenses.

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

Proportion
of opium
shops to
area and
population.

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

Average
consumption
per head, in
provincial
detail.

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

H. 3009.
V. p. 85.
LII. 10,852.
11,548, 13,867.

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

45. In Bengal, the Orissa Division, which has many damp and malarious tracts, shows a mean consumption of 47 grains annually, or thrice the incidence of the province as a whole. At the other end of the scale are the seven districts of the Patna division of Behar, in all of which the cultivation of the poppy is permitted under the monopoly system. Here the consumption is shown as no more than 2 grains per head of a population of 16 millions. In these districts some opium is believed to be illegally retained by the growers for domestic consumption. Between these extremes we find the districts of the Dacca division, containing a population of nearly 10 millions, with an average consumption of 5 grains per head. The wilder portion of the province, on the hills and table-land of Chutia Nagpur, returns an average consumption of a grain above that in the east delta. The city of Calcutta stands by itself in the tables of Bengal. The population, including that of the suburbs, is shown as consuming no less than 276 grains per head. Bengal.* II. p. 34.

46. Assam is the next province we have to consider. Here the consumption of opium has fallen considerably since the introduction of the system of charging a fee for licenses. In 1873-74, the last year in which the permission to sell was granted free of payment, the amount of opium issued was 152,794 lbs. The price of opium and the license fees having been raised from time to time and other changes having been introduced, by 1877-78 the annual consumption had fallen to 140,480 lbs. In 1883, the present system of licensing individual shops was adopted, and by the year 1892-93 a further falling off had taken place, and the issues for that year were only 109,741 lbs. Under Burmese and the preceding Native, rule, the production of opium was subject to no restriction, and after the annexation by the British in 1826, the same liberty was allowed to continue until 1860. Even now a certain amount of poppy is grown in the surrounding hill tracts, beyond British influence. The details of the returns show that large consumption is confined principally to the Assam valley, along the damp and low-lying country bordering the Brahmaputra River on both sides. Here the general use of the drug which existed before the country came under British rule still widely prevails, and though the amount has decreased, the average annual consumption reaches 357 grains per head. The largest consumers are the Mikir tribe, of whom, according to the estimate of the Commissioner of Excise for the province, from 80 to 85 per cent. eat opium. Amongst the purely Assamese community the proportion is estimated by the same authority not to exceed 30 or 35 per cent. In the southern and western part of the province the average annual consumption is only about 12 grains per head, rising to 30 grains amongst the tribes of the hill tracts. Assam.* II. p. 455. II. 5621, 9016, 9547, 9671. II. p. 458.

47. In the North-West Provinces the average annual consumption is returned at 24 grains per head. In Oudh, during Native rule, which only ended in 1856, there was no restriction on cultivation or sale. The corresponding figure there falls to 15. It must be borne in mind, however, that the cultivation of the poppy is permitted under license in every district of Oudh, a fact which in some degree accounts for the small consumption of licit opium. The existence of a large city in which the traditions of a corrupt Musalman court have not yet been obliterated explains, probably, the high rate of consumption in the Lucknow district, where it is seven times as high as that in the rest of Oudh. The influence in this respect of a large town is not confined to Lucknow alone, since the consumption in the districts in which are situated the towns of Lucknow, Benares, and Cawnpore, in the vicinity of which poppy cultivation has been prohibited since 1877, amounts to 85 grains per head, or nearly five times that of the rest of the combined provinces, where only 18 grains per head are consumed. The increase in actual licit consumption from 125,806 lbs. in 1882-83 to 146,687 lbs. in 1892-3, is attributed chiefly to the more efficient measures taken of late years for the prevention of the use of contraband opium, whether retained by the producers or smuggled from Nipal and elsewhere. North-West Provinces and Oudh.* V. p. 86. V. p. 93. V. p. 86, par. 16, V. p. 90. III. 19,102, 19,530.

48. Our observations in regard to increased consumption of opium in the North-West Provinces apply, with perhaps still greater force, to the increased consumption shown in the Panjab returns within the last nine years. During this period the persistent smuggling that went on along the comparatively unprotected Rajputana frontier has been gradually checked by capture of smugglers' trains, and by allowing a certain amount of Malwa opium to be lawfully imported on payment of duty. The average consumption during the past ten years was 112,394 lbs., but, whereas in the first six years of this period the average was only 95,527 lbs., since the reduction of the duty on Malwa opium in 1888-89, it has risen to 122,474 lbs. Between the years 1887-88 Panjab.* V. p. 110. V. p. 109.

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

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

Ambala	-	68,440
Jalandhar	-	90,320
Ludhiana	-	127,143
Ferozpur	-	81,219
Lahora	-	125,591
Amritsar	-	216,337
Gurdaspur	-	72,395

V. p. 108-9.

III. 16,218,
16,280, 16,259.V. p. 110,
par. 22.
III. 15,713.Bombay
Presidency.

IV. p. 280.

III. 18,545.

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

IV. p. 479.

IV. p. 480.

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

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

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

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

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

51. In the Central Provinces the consumption seems to have remained stationary for some years. In 1833, the amount was returned at 52,496 lbs. ; in 1893, at 52,248 lbs. The rate of consumption varies from 12 grains per head in the Damoh district to 71 in the Wardha district. There used to be much smuggling into these provinces from Central India, and it has not yet been possible to stop it. The real consumption is no doubt greater than is shown by these figures. Most of the districts in these provinces were not annexed until 1854, and the free cultivation of the poppy, allowed under Native rule, was not stopped till some time after annexation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Occupation.	No. of Witnesses.		
	Total.	European and American.	Indian and Chinese.
1. Officials at Head Quarters, Lieut.-Governors and Chief Commissioners.	14	14	—
2. " Divisional and District - - - - -	51	31	20
3. " Political (i.e., employed in connexion with Native States)	6	5	1
4. " Opium and Excise Departments - - - - -	14	11	3
5. " Pensioned - - - - -	12	3	9
6. Military officers - - - - -	27	13	14
7. " pensioners - - - - -	9	—	9
8. Chiefs and officials of Native States - - - - -	87	3	84
9. Landowners and tenants - - - - -	88	4	84
10. Planters - - - - -	12	10	2
11. Merchants and mill-owners - - - - -	83	14	69
12. Christian missionaries and catechists - - - - -	47	40	7
13. Professors and Schoolmasters - - - - -	8	—	8
14. Medical practitioners (under Government) - - - - -	81	65	16
15. " " (private and pensioned) - - - - -	65	13	52
16. " missionaries - - - - -	15	15	—
17. Representatives of Associations* - - - - -	52	9	43
18. Religious teachers (other than Christian) - - - - -	5	—	5
19. Lawyers - - - - -	27	—	27
20. Journalists - - - - -	8	1	7
21. Miscellaneous:—			
(a.) Civil engineers - - - - -	2	2	—
(b.) Labour contractor - - - - -	1	—	1
(c.) Municipal commissioners - - - - -	2	—	2
(d.) Actuary - - - - -	1	1	—
(e.) Writer - - - - -	1	—	1
(f.) Students at college - - - - -	2	—	2
(g.) Without occupation - - - - -	3	3	—
TOTAL - - - - -	723	257	466

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

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

VII. p. 228.

Classification of the Anti-opium witnesses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appreciation of the evidence.

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

General character and weight of medical evidence. II. p. 136. (Q. 5178-97).

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

IV. 27,380, 25,599, 25,609-15, 25,670, 25,686, 25,777-8, 25,780, 25,787, 25,790, 25,842, 25,846, 25,966, 25,977.

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

General motives for taking opium.

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

Use of opium as a domestic remedy.

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

II. 2146-7, 4095.

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

V. App. XIV.

Use of opium in infancy.

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

VII. p. 82.
IV. 20,285,
19,979, 21,318,
24,697.

II. 2299, 2757,
4291.

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

19,529.

Use of opium as a febrifuge.

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

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

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

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

e.g., 2259,
2595, 5911,
9324, 9439,
9961, 26,540,
&c.

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

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

II. 3943, 5738.

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

23,980.

6006, 15,020,

15,888, 16,449,
16,484, 16,517,
17,837, 17,893.

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

Use of opium in cases of fatigue and exposure.

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

II. 10,056,
10,167.

II. 5596,
10,038, 13,886,
14,232, 16,467,
17,662, 17,884,
21,782, 22,665,
23,750, 24,727,
24,904, 26,996,
28,115.

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

Use of opium in the Native army.

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

III. 12,910,
12,935, 14,117,
14,181, 15,753,
15,879, 16,443.

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

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

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

III. 14,222,
14,157, 17,034,
17,561, 12 164.

II. 8406.

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

III. 14,126,
14,134,
15,759-62,
15,926, 17,144,
17,598, 17,826.

Use of opium
as an aphro-
disiac.
II. 2593, 2757,
8637, 9897,
and p. 314.
III. 14,687,
15,672, 19,903
-4.
3464, 3802,
20,286, 20,310,
25,951.

67. Some witnesses stated before us that the most common reason with Natives of India for taking opium is the belief in its power as an aphrodisiac. Many drugs have this reputation with Oriental races, and opium, no doubt, is included amongst them; but the conclusion we have reached is that in India, as a whole, this motive for taking opium is exceptional, though it may be common in some large towns. The subject is examined at length by Sir W. Roberts in his Memorandum.

Use of
opium by
women.
8455, 8519.
10,038.
20,168, 20,278,
24,118.

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

Effects of
the use of
opium.

II. 4286, 5832,
9321.
III. 13,050,
13,996, 14,517,
15,666, 16,775.
IV. 23,520,
24,238, 27,202,
27,339, 27,282.
II. 2363, 9157,
9541.
III. 15, 547,
16,718, 19,073.

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

III. 17,133,
16,515, 16,443,
16,483, 17,053,
17,710 17,837-
40, 17,893,
18,912.

III. 16,902.

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

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

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

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

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

17,153, 17,199-201, 17,351-5, 17,996, 18,455-6.

I. 1112-14.
II. 2667-8, 3780-1, 6048-51.
III. 19,527, 19,898.
IV. 26,026, 27,567, 28,016.

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

Evidence of employers of labour, and of officials as to moderation.

II. 2054, 3183, 3264, 3528, 5174-5.
III. 10,782, 10,818, 13,684, 14,794-5, 15,737, 17,244, 18,144-5.

II. 3567, 5800-3, 6905, 7190, 7916.
III. 12,347, 13,979, 19,492-508.
IV. 22,800, 25,134, 26,696.

IV. 24,682, 24,943.
II. 3810, 3,617.

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

Conclusions as to the effects of the use of opium.

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

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

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

Suicide by
opium.

2605, 2680-7,
4968-75, 4293,
8,985, 11,468,
27,861, 13,114.

V. p. 132.

IV. p. 453,
5952, 13,063,
26,369.

Opium in
relation to
insanity.

Census
Reports,
India,
pp. 228-29.
England
and Wales,
pp. 76 and
90.
U.S.A.
Census Bul-
letin.
Austrian
Census Re-
port.

II. p. 407.

III. 13,886,
14,226,
19,235.
IV. 24,786.
II. 3486-88.
II. pp. 410-
421.

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

74. It has been stated again that the use of opium is one of the causes of insanity in India. Regarding this point we have first to observe that one of the most noteworthy features in the last census of infirmities, which was taken in 1891, is the freedom of the population from insanity, as compared with the prevalence of mental disorder in European countries. In India we find three males and two females mentally unsound in 10,000 of each sex, whilst in England the corresponding figures were 32 and 35; in Scotland 38 and 37, and in Ireland, 47 and 43. In the United States of America the proportions in 1890 were 33 and 31; and in Austria 24 and 19. Then, again, the local distribution of this disorder in India shows that a very large proportion is attributable to the cretinism that seems to affect the inhabitants of some of the hill tracts and of the valleys of certain streams, as it is found to do in Switzerland and other countries. The serial order of the provinces in respect to the prevalence of insanity, to look at the question from another point of view, is by no means in correspondence with that in which they are ranged in relation to the average consumption of opium; nor, moreover, does the distribution by age or sex of the persons thus afflicted establish any link between insanity and the use of that drug. It is to be noted, first, that mental disease amongst males attains its maximum at the time when, according to the bulk of the evidence given before us, the habit of taking opium is only, as a rule, beginning. It is also found that the women who are of unsound mind bear a steadily increasing proportion to the men similarly afflicted, from middle life onwards. This rule obtains notwithstanding that the women do not, as a general practice, take opium. The case would certainly be reversed if opium were a predominating or influential cause of insanity. The statistics from the various lunatic asylums in India, and the evidence given by the medical officers in charge fully corroborate the view that the number of cases in which insanity is traceable to the use of opium is insignificant. In the chief asylum in Oudh, only eight out of 393 admissions were recorded in the five years preceding our inquiry. In Bareilly, again, only three had occurred in four years. In Agra, one case, and that a doubtful one, in eight years. The Superintendent of the Bombay Asylum found only three cases in 11 years. The most complete evidence on the subject is that given by Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Crombie, who quoted statistics of the Bengal asylums for 10 years, showing that during that period, of 2,202 admissions, only eight were opium-eaters. The same witness also presented a valuable paper prepared by him for the Calcutta Medical Society in May 1892, in which the subject is treated in some detail, the conclusions finally drawn being that the opium habit does not pre-dispose to insanity, and that in India the only product comparable with alcohol in its tendency to unhinge the mental faculties is one prepared from hemp (*ganja*). Some of the medical witnesses, indeed, stated that it is probable

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. 5470.

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

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

III. 12,814.

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

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

III. 17,252.

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

III. 17,154.

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

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

III. 16,902.

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

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

OPIUM-SMOKING.

Opium
smoking as
practised
in India.

e.g., 2322, 5825,
11,211, 16,544,
18,624, 14,352,
22,661.

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

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

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

II. 5983.
III. 13,764,
6,612, 18,536,
19,593.
IV. 27,572.
II. 2322.

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

View taken
in the
Straits of
opium
smoking.

No. 27 dated
27th Feb.
1893.

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

Enclosure 2
in the above-
quoted
Despatch.

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

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

Enclosure 4
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Lastly, Mr. O'Brien, acting Auditor-General of the same Colony, writes :—

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

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

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

Recent
action of the
Government
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regards
opium
smoking
shops.
II. 4944.
IV. 24,814-17.
e.g., 5008,
5471.
III. 13,826,
19,568.

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

II. 2765-74.
III. 19,572-90.
II. 8948, 9373,
3072.
IV. pp. 295,
301.

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

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

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View taken in the Straits of opium smoking.

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II. 4944.
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III. 13,826,
19,568.

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

II. 2765-74.
III. 19,572-90
II. 8948, 9373
3072.
IV. pp. 295,
301.

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

SECTION III.

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

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

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

Name of Protected States.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Hyderabad - - - - -	82,698	11,537,040
Baroda - - - - -	8,226	2,415,396
Mysore - - - - -	27,936	4,943,604
Kashmir - - - - -	80,900	2,543,952
Native States in Rajputana - - - - -	130,268	12,016,102
Do. in Central India - - - - -	77,808	10,318,812
Native States under the Bombay Government:—		
(a.) In Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch - - - - -	50,515	5,361,141
(b.) In other parts of the Presidency - - - - -	18,530	2,698,157
Native States in Madras - - - - -	9,609	3,700,622
Do. in Bengal - - - - -	35,834	3,296,379
Do. in Central Provinces - - - - -	29,435	2,160,511
Do. in North-West Provinces - - - - -	5,109	792,491
Do. in Punjab - - - - -	38,299	4,263,280
	595,167	66,047,487

I.—Native States under the Malwa Opium System.

Introductory.

Meaning of
the term
Malwa.

21,867.

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11
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22

22,170.

22,174.

22,274.

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

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

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

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

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

Course of present inquiry in Rajputana and Central India, and general character of evidence.

IV. App. IV., App. X.

IV. 21,868.

IV. App. VI.
IV. App. XI.

IV. pp. 14, 15, 21,349, 21,352.

Present inquiry regarding Baroda and

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

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

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

VII. p. 49.

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

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

VII. p. 53.

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

Treaty arrangements for direct restriction of production of Malwa opium.

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

VII. pp. 55-6.

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

† One of these Treaties is given at pages 56 and 57 of App. B. of Vol. VII. of our Report, from Aitchison's Treaties, 3rd edition, Vol. 1V., pages 174-176.

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

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

Reasons for abandonment of direct restriction of production in Malwa. ✓

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rutlam. Dhar. Ujjain. Udaipur.
Chittore. Jaora. Bhopal. Mandasaur.

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

II. p. 359.

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

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

I. p. 162.

II. 2398.

II. 2495 to 2501.

IV. 21,811.

* The duty was raised in December 1894 to Rs. 650 a chest (Government of India Resolution in the Finance Department, No. 6064, dated the 11th December 1894).

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

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

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

Present arrangements with the Baroda State.

II. p. 357.
IV. 22,604.

IV. 22,610.

IV. p. 456.

II. p. 358.

IV. 22,420-422, 22,616.

II. p. 358.

Present arrangements with States in Gujarat and Kathiawar, &c.

II. p. 360-1.

II. p. 356.

IV. p. 480.

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

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

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

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

Production of Opium.

Production of opium in the States of Rajputana.

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

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

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

IV. 20,411.

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

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

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Percentage of Rajputs.	Approximate Acreage under Poppy Cultivation.
Jeypore	15,349	2,832,276	4.5	3,000
Meywar	12,861	1,862,478	7.4	50,000
Pertabgarh	959	87,875	Not known	8,383
Jhallawar	3,043	343,601	2.4	28,625
Kotah	3,803	526,276	3	22,765
Bundi	2,225	295,675	3.4	1,871
Tonk	1,415	198,314	5.6	14,010
Karauli	1,229	156,587	5.6	1,180
Banswara	1,605	180,916	7	950
Kishengarh	874	125,516	5.3	173
Dungarpore	1,440	156,000	6.7	2,285
Dholpur	1,156	279,890	9.6	268
Shahpura	406	63,646	3.5	570
Bhartpore	1,961	640,303	—	—
Bikanir	23,090	831,955	8	Nil.
Jaisalmir	16,039	115,701	24.5	Nil.
Marwar	34,963	2,521,727	9.7	Nil.
Sirohi	1,966	188,977	8.7	Nil.
Ulwar	30,512	767,786	3.6	Nil.
Total	130,268	12,016,102	—	134,080

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

System of production and manufacture of opium in Rajputana.

IV. 27,035.

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

Production of opium in

the States of
Central
India.
IV. App. XI.

IV. 22,068.

IV. App. XI.
21,869.

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

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

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Approximate Acreage under Poppy.
Gwalior	29,047	3,378,774	113,711
Indore	8,400	1,099,990	76,254
Bhopal	6,784	952,486	21,753
Jaora	581	117,650	10,847
Ratlam	729	89,160	9,051
Dhar	1,739	169,474	9,377
Estates subordinate to Dhar		10,486	
Narsingarh	720	117,280	11,038
Rajghar	642	119,489	9,174
Sitamau	350	33,307	3,076
Dewas (junior branch)	134	69,684	5,639
Dewas (senior branch)	155	82,389	5,658
Sailana	123	31,512	3,315
Khilchipur	204	36,302	3,104
Piploda	60	12,792	1,446
	49,668	6,319,775	283,439

System of
production
and manu-
facture in
Central
India.

IV. 22,203.

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

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

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

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

Production of opium in the Baroda State.

22,499-502.

22, 513.

IV. App.

XIV. p. 424.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

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

General character of opium consumption in Rajputana.

IV. 20,627.

V. 380.

IV. App. I.

IV. 20,604.

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

20,180.
20,150.
21,665.
21,664.
21,668.
21,689.
IV. 20,698.

IV. 22,57

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. 20,285.
20,992.
21,073.
21,555.

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

Consumption of opium in the States of Central India.

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

IV. 21945.
21,963-65.

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

IV. 408.
22,084.
22,085.
23,061.

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

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

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

IV. 22,619.

24,573.

24,574.
24,599, &c.

Export of Malwa Opium.

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

Export of
Malwa
opium to
China and
the far East.

IV. App. XI.

IV. 22,090.
22,091.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. 22,209.

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

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

Name of States.	Classification of Claims.	Amount.
Rajputana States (See page 18, Vol. IV.)	Direct loss to States, petty Chiefs, and Jagirdars	Rx. 329,603
	Loss to cultivators	449,338
	Loss to money lenders, traders, and others	2,142,301
	Loss to consumers	56,547
	Total	Rx. 2,977,789
Central India States (See pages 89 and 90, Vol. IV.)	Direct loss to States	708,125
	Loss to cultivators	663,808
	Loss to money lenders, traders, and others	230,426
	Total	Rx. 1,602,369
	Grand total	Rx. 4,580,158

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

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

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

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

Introductory.

Course of the present inquiry regarding the remaining

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

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

Protected States.

IV. p. 499.
IV. pp. 359-60, 500-501.

Arrangements for Provision of Opium.

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

Arrangements with Kashmir and other Native States in the Punjab.
V. p. 126.

V. p. 104.

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

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

Arrange-
ments in
force with
the Hyder-
abad State.
IV., p. 500.

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

IV., p. 511.

II., p. 370.

27,903.

Arrange-
ments in
force with
Mysore and
Madras
States.

II., p. 370.

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

Consumption of Opium.

The con-
sumption of
opium in
these Native
States.

II. p. 356.

V. p. 126.

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

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

sumed. In Hyderabad the average yearly consumption is returned at 31 grains per head for the whole population, but in the city the rate is about 124 grains. IV. p. 502. Opium is generally taken in the form of pills, but the custom of drinking *Kasumbha* is not followed, either in the Sikh States or in Hyderabad, though in the former the decoction made by steeping poppyheads in water is used to some extent. The smoking of preparations of the drug is little known. The practice is authoritatively forbidden in the Patiala State, and the keeping of shops for this purpose is said to be prohibited by law in the Nizam's dominions, though it is admitted that in practice the police do not interfere with *Madak* shops, of which there are a large number, in the Hyderabad city. V. p. 125. IV. p. 501. 27,904.

III.—General Conclusions regarding the Protected States.

122. It remains for us to summarise our general conclusions regarding the use of opium in the Protected States. In some of these States, especially in the South of India, the opium habit has practically no existence, and these conclusions, therefore, are mainly applicable to the Sikh States in the Punjab; to the Rajputana and Central India States; to Baroda and the States in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, and to Hyderabad. It may be said broadly that in these States opium occupies the same place as in British India. It is used as a domestic remedy, as a protection, so far as the belief of the people goes, against fever and chills, as a stimulant in the case of exhaustion from fatigue and exposure, and as a restorative in the declining years of life. It is also used as an aphrodisiac. The practice of administering opium during infancy is common throughout these States, and in Rajputana and Central India, is more widely prevalent, and probably of greater antiquity, than in other parts of the country; while in the same region, and in the group of States where Rajput influence is dominant, the customary use of opium at ceremonies and in social life has its strongest sanction. We think that it must be recognised that the social obligation to offer opium on these occasions is weaker than it was, owing to the operation of various causes which have been already discussed, but the evidence has shown beyond doubt that these customs still possess a very real hold on important classes of the population. The taking of opium by young men is regarded with disfavour, though this feeling is less marked among the Rajputs than among other classes, and smoking preparations of the drug is not only popularly condemned, but has been made the subject of prohibitory legislation or regulations in a number of States, though it may be doubtful how far the prohibition is really operative, except perhaps in Baroda. We are satisfied that these popular uses of opium, whether judged by the character and scope of the evidence given before us, or by the broad lessons to be learnt from the growth of population, cannot be said to cause any general deterioration, moral or physical, and we say this in full knowledge of the fact that among some of the higher classes of the community cases of excess, though never common, are probably more frequent in Native States than in British India. The Foreign Minister of Patiala, the chief Sikh State, speaks of the practice of taking opium as being moderate and reasonable, while excess is "extremely limited." III. 16,219-20. The Minister of Hyderabad has stated emphatically that the use of opium does not constitute a public evil in that State, and the view expressed by the Maharaja Holkar, with reference to Indore, that the consumption of opium is, as a rule, moderate, and that a moderate use is not prejudicial in any way, has received the fullest support and confirmation from the evidence regarding the other Native States in that part of India. We consider, moreover, that the remarks on this subject made by Mr. Crosthwaite, the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, deserve special weight. Mr. Crosthwaite is not prepared himself to say that the use of opium is either necessary or beneficial to health, though he speaks with confidence as to this view being held by a large proportion of the Native population. He points out, however, that if the use of opium necessarily or even generally led to excess, and so to the degradation of the consumers, these results would certainly be traceable in the statistics of population and in the decline of the village communities of Malwa, where opium consumption is relatively widespread and is known to have been in existence for centuries. But, in reality, no such decline is to be found, and the figures of the Census of 1891 show an increase of 9 per cent. in the population of these States during the preceding ten years. As to the general disposition of the people of the Protected States and their rulers there can be no question whatever. A large majority of the population look upon the use of opium in the ways already described, as an ordinary incident of their daily life, not open, at any rate, to objection. Interference with their personal habits and social customs would assuredly arouse feelings of resentment and discontent, which would be intensified in the case of the States where the pecuniary interests of the cultivators IV. p. 499, para. 3. IV. p. 102. 21,817. 21,812.

III. 16,316.
IV. 24,622.

III. 16,225,
16,263,
16,331,
20,435,
20,604,
20,772,
21,655,
21,814,
21,873,
22,217,
IV. p. 102,
27,916,
27,949-50,
IV. p. 499,
pars. 10 and
11.

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

IV. 20, 782,
21,858.

IV. p. 110,
para. 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION IV.

THE EXPORT OF INDIAN OPIUM TO CHINA AND THE STRAITS.

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

Comparative
bulk of ex-
ported and
excise opium.

II. p. 345.

* A maund
= 82·28 lbs.

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

II. p. 347.

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

Quantity of
opium ex-
ported from
India.

II. p. 389.

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

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

Country to which exported.	1883-4.	1884-5.	1885-6.	1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.	1889-90.	1890-1.	1891-2.	1892-3.
China - - -	83,728	75,391	76,115	83,124	76,815	72,891	70,102	70,855	70,805	59,771
Straits Settlement - -	7,320	10,134	10,728	11,896	12,368	13,995	13,749	13,915	15,035	12,609
Cochin China, &c. - -	771	910	1,000	1,150	670	725	1,050	480	880	2,170
Java - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	125	450
Philippines - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	280	470	170
Ceylon - - -	83	167	77	94	102	90	119	103	113	127
Mauritius - - -	44	25	19	38	67	5	60	55	53	53
Réunion - - -	3	4	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
East Africa - - -	11	7	7	16	19	18	16	17	6	10
Natal - - -	3	—	2	1	1	13	2	1	6	5
United Kingdom - -	—	—	—	19	54	51	48	47	61	17
Other countries - -	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	4	1
Total exported - -	91,963	86,578	87,956	95,839	90,096	87,789	85,166	95,753	87,558	75,384

II. 5427,
5316, 5375,
5392.

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

* The figures of excise opium are given by the Government of India in maunds. For the purpose of comparison, they have been reduced to provision chests at 1·70 maunds per chest.

† The totals in the above table are no doubt accurate, but the exporters do not appear in some cases to give the details of distinction correctly. The French and Siamese Governments have State monopolies of the import and sale of opium. The former Government imports to Saigon direct from Calcutta. The latter takes from 1,000 to 1,200 chests annually from Singapore. There is a large consumption of opium not only in Java, but also in the Dutch possessions in Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, and the Moluccas. In some of these tracts the Dutch Government, reserving to itself the right of import, brings opium from India and the Levant and supplies both kinds to the licensed vendors. In other tracts the licensed vendors are allowed to procure their own opium, which they appear to get mainly from Singapore. The total amount of opium legitimately imported in these ways into Dutch possessions in 1893 seems to have been equal to about 3,800 chests. In addition, the amount smuggled is admitted to be large. Some Dutch writers estimate it to be equal to the licit supply.

II. 5369-72.

V. p. 160.

V. p. 146.

V. App.

XXVII.

V. p. 344.

Friend of
China, XII.,
p. 61,260.

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

V. pp. 146-7.
V. pp. 344-5.

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

Scope of the inquiry as regards China.

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

Evidence taken in England.

I. 1668.

I. 1772.

I. 790, 1751,
1618, 2012.

I. 1394.

V. p. 143.

I. p. 111.

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

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

I. p. 146.

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

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

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

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

V. pp. 146-184.

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

V. p. 148.

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

V. p. 173.

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

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

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

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

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

HONG KONG.

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

V. p. 184-212.

V. p. 143.

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

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

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

V. p. 192.

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

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

CHINA.

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

V. p. 214.

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

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

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

“The effects of opium vary, but it appears to me, that the ordinary Chinese have but a poorly developed moral sense on many matters, in regard to which the Christian nations of Europe hold decided opinions. The effects of opium, also physically, cover a wide range of experience. Many who smoke but twice or thrice a day do not appear to suffer any physical weakness. I question frequently men who tell me they have smoked for years, and no marks of physical deterioration are very manifest.” V. p. 218.

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

“By a high principled Chinaman, the use of opium would be pronounced degrading; but I do not think such is at all the general opinion. * * * * A new arrival usually finds that his ideas, moulded on statements current at home, are immensely exaggerated; he seldom comes across that type of the degraded opium victim with the description of whom we have in our earlier days been so familiar. Still, after more mature experience and looking into the question with an unbiassed mind, he must admit that the habit is an evil. But what race has no pleasant vice? Opium is a solace to the wretched and luckless, and a stimulant to the hard-working and poorly-fed breadwinner, too often handicapped by malaria in the struggle for existence. As with most of nature's gifts to suffering humanity, abuse often converts the blessing into a curse. But look at the matter how we will, whether or not in its use or abuse it is a danger to the individual, to society, or to the State; we most unhesitatingly declare that the opium habit is in every respect a lesser evil than the consumption of alcohol.” V. p. 218.

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

“It occurs to me to add in connexion with the above answers that, upon my arrival in China, I was naturally prejudiced with regard to the opium habit, and that it is only on conviction that I now speak. To emphasise my position it is right to add that, apart from the interest I have taken in this matter for some years past and the constant desire to avail myself of all practical information, is the fact that as editor of the only medical journal in China, I have had more extended facilities for examining into the question than ordinarily falls to the individual medical man. Such being the case, I, though in all diffidence, state that it is my firm conviction that the evils of the opium habit, though they are many and great, have been exaggerated, and the good derived from it but little recognised. With regard to contrasting opium and alcohol, it seems to me but the conflicting of essential requirements of the eastern and western worlds.” V. p. 331.

We may also refer particularly to the answers of Dr. Myers, who, like Dr. Matthews, has made the effects of the opium habit the subject of special observation and inquiry. V. p. 324.

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

142. We now turn to the political aspect of the question. References to past history are a prominent topic in the speeches and pamphlets of those who are working for the prohibition of the export of opium from India to China. We do not feel that we are called upon, as a Commission, to pass a judgment on the disputed facts of history, nor are we qualified to do so. This aspect of the question has been dealt with in a Memorandum by our colleague, Sir James Lyall, supplemented by Notes prepared for us by Mr. Dane, of the India Civil Service, which are appended to our Report. We wish to express our general concurrence in the conclusions at which our colleague has arrived, that opium was exported from India to China before European nations appeared in the Indian seas; that opium-smoking was a habit in existence in China before British rule began in India, and at a time when British merchants took little or no part in the opium trade, and that to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is, to say the least, an exaggeration. Political and historical considerations. VII. p. 64. See infra, p. 120.

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

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

China 3 of
1882, C.
3395, p. 45.

Do., p. 56.

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

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

VII. App. D.

drug, being estimated by Lord Elgin to be about 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. It had been subjected also to a varying rate of *li-kin*, or internal transit duty, at the different ports of entry, as the Chinese Government might think fit.

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

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

Additional
Article, Cl. 7 (3 of
1886), p. 6)
Treaty, Cl. xxvii.
Elgin Corres.,
1869, p. 351.
Regulations,
Cl. 3 and 6,
Elgin Corres.,
p. 432, Hansard,
52, p. 316.

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

“ That if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or to shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend 1*l.* in powder or shot, or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese.”

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

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

Consular
Decentr.
Reports,
1893.

Consular
Dec. Report,
pp. 445, 483.

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

* Given as the 30th September in Return, C. 4448 (5 of 1885).

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Atterbury:—

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

The Rev. Dr. Griffith Johns:—

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

The Rev. J. Macintyre:—

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

SECTION V.

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS.

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

Direct loss
or revenue.

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

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

Head of Account.	1880-81.	1893-94 (Budget Estimate.)	Averages.			
			1880-81 to 1883-84.	1884-85 to 1888-89.	1889-90 to 1893-94.	1880-81 to 1893-94.
REVENUE.						
CREDITED TO OPIUM:—	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
(a) Bengal sales - - -	7,683,558	5,463,000	7,210,759	6,183,398	5,978,476	6,403,743
(b) Malwa Pass-duty - - -	2,526,236	1,645,000	2,403,732	2,360,464	1,758,243	2,157,748
(c) Cost of Excise opium - - -	225,046	199,000	202,545	197,108	212,001	203,980
(d) Miscellaneous - - -	45,211	9,200	32,611	14,978	8,079	17,552
TOTAL, OPIUM - - -	10,480,051	7,316,200	9,849,647	8,755,948	7,956,799	8,783,023
CREDITED TO EXCISE:—						
(a) License fees - - -	213,648	241,595	234,211	252,165	262,677	250,789
(b) Profit on opium issued - - -	553,191	669,589	602,070	657,498	718,680	663,512
(c) Punjab acreage duty - - -	3,076	3,000	3,969	3,327	3,772	3,592
TOTAL, EXCISE - - -	769,915	914,184	839,979	912,990	985,129	917,890
TOTAL REVENUE - - -	11,249,966	8,230,384	10,689,626	9,668,938	8,941,928	9,700,916
EXPENDITURE.						
UNDER OPIUM:—						
(a) Bengal - - -	2,026,411	2,250,000	2,052,808	2,748,393	1,896,125	2,245,273
(b) Malwa - - -	1,917	3,900	2,023	3,714	3,862	3,283
TOTAL, OPIUM - - -	2,028,408	2,253,900	2,054,831	2,752,107	1,899,987	2,248,556
UNDER EXCISE - - -	9,505	8,180	8,467	6,512	8,003	7,603
REFUNDS - - -	109	100	760	170	63	300
EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND - - -	106	1,100	1,227	3,064	1,057	1,822
TOTAL EXPENDITURE - - -	2,038,128	2,263,280	2,065,285	2,761,853	1,909,110	2,258,281
NET REVENUE - - -	9,211,838	5,967,104	8,624,341	6,907,085	7,032,818	7,442,635

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

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

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

Importance
of the opium
revenue.

II. 2058,
2072.

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

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

Heads of Revenue.	Net Revenue.	Per-centage on total Net Revenue.
	Rx.	
Land - - - - -	20,517,972	40·87
Salt - - - - -	8,028,861	16·00
Opium - - - - -	7,032,820	14·01
Stamps - - - - -	4,072,223	8·11
Excise - - - - -	3,878,122	7·73
Provincial rates - - - - -	3,502,292	6·98
Assessed taxes - - - - -	1,603,297	3·19
Customs - - - - -	1,460,182	2·91
Forests - - - - -	664,471	1·32
Registration - - - - -	188,025	0·38
Tribute from Native States - - - - -	775,180	1·54
Total - - - - -	51,723,445	103·04
<i>Deduct assignments and compensation - - - - -</i>	<i>1,520,415</i>	<i>3·04</i>
Net Revenue - - - - -	50,197,030	100·00

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

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

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

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

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

II. 5305.

III. 10,795,
10,843,
10,965,
11,129,
12,175,
12,346,
12,375,
13,693.

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

II. 5251, p.
400 (map).
III. 11,322,
10,802,
10,815.

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

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

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

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

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

Indirect loss of revenue on account of compensation to various interests in the Protected States.

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

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

III. 18,72.
Vol. IV.,
App. IV.
and XI.

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

Difficulty of finding means to replace the opium revenue.

"We may fairly take the total *net* revenue from opium at Rx. 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 Rx. 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 Rx. 6,000,000. Some revenue could, of course, be raised by additional taxation, but not Rx. 6,000,000. I have no doubt that the people in this country would bear some additional taxation, if the taxation were imposed in consequence of some disaster which we could not have avoided; but the imposition of heavy or perhaps of any considerable amount of taxation on the people of India, in order to make good the loss of revenue caused by interference with the consumption or export of opium, would cause most serious discontent among the people of India. I should be most unwilling to face the consequences of taxation imposed for such a purpose.

II. 2058.

* * * * *

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

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

II. p. 160.

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

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

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

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

IV. p. 314.

(27,839.) "My firm is not interested in buying or selling opium; we have nothing to do with it as merchants."

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

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

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

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

Suggestions
in relief
of the
financial
difficulty.
II. 2572-8.

II. 2073-6,
5760.
5782-4.
IV. 26,867-9,
26,866.

II. 2070.

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

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

I. p. 163-4.
II. 2116,
2467,
2561-9,
2733,
III. 12,548
-50, 13,957
14,760-67,
18,308.

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

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

SECTION VI.

THE QUESTION OF PROHIBITION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stoppage of transit of Malwa opium for export by sea not justifiable.

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

Would lead to extensive smuggling into British territory.

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

Examination of moral objections to the export trade in Malwa opium.

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

B.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF BRITISH PROVINCES.

The moral objections to the export trade in Bengal opium.

I. 5. 106.

II. 277, 2461.

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

Examination of these objections.

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

reference to its duties to the people of India it cannot be justly required to go further and to extinguish the trade. In regard to the admission of Indian opium, China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent. The Convention of 1885, by which the trade is now regulated, is based on principles specifically proposed by the Chinese Minister who conducted the negotiations, as being those most favoured by the Court of Peking. It contains all the provisions which the Chinese Government had pressed upon that of Great Britain, and, in the words of the Marquis Tseng,* those provisions "find their strongest guarantee in the moral obligation imposed upon his Government by the consideration that the arrangement was of that Government's own proposing." Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in announcing to the Government of India his acquiescence in the terms proposed by the Chinese, gave one of his reasons for so doing in the following words:—

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

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

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

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

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

Marquis Tseng's Mem., No. 29, of 23rd March 1883. Do. do. Mem. of 30th Sept. 1884. China, 5, of 1885 (C. 4448).

VII. p. 315.

Financial and political objections to withdrawal from the export trade.

10,797, 10,873,
19,449, 11,002,
11,117, 11,329,
11,415, 12,518,
12,833, 19,781-5.

Withdrawal would have no practical effect on consumption in China.

Decennial Consular Reports, 1892, pp. 49, 176, 300, 449, 642, &c.

Statistics of Government of India, 1894, p. 61. Decennial Consular Rep. pp. 12, 34, 50, 88, 137, 669 V. pp. 338, 243, 257, 265, 269, 263, 284, 287, 293, 301, 307, 313, 341, 232, 273, 293, 284.

Consideration of two special arguments for withdrawal.

Hansard, 352, p. 204. Debates XIV., p. 639.

I. 1791, 1840, 1856.

* This is quoted as the Memo. of the 30th September in the Parliamentary Return C.—4448.

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

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

I. 217, 335, 393.
I. p. 164-5.
Hansard, 68.
Hansard, 391.
Hansard, 325.
Hansard, 1160-62.
Debates, XIV.,
p. 613.

Moral objections to present system of opium administration in British India.
Sect. VIII.

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

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

I. 1144.
II. 2987.

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

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

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

Enforcement of prohibition impracticable.

I. p. 163.

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

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

c.g. 2514-5, 4341-8325, 9067, 10,570-9, 12,007, 13,035, 13,140-2, 15,535-6, 18,934, 19,040, 20,111, 20,150, 27,845.

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

Want of medical agency.

c.g. 2674, 9060, 8848, 6018, 9651, 15,199, 18,927, 27,845.

Home Department statistics, 1894.

II. 2147.

II. 3535.

e.g. 442-6, 4472,
4619, 5439, 10,575-
80, 13,143, 14,540,
20,156, 13,153,
13,235, 14,070,
15,202, 17,308.

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

**Want of
druggists.**

e.g. 14,072, 17,961,
16,637, 15,634,
13,129, 14,544.

14,085, 18,927.

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

**Regulation
of sale of
poisons.**

e.g. 15,152, 15,543.

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

I. 7, 116-8.
II. 2,491-2, 3,387.
IV. 24,702-6.

**Disposition
of the people
towards
prohibition.**

e.g. 8407, 8450,
8489, 8779, 10,225,
16,076, 19,044,
19,092, 13,230,
13,805, 11,779,
10,711, 17,698,
18,073, 17,516,
3185, 6104, 6225,
6374, 10,632,
13,237, 16,712,
18,117, 24,371,
18,325, 22,737,
24,427, 22,737,
22,747, 22,803,
23,616, 23,767,
24,016,
17,659.

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

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

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

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

Question.

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

(18,615.) Will you justify that?

Answer.

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

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

e.p. 6876, 5903.

18,142, 18,238,
24,697, 24,895,
27,316.

17,974, 20,069.

8072, 14,075,
15,698, 15,654,
11,705, 18,189,
9331, 8442-6,
9440, 9504,
23,455, 23,359,
15,532, 20,041,
2824-30, 20,119,
14,780-7, 18,308.

Attitude of
Indian
political
associations.

II. p. 313.

III. 14,789.
See "Abkari,"
Oct. 1893.

III. 13,260
14,783-9, 15,589-9,
16,784, 18,432.

Question.

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

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

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

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

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

Answer.

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

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

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

Yes.

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

III. 12,502-59.

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

Question.

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

(12,527.) Some of them?

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

Answer.

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

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

They are very few.

Evidence of Europeans in India on the subject of prohibition.

273, 265, 2782, 11,018, 11,070 80, 11,308 3, 21,401, 21,400, 23,310, 23,333, 23,457.

Missionary statistics, 1890.

III. 12,809-12, 11, 438, V. 138, IV. 25,503.

17,157, 17,253, 16,925, 16,300, 5470, 8680, 8767.

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

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

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

II. 4325-9.

17,252,8659.
 III. 11,584-86,
 11,618, 12,961-96,
 11,760, 11,993.
 IV. 21,389,
 21,405, 21,465,
 21,508 7, 23,309,
 23,333-7, 23,464,
 23,362, 26,286,
 26,309, 26,551,
 26,431, 26,498,
 26,514, 27,003,
 27,178-204,
 27,311-699,
 28,107, 28,169.

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

II. p. 439-525.

10,038, 10,109,
 10,145, 10,308,
 11,117, 12,347,
 12,766, 5,787.
 V. p. 136.

II. p. 439, 525.
 IV. 26,850,
 II. 3,191, 4,969,
 III. 10,785,
 10,847, 17,233,
 19,099.

Question.

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

Answer.

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

III. 14,888.

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

III. 14,852.

III. 18,147.

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

Summary of conclusions regarding prohibition.

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

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

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

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

SECTION VII.

CHANGES SHORT OF TOTAL PROHIBITION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"77.

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

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

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

II. 2588.

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

III. 12,081-
2, 12,522,
12,346,
12,938-91,
12,754-98,
12,872-93,
14,042,
14,050,
14,914-7,
19,131-34,
II. p. 325.

II. 2913-9,
2971-5.

III. 12,062,
12,321,
11,209,
11,328,
11,721.

Policy of
Government
as regards
limitation of
production.

Hansard,
352, pp. 323,
343.

II. p. 344.

II. 2086.

Hansard,
352,
pp. 1152-3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Suggestions
as to the
Opium
Department.
III. 12,079;
12,396-454,
12,052.
V. pp. 140,
354.

V. App. I.
pp. 6, 19, 22,
&c.
III. 12,124-
48.

II. 2948.
III. 12,326.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION VIII.

OPIUM ARRANGEMENTS IN BURMA.

Introductory.

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

Scope of the inquiry made in Burma.

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

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

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

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

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

Course of proceedings.

8371-3.

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

II. pp. 523-4,
536.

II. 524-5.

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

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

II. App.
XXXVIII. XL.
I.

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

Historical Account of Opium Excise Systems in Lower Burma.

Opium in
Lower
Burma,
before Brit-
ish rule.

VII. p. 30-32.

VII. p. 34.

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

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

II. p. 563-4.

annexation of Pegu in 1852 the punishment of death was there proclaimed against Burmans using opium, yet the drug could then easily be obtained at a cheaper rate than at present. More than one of the older Burmese gentlemen consulted in 1878, when special inquiries were first instituted regarding the history of the habit, admitted that it had always existed among Burmans, but said that before annexation it was confined to a vicious class who practised it in a more or less concealed way. II. 8004.

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

203. At the time of the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, the retail sale of opium in Bengal appears to have been generally conducted under the farming system, the privilege of sale for specified tracts or districts being let by tender or auction to selected individuals. These farmers were bound to sell only Excise opium, manufactured at the Government factories, issued to them at a fixed price which included a duty over and above the cost price of the opium. Under this system opium was taxed in two ways, first by the price the farmer paid for his monopoly, and secondly, by the price he paid for the opium. The same system was extended to the territory acquired in Burma, and Bengal Excise opium was sold there in the same manner as in other parts of the Bengal Presidency. This seems to have been done in ordinary course without discussion, and without protest from any quarter. The number of shops allowed appears to have been limited, and the sale to have been confined to seaport towns and places where a demand for the drug was found to exist. II. p. 426.

204. In 1847, in order to check the traffic in illicit or smuggled opium, which was found to be prevalent and uncontrollable, the farming system was abolished in Bengal, and licenses for the retail sale of Excise opium were granted, free of charge, to respectable and responsible persons throughout that part of India. This made illicit or Excise opium cheaper, as the only duty levied on it was included in the price at which it was issued to the vendors. These arrangements weakened the inducements to smuggle in other opium. Arakan, being closely connected by land and sea with Bengal proper, and, therefore, specially open to smuggling, was subsequently brought under the new system of free licenses. On the other hand, Tenasserim, being at a distance, and separated by what was then the Burmese Province of Pegu, was left under the old system. Pegu, when annexed, was treated in the same way. In both Pegu and Tenasserim it may be said that the opium was always highly taxed, and the number of shops strictly limited, but in Arakan the unfortunate issue of licenses free of charge for the sale of opium was no doubt one of the causes which led there to a large increase in the consumption of the drug. It was probably of this system, and its abuses, that an old native resident of Arakan was thinking when he told Colonel Strover, as reported by that officer in the inquiry of 1891, that he had seen Government opium hawked about the streets of Akyah in the early days of British rule. Introduction into Arakan of system of licenses for sale free of charge. II. p. 426.

The subject attracted Sir Arthur Phayre's attention shortly after his appointment as Chief Commissioner of the Burma Province, and in 1864 he strongly condemned the change of system which had been introduced in Arakan. "The Chief Commissioner," he wrote, "left Arakan in 1852. At that time the old system of farming out the various Abkari shops existed. A high price was paid for the privilege of selling opium, ganja, and spirits by different farmers. The price of the drug or liquor was high to the consumer; the consequence was that, although a fair amount of revenue was derived from the Abkari, the number of consumers, especially of opium, was small; they were also principally persons in the seaport town of Akyah. The Chief Commissioner had Arakan placed under him in 1862. He II. p. 556.

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

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

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

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

II. p. 514.

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

See also Provincial Excise Report for 1867-68.

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

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

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

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

II. p. 516.

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

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

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

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

Abolition of farming system and introduction of system of licensing single shops
II. p. 516.

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

II. p. 518.

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

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

H. of Comm. Return, 266 2nd June 18

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

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

Proposals of
Sir C.
Bernard.

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

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

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

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

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

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

System introduced into Upper Burma.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a second report, dated the 20th April 1888 the evidence is quoted of a high official of the late Burmese Government, U. Pei Sei, magistrate of the city of Mandalay, under both King Mindon and King Thebaw. It was as follows: "The Burmese Government never openly recognised the opium and liquor traffic in Upper Burma; those persons only were punished who sold opium and liquor to Burmans. The Burmese Government admitted the existence of the traffic by levying customs dues through an officer called Dewun Akunwun, on all liquor and opium imported into Upper Burma."

Parl. Return
C.—338, of
1888, p. 9.

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

On this subject we have, also, the evidence of the Rev. J. S. Adams, of the American Baptist Mission, who gave evidence before the Commission in London. He was in Upper Burma from 1874 to 1879, that is, in the last years of King Mindon Min, and in the first year of King Thebaw, whom we deposed in 1885. According to his evidence, the prohibition of the use of opium and liquor by Burmans was at that time strongly enforced by the native authorities in Upper Burma; the Buddhist priests actively co-operating with the King and his officers in the matter, acting as spies upon the people in this and other actions contrary to the Buddhist law, and themselves bringing accusations against the offenders. But this was, so to speak, a law personal to the Burmans, not a territorial law; for Mr. Adams also says that the Chinese, Shans, and Kachins were not interfered with. They bought their opium and opium-pipes with them, and smoked without restriction. It has been noted above, that in 1872 (two years before Mr. Adams was in Mandalay), the British Political Agent there was reporting to the Government of India that much Yunnan and Shan opium was imported into Upper Burma at a low duty, and was, he thought, smuggled into British Burma. Mr. Adams believed the prohibition to have been effectual in the case of the Burmans, and it may have been so in Mindon Min's time, but there is evidence to show that the effect was spasmodic and very far from complete at any time. Mindon Min was a great zealot in religion, much under the influence of the priests, and constantly exerted himself to compel the Burmans to conform to the Buddhist law of abstinence from intoxicants. His father, Tharawaddi, is said to have gone mad from intemperance, and he himself was a priest before he became King. These

I. 308.

I. 312-14.

II. 76:1, 7692

II. 8013.

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

II. 8004. facts may explain his special activity in supporting the priesthood in enforcing the religious law of abstinence. Under his successor, King Thebaw, according to Mr. Smeaton's evidence before the Commission, Mindon Min's prohibitive edicts were almost altogether neglected, and even some of the priesthood took to the use of intoxicants. When our troops occupied Mandalay in 1885 enormous stores of opium were found in the Chinese merchants' quarters, and they admitted that they supplied many Burman consumers. This is proved by the report of Mr. Carter, Deputy Commissioner, in the inquiry of 1891, and was confirmed by Mr. Smeaton in his evidence before the Commission. The Rev. Dr. Cushing also stated that opium was secretly consumed, to some extent, by Burmans when he was in the country before annexation, and Mr. J. E. Bridges gave similar evidence. The religious law remained the same, but the degree to which it was enforced in each reign by the secular arm varied according to the character of the King. It should be added that Chinese, Shans, and Kachins were always allowed to possess opium and to import it for their own use.

Excise arrangements sanctioned for Upper Burma in 1888.

Parl. Return (Commons), dated 9th August 1881, p. 9.

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

Policy in Lower Burma, 1885-90.

Parl. Return, C.—6562 of 892, pp. 35, 36.

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

Circumstances in which present System was introduced throughout the Province.

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

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

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

Parl. Returns, C.—5562, of 1892.

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

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

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

Parl. Return,
C.—6562,
pp. 102-105.

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

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

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

II. pp. 538-47.

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

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

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

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

Sir A. Mackenzie's second proposals, 1892. II. 537, 538.

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

Final recommendations by Mr. Fryer.

II. pp. 624-628.

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

Remarks by the Commission on the new system, and on the inquiry and correspondence which preceded it.

II. pp. 628-31.

II. pp. 183-88, 207, 208, 209-14, 225, 240.

233. It is evident that the Government of India accepted the policy of prohibition to Burmans with great hesitation, and the reasons they gave for hesitation in their despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 22nd March 1893, appear to us to be undoubtedly weighty. As to their remarks in that despatch on the returns and reports of the inquiry of 1891, and the conclusions drawn therefrom by Mr. Smeaton and Sir A. Mackenzie, we agree that the estimate of the total number of consumers in Lower Burma cannot be held to be proved by the statistics; but in spite of the gaol returns quoted by the Government of India we are disposed to accept the view of the majority of Burma officers, that the opium habit has been increasing in Lower Burma in recent as well as in earlier years. With the other remarks of the Government of India on the inquiry of 1891 we generally concur, and in particular we entirely agree that the returns of persons morally and physically wrecked by opium are calculated to give a greatly exaggerated idea of the degree to which Burmans are injured physically or morally by the habit. The examination of Mr. Smeaton himself and the other evidence which we have taken in Burma on the point confirm this view. We refer to the evidence of Mr. Bridges, Commissioner, Mr. Irwin, Deputy Commissioner, and Doctors

(Footnote--continued.)

In Lower Burma, shops for the retail sale of opium are retained in places where there is a considerable number of non-Burmans, or of registered Burman consumers, and in Upper Burma, shops are located at places where there is a considerable non-Burman population addicted to the use of opium. The fees charged for the licenses for vend in both promises are determined by public auction. The actual number of shops now licensed is 15 in Lower Burma and 19 in Upper Burma.

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

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

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

Medical practitioners, pharmacists, and Native doctors, are also allowed to sell opium, poppy heads, and medical preparations of opium by retail. Medical practitioners are under no restriction as to the quantity of opium, &c. which they may possess and sell subject to the legal limit of possession by individuals, and are not required to take out licenses.

Pharmacists and Native doctors, however, must be licensed, and the quantities of opium, poppy heads and medical preparations which they may possess and sell are limited. In the case of pharmacists the limit is the same as that fixed for import by sea, viz., 10 sers of poppy heads, one ser of opium, and one ser of medical preparations, and in the case of doctors the limit is 10 sers of poppy heads, and 10 tolas of opium, or of medical preparations of opium.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7532-35.

236. Again, the evidence before us certainly shows that the Burman who takes to opium is more often injured physically and morally than the Indian. This difference is generally attributed to a difference in mind or character. The Burman is more impulsive, pleasure loving, and reckless than the Indian. The latter has more stability of character, more industry, and much more thrift and prudence, inherited perhaps from a harder struggle for existence. These characteristics give the Indian more power of self-control than is possessed by the Burman. It may be noted that the evidence from the Straits Settlements shows a similar difference, in respect to the injurious effect of the opium habit between the Chinaman and the Malay. There seems no doubt that the Malays are more impulsive and excitable than the Chinese, and that the Burmans are much nearer in temperament to them than to the Chinese or Indians.

V. 148.

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

See Annual Excise Reports, Burma, for the years in question.

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

II. 6750.

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

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

Remarks on
manner of
enforcement
of the pro-
hibition in
case of Bur-
mans.

8252.

8079 and 8256.

II. p. 548.
App. L.

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

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

The exemp-
tion of cer-
tain races
in Burma
from prohi-
bition.
The Indians
in Burma.

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

II. 8184, 8187.

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. pp. 345, 346.
II. 7399-402,
8346.
6733, 7028.

7050, 7254.

7415, 7417.

Shans,
Palaungs,
and Kachins
in Burma
proper and
in the Shan
States.

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

6939, 6962,
6964.

7528-9, 7547.

II. pp. 523-4.

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

6923, 6928,
6932.

7317, 7878,
7976.

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

Cultivation
of the poppy

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

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

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

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

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

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

Effects of opium consumption on Shans and Kachins.

6947, 6957, 6960.

7316, 7319. 7863, 7905.

7872, 7904.

7791-2, 7979.

7547.

7916, 7919. 7951, 7952.

II. pp. 523 and 524.

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

II. p. 524.

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

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

7585, 7589,
8386.

7612.

II. 536.

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

8284.

II. App. L.

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

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

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

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

SECTION IX.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political associations silent.

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

Native opinion must be distinctly in favour of the change.

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

Financial consideration.

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

The China question.

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

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

The evil less than it has been represented in England.

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

Present regulations are of restrictive tendency.

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

Sufficiency of evidence produced.

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

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

Opium in
Burma.

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

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

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

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

Prohibition
except for
medical
purposes.

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

Extension of
prohibition
to the Pro-
tected States.

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

Discontinu-
ance of the
Bengal
export trade.

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

Extinction
of the Malwa
export trade.

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

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

Financial
considerations.

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

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

Changes in
system short
of prohibi-
tion.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. A. BAINES (*Secretary*).

London, 16th April 1895.

* The Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Haridas Viharidas, not having been present during the preparation of the Report, are not to be held to have affixed their signatures to the 274th paragraph.

† Subject to the qualifying remarks contained in the separate Memorandum appended.

ANNEXURES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1.) THE OPIUM HABIT IN INDIA.

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

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

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

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

contrasted with both. All three tempt to excess, and require, in a good many of their votaries at least, the wholesome exercise of self-restraint to prevent injurious consequences. Opium, like alcohol, is greatly restricted in its geographical range by conditions of climate and race, whereas tobacco is equally at home in every climate and with every race. On the other hand, opium is more akin to tobacco than to alcohol, in the large part played by personal idiosyncrasy in determining its diffusion through a community. Opium and tobacco are also alike in not producing in their users any special organic tissue changes, even when carried beyond the verge of moderation; whereas alcohol, if used in habitual excess, produces special organic changes by which its operations can be tracked, both during life and after death.

Distribution and Prevalence.—The opium habit is disseminated all over India, and through all classes of society, but very irregularly, according to climate, locality, race, caste, and religion. It is difficult to form a reliable estimate of the proportion of opium-eaters in a community. The habit is, by its nature, cryptous and undemonstrative. The consumers carry with them, hidden in the folds of their garments, small pieces of opium or little boxes containing opium pills. The dose is taken without show; it neither taints the breath nor colours the saliva. Servants in domestic or personal service may practice the habit for long years without awaking any suspicion on the part of their employers that they are opium-eaters. For this reason the estimates given of the ratio of opium eaters to population must be taken with great reserve, and considered as rough guesses rather than as precise statistical data.

A few of these estimates may be cited as showing their great disparity. In the district of Balasore, in Orissa, Dr. Vincent Richards estimated the opium eaters as forming 7 to 8 per cent. of the adult population. Mr. Driberg rated opium consumers among the native Assamese as 30 to 35 per cent. of the adult males, and among the Mikirs (a tribe in Assam) as 80 to 85 per cent. Dr. O'Brien calculated the opium-eaters of Burdwan as only 5 per cent. of the adult males. Dr. Juggo Bundo Bose, a Native physician at Calcutta, reckoned that not more than 2 per cent. of the adult males among his countrymen habitually consumed opium. Another witness from the same quarter estimated the number as 5 or 6 per cent. Dr. Cobb judged that some 3 to 5 per cent. of the whole population of Dacca in Eastern Bengal were opium-eaters; this would correspond to about 12 to 20 per cent. of the adult males. The Marwaris, a caste of enterprising merchants from Marwar in Rajputana, but scattered all over India, are large consumers. According to Dr. Harvey the "majority" of them are opium-eaters. Dr. Hall, speaking from his experience in the North-Western Provinces, estimated that one half of the elderly men were habitual eaters. One of the largest, and certainly the most precise, estimate laid before the Commission was that of a Zemindar, whose estates lay in the Bengal Presidency. He stated that in his native town of Uttarpara, containing somewhat over 6,000 inhabitants, there were 821 opium-eaters. A native medical practitioner of large experience at Benares said that in that city 75 per cent. of the Mahomedans were consumers, 25 per cent. of the Hindus, and 5 per cent. of the Native Christians. Mr. Lely, collector of Surat, estimated that 3,000 persons took opium out of a population of 108,000 in that city. Of these 2,000 are Mahomedans and 1,000 Hindus; altogether about 3 per cent. of the inhabitants. Dr. Moriarty estimated the habitual consumers in Meerut at no more than 3 per cent. of the adult population. A semi-official estimate made in 1890, of the opium-consumers in the city of Bombay, showed that there were 7,000 opium-eaters in a population of 821,000, or less than 1 per cent. of the total inhabitants.

Taking India all through, it is evident that only a minority of the inhabitants, generally a small minority, even of the adult males, are opium eaters.

The dual character of the opium habit, with its medicinal side and its euphoric side, explains some of the irregularities and anomalies in its distribution. The habit prevails in excess of the average among the peasantry in low-lying, damp, and malarious districts; it also prevails in excess of the average among the Rajputs and Sikhs, and in such cities as Lucknow and Benares, where there is a large class of idlers. In the former case the excess may be said to be due to the solicitation of the medicinal side of the habit; in the latter case the excess may be said to be due to the solicitation of the euphoric side of the habit.

Another factor which affects the distribution of the opium-habit in India is the existence of groups and sects with whom abstinence from the use of opium is an article of religion. The great mass both of Hindus and Mahomedans regard opium-eating as a permissible indulgence; but certain precisians of both cults interpret their sacred writings in the sense that opium, being an exhilarant, comes under the general ban against all intoxicants, and is, therefore, forbidden to the truly orthodox.

Besides these precisians who do not form separate communities, there are distinct sects in which abstention from opium is an express religious obligation. Among these are the Ferazis, a sect of puritanical Mahomedans, dwelling in Eastern Bengal; these abstain not only from opium but also from alcohol and hemp drugs. A Native witness from Assam stated that opium "is religiously prohibited amongst the disciples of the Dehing Gossain, one of the principal spiritual guides in Assam. Any of his disciples using it is excommunicated, and never restored to society unless a severe penalty is paid." The Buddhist priesthood in Burma appear to hold a similar attitude, and to regard the use of opium as a "sinful vice." In Gujārat there is a flourishing Hindu sect, numbering some 400,000 members, started about a hundred years ago, called the Swami Narayan sect, whose religious tenets include abstention from opium and all intoxicants, and even from strong smelling things such as leeks and onions.

Qu. 4813.

Qu. 10,511

Qu. 8326.

Qu. 24,574,
24,575,
24,599-603.

The questions of *tolerance* and *susceptibility* are of great importance in regard to a right understanding of the opium-habit, and a good deal of misapprehension has arisen from want of attention to these questions.

Tolerance.—The evidence laid before the Commission with respect to the prevalence of the practice of opium-eating, and the doses used, indicates that the Natives of India have, generally, a higher tolerance for opium than Europeans; that is to say, that the former are able to bear larger doses of opium, without experiencing toxic effects, than the latter. Exceptions of course occur, and instances could be cited of Englishmen with as high a tolerance for opium as any recorded in India. This enhanced tolerance appears to be congenital; it is as marked in infants as in adults. In the course of his evidence on this point Dr. Crombie said: "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 (*i.e.*, giving them opium), and when they find a feverish, fretful English child they give it the same dose of opium they would give to their own child, and the English child dies . . . we have all had experience of that kind." (3502.)

The difference of tolerance for opium between East and West was variously accounted for by the medical witnesses. Some attributed it to one cause, and some to another. It probably depends on a combination of causes—on race and climate, on hereditary acquisition by centuries of use, on the general prevalence of the malarial constitution, and the vegetable character of the diet.

But, besides this racial and climatic difference, there is a still more remarkable difference of tolerance between individual opium-eaters, depending on personal idiosyncrasy. Judging by the practice of opium-eaters, the average tolerance of Natives of India appears to range from 4 to 12 grains of opium per day. But many take far larger doses than these, and consume 20 to 40 grains a day, and not a few 50 to 80 grains a day, without any appreciable detriment to their health. Cases still more extraordinary were quoted before the Commission. Dr. Kailas Chunder Bose (of Calcutta) stated that he had seen a religious mendicant take in his presence about 2,000 grains of crude opium, and that the man was a perfect model of health and vigour (3783). Another Native physician at Calcutta related that he was acquainted with a singer who, after singing for three or four hours, would take 300 grains of opium, and then would go on singing again, keeping accurately to time and tune (3879). These figures seem to show that the range of tolerance, depending on individual idiosyncrasy, among opium-eaters, is far more extended than the range of tolerance for alcohol among alcohol drinkers, or the range of tolerance for tobacco among tobacco smokers. Indeed, it would appear as if some men were almost insensitive to the toxic effects of opium.*

Susceptibility.—It has already been pointed out that opium has a dual action on the human constitution. It operates as a therapeutic agent, as an anodyne and hypnotic; and it also operates as a euphoric agent, as an exhilarant and restorative, after the manner of alcohol and tobacco. These two actions are not only not identical, but they are not always concurrent—that is to say, that persons may be sensitive to the anodyne and hypnotic effects of opium, and yet not be sensitive, or only slightly sensitive, to its exhilarant and restorative effects. The therapeutic effects of opium are much alike—tolerance apart—in all persons and in all climates, but it would seem as if only a select portion of the population were susceptible to its euphoric effects. Tobacco offers an apt illustration of this point. Tobacco smoking is pretty generally diffused among Englishmen; yet there are a great many who never smoke, or who

* It is of course understood that the tolerance of a person for opium undergoes a certain, or even considerable, expansion with use. But this expansion is presumably, as in the cases of alcohol and tobacco, strictly limited for each individual according to the measure of his original endowment.

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

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

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

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

Age at which the Habit was begun.	Jeypore. 4,409 Cases. (Dr. Hendley.)	Calcutta. 215 Cases. (Dr. R. Moy Roy.)
Under 20 years - - -	9·39 per cent.	0·5 per cent.
20 to 29 " - - -	24·34 "	18·0 "
30 to 39 " - - -	28·06 "	47·0 "
40 to 49 " - - -	21·57 "	28·0 "
50 to 59 " - - -	11·89 "	5·5 "
60 to 69 " - - -	3·58 "	1·0 "
70 to 79 " - - -	0·82 "	0·0 "
80 to 89 " - - -	0·11 "	0·0 "

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

Sex.—Opium-eating is much more common among men than women. Of 613 cases investigated by Dr. Vincent Richards in Orissa, 73 per cent. were males, and only 27 per cent. females. The disproportion was still greater in the 4,409 opium-eaters examined by Dr. Hendley at Jeypore; of these only 5·34 per cent. were women. This probably is too low an estimate for the population generally. The custom of secluding the women in India renders it difficult to get at the real facts in relation to the female sex.*

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

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

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

TABLE II., showing the RANGE of DAILY DOSES used by OPIUM-EATERS, compiled from Data supplied by Dr. Hendley, Dr. R. Moy Roy, and Dr. Huntly.

Daily Quantity of Opium taken.	Proportion of Consumers for each Range of Dosage.		
	Jeypore. 4,409 Cases. (Dr. Hendley.)	Calcutta. 215 Cases. (Dr. R. Moy Roy.)	Nusseerabad. 100 Cases. (Dr. Huntly.)
2 to 5 grains	21·27 per cent.	23·0 per cent.	22·0 per cent.
6 to 10 "	17·36 "	24·0 "	27·0 "
11 to 20 grains	29·15 "	27·0 "	25·0 "
21 to 40 "	18·64 "	16·0 "	17·0 "
41 to 90 "	8·19 "	6·5 "	9·0 "
90 to 180 "	1·47 "	3·0 "	0·0 "
181 to 2,000 grains	0·69 "	0·5 "	0·0 "

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Insanity.—The evidence tendered by the medical officers in charge of lunatic asylums in India was uniform to the effect that the opium-habit is rarely if ever a cause of insanity. Dr. Crombie analysed the statistics relating to the causes of insanity in the asylums of Lower Bengal, the Bombay Presidency, and the Madras Presidency. In Bengal the proportion of opium-eaters among lunatics was 0·36 per cent.; in the Bombay Presidency 0·75 per cent.; and in the Madras Presidency (only one year's returns available) no opium-eaters figured among the admissions (Appendix XXI., Vol. ii., p. 410). He remarks that "it would become almost justifiable to advance the theory that one of the advantages derived from the habit of eating opium is a diminished liability to insanity" (Vol. ii., p. 410).

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

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

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

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

Provinces.	Total Annual Suicides per Million of Population.	Proportion of Suicides by Opium to Total Suicides.	Annual average Consumption of Opium per Head of Population.
North-West Provinces and Oudh :			
Average of 5 years - - - - -	61	13·5 per cent.	24 grains *
Madras Presidency :			
Average of 5 years - - - - -	54	0·05 "	14 "
Central Provinces :			
Average of 5 years - - - - -	49	2·4 "	34 "
Bombay Presidency and Sind :			
Average of 4 years - - - - -	46	9·5 "	46 "
Bengal :			
Average of 5 years - - - - -	39	11·1 "	15 "
Punjab :			
Average of 5 years - - - - -	24	9·0 "	49 "
Assam :			
Average of 3 years - - - - -	20	5·0 "	141 "

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

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

Attention was called by Dr. Vincent Richards to the diminished fecundity of opium-eaters. Speaking from a careful study of 613 opium-eaters in Orissa, he says: "There is one almost inevitable result of a prolonged indulgence in opium-eating, especially if immoderate, namely, a weakening of the procreative powers. In no fewer than 99 cases out of 125, into which I particularly inquired with a view to ascertaining the fact, was this the case; moreover, of the 125 married men averaging 36 years of age, the average number of children to each was 1·11, after 11 years of married life. The average dose taken by these men was 14 grains *per diem*, and the length of time they had been addicted to the habit, 12 years" (Vol. ii., p. 437). The statistics collected by Dr. Hendley at Jeypore seem to point in the same direction, but not nearly so strongly. He made inquiries as to the number of children of 4,359 opium-eaters; of these, 2,798 had issue, namely, an average of 2·9 children to each person; while 1,591 had no issue—so that for the whole number there was only an average of 1·8 child for each person.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie, now Superintendent of the General Hospital in Calcutta was equally emphatic. He stated, in the course of his evidence: "I think it is desirable that the Commission should know something of the conditions of life obtaining in a place such as I have lived in for a great part of my service in India:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ A striking illustration of this was given by Mr. Wace, Commissioner of the Patna Division. He stated: "The effect of climate in regulating the use of opium is curiously illustrated in the district I know best, viz., Bhagalpur. The district is cut in halves by the Ganges. The southern part is dry and healthy; the eastern half of the northern part is damp and malarious, especially where it borders the river Kosi. The three most malarious thanas, Kishengang, Madhepura, and Partagang, with a population of 27 per cent. of the whole district, have 42 per cent. of the opium shops licensed for the whole district. The three driest thanas of the south, containing a population about four-fifths of the damper thanas, have only two opium shops, while the three damp thanas have seventeen." (10,840.)

people of India; nor was there any doubt expressed that, as regards its general therapeutic value, opium could not be replaced by any other known remedy.

A more interesting question from a scientific point of view is, whether and to what extent opium has the power to cure and prevent genuine malarial fevers; in other words, whether opium possesses, like quinine, real antiperiodic properties. In order to elucidate this point, it is necessary to advert to the composition of opium and, particularly, of Indian opium. Opium is a very complex substance, containing not less than 16 or 18 different active principles; most of these are in very minute proportions, and do not concern us here. The two most important and abundant alkaloids, or active principles, of opium, are morphia and anarcotine.* Morphia represents the anodyne and hypnotic properties of the drug. Anarcotine is a bitter crystalline alkaloid resembling quinine, and, like that substance, possesses tonic and antiperiodic properties.

There are two descriptions of opium current in India, namely, Patna opium and Malwa opium. The opium used in England for medical purposes is called Smyrna opium. There are considerable differences in the proportions of morphia and anarcotine in these three varieties. These differences are shown in the subjoined Table:—

TABLE V., showing the PER-CENTAGE OF MORPHIA and ANARCOTINE in PATNA, MALWA, and SMYRNA OPIUM; compiled from the Patna Opium Factory Laboratory Records (Vol. ii., Appendix xx.).

Description of Opium.	Morphia, per cent.	Anarcotine, per cent.
Patna opium (Behar provision cake) - - -	3.98	6.36 ✓
Malwa opium - - - - -	4.61	5.14
Smyrna opium - - - - -	8.27	1.94

It will be observed that Patna opium is comparatively poor in morphia, but very rich in anarcotine. Smyrna opium, on the contrary, is very rich in morphia, and very poor in anarcotine. Malwa opium is closely akin to Patna opium, but is a little richer in morphia, and a little poorer in anarcotine. Persian opium, of which a good deal finds its way into some parts of the East, appears to be almost identical with the Malwa variety in its per-centage of morphia and anarcotine.

Some 50 years ago quinine became very scarce and dear, and the Indian medical authorities had to cast about for some cheap and more abundant substitute. Attention was directed to anarcotine, and trials were made as to its curative power in malarial fevers. In 1838 Dr. (afterwards Sir William) O'Shaughnessy, of the Indian Medical Service, brought before the Medical Society of Calcutta an account of 32 cases of intermittent and remittent fevers treated with anarcotine. Of these 31 were cured. He also mentioned that 100 cases were treated by his pupils and acquaintances with perfect success. These results and others of a like character caused the Indian authorities to institute further experiments, and, these proving favourable, they caused anarcotine to be prepared in quantity at the laboratories of Ghazipur and Patna and distributed to the medical depôts throughout British India.

Two important communications on the antiperiodic powers of anarcotine deserve resuscitation. They are based on a large experience, and they prove incontestably that anarcotine is scarcely inferior—and, in some classes of cases, is superior—to quinine as an antiperiodic. The first, from Dr. Palmer, is contained in a letter to the Director General of the Indian Medical Department, and is printed in Vol. v. of the Proceedings of the Commission, Appendix III., p. 78. In 1857-9 he treated at Ghazipur 546 cases of malarial fever with anarcotine, in doses ranging from 1 to 3 grains. Of these 541 were cured and five died. In addition to these 546 officially reported cases, he treated with anarcotine a large number of other cases of malarial fever, amounting in all to little short of 1,000 cases. Summing up his general experience, he states that in 70 per cent. the fever was permanently arrested at the second paroxysm after the medicine was administered; in 20 per cent. the arrest was equally sure, but was not quite so quick; and in 10 per cent. the medicine did not appear to have any curative result. He further remarks that there are cases where anarcotine is decidedly more efficacious than quinine, namely, where there is an

* This substance was named Narcotine by its discoverer, Derosne, but this designation is so misleading (seeing that it is devoid of narcotic qualities) that Dr. Palmer re-named it Anarcotine. Dr. Garden adopts this name, and I think it desirable to follow his example.

intolerance of quinine, and where quinine has been given without any effect for a long time.

The second communication is a "Report on Anarcotine," by Dr. Garden, which is published in the 7th volume of the "Indian Annals of Medical Science." Dr. Garden succeeded Dr. Palmer in civil charge of the Ghazipur station in 1859; and at that time a severe outbreak of intermittent fever, of quotidian and tertian type, had to be dealt with. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he subjected anarcotine to an extensive trial. He treated altogether 684 cases, and gives details of 194. Of these 194 cases, 187 were rapidly cured by anarcotine. It only failed in seven cases, or 3.6 per cent. It, moreover, cured some cases where quinine had failed. The doses he employed ranged from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 grains. He expresses his general conclusions in the following words:—"That it (anarcotine) is of equal value to quinine I do not pretend to say, but that it has a claim to the next place in the ranks of antiperiodics is, I think, an "undoubted fact."

Anarcotine continued in large demand, and was regularly supplied from the Government factories until some 15 or 20 years ago, when quinine becoming again cheap and abundant, the Medical Department refused to issue anarcotine to the medical depôts, and the factories ceased making it (13,484).

The bearing of the observations of Dr. Palmer and Dr. Garden on the prophylactic powers of opium against malarial fevers stands as follows. These observers found that anarcotine in doses of 1 to 3 grains rapidly (in about three days) cut short the paroxysm of intermittent fever and completely arrested the disease. Now Patna opium is estimated to contain 6.36 per cent. of anarcotine. It would, therefore, require 16 grains of crude opium to equalise the minimum dose of 1 grain of anarcotine, which was found effective in arresting the paroxysms of intermittent fever, and 48 grains to equalise the maximum dose. From these calculations it may be inferred that only large consumers of opium would be absolutely protected against the malarial poison. A reference to Table II. shows that in Calcutta and Rajputana some 30 to 40 per cent. of opium-eaters might be thus protected, but in Orissa, where the dosage is smaller (Table III.) only some 4 per cent. would be completely protected. It is, however, to be remembered, that a dose of an antiperiodic, which is insufficient to cut short an actually existing attack of intermittent fever, may be sufficient to ward off an attack—that is to say, may be sufficient to act as a prophylactic. This is at least the case with quinine. During an attack of ague, quinine is given in doses of five to ten grains—but a dose of two grains taken daily is held to be effective as a prophylactic against recurrent attacks. The same rule probably holds good as regards opium, and its alkaloid anarcotine. On this view it may be assumed that moderate consumers of opium, although not rendered absolutely immune against the malarial poison, would be more or less protected from recurrent attacks—and if the attacks returned, they would return less frequently and with mitigated severity. These particulars, I think, adequately explain why opium-eaters are not altogether exempt from malarial fevers. The smaller consumers either lack the means, or they lack the tolerance, which would enable them to take opium in sufficient quantity to contain an efficient protective dose of anarcotine.

The question was often mooted before the Commission, why it was that notwithstanding all this evidence in favour of opium in malaria, medical men in India did not prescribe opium for the cure and prevention of malarial fevers. The explanation is very simple in the light of the facts disclosed above. Opium contains morphia as well as anarcotine. This puts an absolute bar to the use of opium as a general antiperiodic. It could not be so used without the most serious risk of narcotic poisoning. Only persons of proved high tolerance for opium, in other words, seasoned opium-eaters, could with safety take a sufficiently large dose of the drug to bring into efficient play the antiperiodic power of the anarcotine contained in it. This is the reason why crude opium can never take the place of quinine as an antiperiodic medicine—not even in the case of the generality of the Natives of India—still less in the case of European residents in India.

It seems highly probable that some of the other ingredients contained in opium, and especially morphia, are of service to the sufferer from malaria. In the condition termed "malarial cachexia" the poison lingers about the system for months and years—but not in sufficient potency to keep up regular febrile paroxysms. Such persons are liable on slight exposure or chill to have a recurrence of the paroxysms; they are then said to be "down with fever." This state of things is well known in India. The opinion was very generally expressed by the medical witnesses, that in the case of Natives thus affected, the habitual use of even a small dose of opium, or an occasional dose when the emergency arose, served to ward off the provocative chill and thus prevented these relapses.

It was also alleged that opium often acted as an indirect prophylactic against malaria, by checking diarrhoea and dysenteric purging. These complaints greatly reduce the strength of the sufferers, and so render them more susceptible to the malarial poison and to the "chills" which are universally recognised in India as the immediate cause of fresh attacks of fever.

Several medical witnesses deposed that they had often found opium in combination with quinine to act better as an antiperiodic than quinine alone.

Plurality of Malarial Infection.—Dr. Crombie called attention at Calcutta to a matter of great interest concerning the pathology and therapeutics of malarial fevers—namely, the existence of more than one kind of malarial infection. He said: "When one comes to India the first thing that strikes one is what seems to be the rooted and unreasonable objection that the natives sometimes have to be treated with quinine. . . . After a time one finds out that this objection is not unreasonable; and that there are a great many fevers—I might almost say the majority of cases of fever which I have to treat in Bengal—which are not only not benefited by quinine, but which are aggravated by it" (3520). Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien said: "Latterly my experience has been enlarged in the treatment of fevers, and I have come to recognise . . . the disadvantage of quinine in many cases, and the undoubted remarkable benefit to be derived from the use of opium" (3606). Surgeon Captain Tull Walsh, speaking from his experience in Orissa, stated that in that province the fevers accompanied by enlarged spleens were not so common as the type of fever not so accompanied—and that he believed that these two distinct diseases had got muddled up under the head of "malaria" (3752-3).*

The recent researches of Laveran in France, of Marchiafava and Bignami in Italy, and of Mannaberg in Germany, come opportunely to Indian inquirers as bearing on the question of the existence of a plurality of type and plurality of infection in malarial fevers. These researches have demonstrated—that the infective material of malarial fevers consists of micro-organisms, living and multiplying in the bodies of the affected persons—and that these micro-organisms are of more than one kind, and give rise to more than one type of fever. Clinical inquirers in India have in this connexion some extremely interesting pathological and therapeutical questions ripe for investigation—and it is not improbable that Indian opium, or rather its chief alkaloid anarcotine, may come to play a larger part in the treatment of Indian fevers in the future than in the past—and that anarcotine may eventually take its place, not as a rival to quinine, but side by side with it, as a twin antidote to malarial poisons, each being superior on its own special ground.

The facts above enumerated go far to account for the diversity of the testimony laid before the Commission on the relations of the opium habit to malaria. It has been shown how small consumers of opium would be less effectively protected than large consumers—and how even large consumers would not be rendered immune against every form of malarial fever. The fact, now established, that malarial fevers are not all of one type throws a new and important light on the subject. The type of malaria prevailing in one district might be amenable to the control of opium, while a different type prevailing in another district might not be thus amenable—and, naturally, the popular belief in the two districts as to the protective or prophylactic power of opium against malaria would vary accordingly.†

It may also be remarked that the non-medical witnesses had not always sufficient knowledge to enable them to distinguish between malarial and non-malarial fevers. Thus some of the witnesses from Assam based their disbelief in opium as a remedy and prophylactic against malarial fever on its inefficacy in an epidemic disease called Kala-azar, which a few years ago caused great ravages in that province. It turns out that Kala-azar is not a malarial fever at all—but a contagious fever of quite a different nature which is not influenced by any anti-periodic remedy. (See an elaborate official report by Dr. Giles on Kala-azar and Beri-beri printed at Shillong, in Assam, in 1890.)

(4.) THE PRACTICE OF GIVING OPIUM TO INFANTS.

One of the most singular outgrowths of the opium habit in India is the custom of administering opium to infants. The practice is an ancient one and prevails extensively

* It is interesting to note that 35 years ago Dr. Palmer surmised the existence of a plurality of malarial poisons. In the communication before referred to (Vol. v., p. 78) he states that in 90 per cent. of the cases of malarial fever treated by him at Ghazipur anarcotine effected a rapid cure, but that in 10 per cent. it proved entirely ineffective. "This class," he says, "contrasts so strongly with the former that I have been constantly led to believe there must be some difference in the character of the fever."

† Parasitic diseases are, as is well known, greatly influenced as regards their incidence by racial distinctions—and this peculiarity appears to apply to some types of malarial fever. In India the common types of malarial fever attack Natives and Europeans impartially; but this does not appear to be the case with all types of malarial fever. I have been informed that there are hill tracts in India which prove highly malarious to the European officials stationed in them, but which are not malarious to the Native inhabitants.

all over India, but especially in the North-Western provinces, in the Native States of Rajputana and Malwa, and in the Bombay Presidency. The practice may be considered as part and parcel of the household, or popular, use of opium. The Commission were repeatedly told that 60, 80, and 90 per cent. of the infants were dosed with opium, and with some castes the custom seems to be universal. The practice is begun in the first few weeks or months of life, sometimes even from birth, and is continued up to the end of the second or third year, and sometimes to the fourth, and very rarely to the fifth year. The dose is usually one-sixteenth to one-twelfth of a grain to begin with, and this is gradually increased to a quarter or half a grain, and even to one or two grains, according to the age and necessities of the child. The dose is generally administered night and morning, sometimes only once a day. In most parts of India it is given by the mother in the form of crude opium, a speck about the size of a poppy seed or pin's head is put into the child's mouth or is mixed with its milk. Sometimes suckling mothers smear their nipples with opium. In Bombay "children's pills," or bala-golis, are extensively sold for this purpose. These pills are now manufactured, in order to ensure purity and constancy of strength, under the supervision of the licensed vendor; they are made of two degrees of strength and contain respectively one-sixth and one-third of a grain of opium each, mixed with a variety of harmless spices.* (Appendix XXIV., Vol. iv.)

When the child reaches the age of two or three years the practice is discontinued. The weaning from opium is usually done gradually; but it is quite complete; and any resumption of the habit in adult life is entirely disconnected from the practice in childhood.

The common purpose for which opium is given to infants by the poor and cultivating classes is to keep the children quiet and free from fret while the mothers go about their work in the house or in the field. Dr. Keegan, at Indore, gave us the following touching glimpse of the practice:—"A peasant woman who has to work in the fields gives her child some opium and puts him in a basket in the corner of the hut, or perhaps, she takes her child with her to the field, puts him in a small basket and gives a little opium to keep him quiet." But this custom is by no means confined to the poor and the peasantry, who cannot afford to provide the mother with additional help in the charge of her children. It is followed pretty generally among the well-to-do classes, and even in the zenanas of the rich, where there is no lack of servants to attend to the duties of the nursery. The reasons given for the practice by the native witnesses were, that the opium not only kept the children quiet and comfortable, but also helped them to digest their milk, that it prevented diarrhoea, warded off chills and fever, served to alleviate the troubles of dentition, and generally helped to keep the children in good health.

Qn. 21,935.

The advantages and disadvantages of this custom were a good deal canvassed before the Commission. It was shown that accidental poisoning sometimes attended the practice. Children were occasionally brought to the dispensaries in a state of somnolence or coma, from accidental over-dosing by a mother, or from a child getting hold of a lump of opium or a box of bala-goli pills left carelessly about, and so poisoning itself. Most of these cases issued in recovery, but sometimes fatalities occurred. These accidents were not nearly so common as might have been expected—showing the practised skill of Indian mothers and nurses in the management of the drug. Some of the medical witnesses expressed a doubt whether fatalities from this cause were more frequent in India than occurred at home from opium given to children in the form of soothing syrups and cordials, or dispensed under medical prescription. Dr. Blaney, who was coroner of Bombay for 17 years, could only recall five or six fatal cases of infants being accidentally poisoned in this way.

Qn. 26,372.

As regards the general question of the usefulness or hurtfulness of the custom, viewed apart from the risks of accidental poisoning, the opinions laid before the Commission were divided. To European ideas the practice seems very objectionable. The surroundings of child-life in India are, however, so peculiar, in relation to domestic circumstances, to food, climate, and malarial influences, and as regards the exceptional

* The exact quantity of opium in each pill, of the two degrees of strength, is nine-fiftieths and nine-twenty-fifths of a grain. It is to be remembered that Indian opium contains only half the amount of morphia contained in the opium used in Europe for medical purposes.

† In a memorandum on children's pills or bala-golis, presented to the Commission by Mr. McNabb Campbell, collector, of Bombay, it is stated:—"Bombay professional opinion is almost equally divided on the question whether opium is beneficial or hurtful to children. Of 84 statements obtained in 1893 from members of the Grant College Medical Society, 27 were in favour of the use of the drug, 30 were against it, 25 gave no opinion, and two were doubtful" (Appendix XXIV., Vol. iv.)

tolerance for opium of Indian infants, that it would not be safe to judge the custom by European standards.

Indian mothers and nurses, and the Native public generally, have an unquestioning faith in the wholesomeness of giving opium to children, and the accumulated experience of successive generations of parents, extending over hundreds of years, furnishes a body of presumptive evidence which is not to be lightly set aside on the ground of *à priori* considerations. It is difficult to believe that a practice, so widely diffused through all grades of society, and carried on under the direct supervision of the vigilant maternal instinct, should have maintained itself so long in credit, if it were on the whole and to any appreciable extent injurious.

Qn. 15,151.
26,672
20,574.
21,882.

The general tenor of the evidence of the members of the Indian Medical Service, who had charge of dispensaries and had supervision of vaccination, and had thus ample opportunities of observing the effect of the habit, was to the effect that the practice was generally harmless and sometimes beneficial. It was shown that the children who had opium given them were just as healthy as those who had not opium given them. Dr. Hendley, at Jeypore, examined, for the purpose of the present inquiry, 100 children who were brought up (without any selection) for vaccination. Of these 78 were being dosed with opium, and 22 had not received opium. All the children of both groups were equally healthy.* Some of the medical witnesses expressed a formal disapproval of the habit, but added that they had not actually seen any evil result from it. Others again condemned the custom and alleged that they had frequently seen serious malnutrition and fatal marasmus and atrophy follow the practice.

Qn. 21,298.
16,902.
19,979-90.
21 951.

It is easy to believe that some minor infantile complaints, such as chronic constipation, might be unfavourably affected by the practice of giving opium to children, and benefited by its suspension, without attracting special notice from medical observers. But it is not easy to believe that serious marasmus and atrophy could, as alleged, frequently arise from a practice so common without having been long ago detected and generally recognised by medical practitioners and writers in India. Moreover, it is obvious that there must be some contributory factor or factors, in addition to the opium, to account for the production of such cases, otherwise more than half the children in some parts of India would be in a state of atrophy. The most convincing evidence on the occurrence of opium marasmus in infants, was given by Dr. Huntly at Ajmere. He said, "I can recall to my memory a dozen, or perhaps a score, of instances (of marasmus) in which, acting on my advice, the parents stopped the opium, and the child recovered health and plumpness" (21,324). Dr. Huntly was not able to indicate the contributory factors which accounted for these exceptional instances. It is well known that infantile atrophy may occur in otherwise healthy children simply as the result of insufficient breast milk in underfed or unhealthy mothers, or as the result of chronic functional derangements affecting the digestion and assimilation of food.† Children thus suffering would, in India, as a matter of course, be dosed with opium, and even cautious observers might be misled as to the true causal sequence. There is another group of cases, involving waste and emaciation, encountered in India, which might prove similarly deceptive. Children in India are liable, like adults, to the malarial cachexia, and infants in arms are sometimes found with the characteristic enlarged spleen. Mothers who suffer from malarial fever during pregnancy appear capable of transmitting the disease to their offspring congenitally or through their milk.‡ Such cases would be sure to have opium given them, and might easily be misinterpreted, especially in those instances, and they are not uncommon, where the malarial cachexia is unaccompanied with enlarged spleen.

Qn. 3330-3.

Qn. 18,828.

In studying this most strange custom of giving opium to infants, it is necessary for the inquirer, if he is to reach valid conclusions, to divest himself of his European ideas concerning opium and infants, to examine the actual facts with an open mind, and, above all, to fully realise the complexity of the etiological problems involved. The following quotation from the evidence of Dr. Arnott, physician in charge of St. George's Hospital, Bombay, will, I think, find an echo in the experience of most medical men in India who have paid attention to this subject. "On infants, who are otherwise well cared for, the use of opium has not the bad effect I was prepared to expect. I have seen many infants to whom opium was habitually given quite well-nourished

Qn. 24,674.

* A sect of Shia Mussulmans, called Bhoras, are said not to give opium to their children. Dr. Keegan, speaking at Indore, said of these:—"They happen to be the most unhealthy children in this part of the country, . . . whether it is through not taking opium I do not know, but as a matter of fact the children of the Bhoras are very unhealthy" (21,928-9).

† Prof. Henoeh's description of infantile atrophy from these causes corresponds exactly with the description given of the so-called "opium baby." (*Lectures on Diseases of Children*, Syd. Soc. Ed., Vol. i., p. 72.)

‡ Dr. Cleghorn, who was examined at Lahore, informed me privately that he had encountered enlarged, malarial spleen in *new-born* infants, and verified the fact at the autopsy.

“and healthy, but others ill-fed and ill-cared for, are emaciated, and, no doubt, among these last there is a large mortality. In such cases, it is not easy to separate the effects of opium from the other causes of infantile mortality in large towns.”

(5.) USE OF OPIUM ON OCCASIONS OF CEREMONY.

In the protected States of Rajputana, Central India, and Gujarat opium is largely employed on various ceremonial occasions. It is so used during religious festivals, on State occasions, at the celebration of marriages, at births and funerals, as a token of welcome to friends, and as a seal of reconciliation between adversaries. A preparation called “amalpani” or “kasumbha,”* is commonly used on these occasions. This is a strained solution of opium in water, and it is drunk in company, as a sort of social solvent, like wine. Opium in the solid form is also distributed, as largesse, by chiefs and hosts to relations, guests, retainers, and the poor. Some of the accounts of these customs laid before the Commission are very curious.

Sir Lepel Griffin thus describes the use of opium as a court observance in Rajputana. “A native Rajah with all his court sitting around him, will call for his attendant, who will pour some of it (opium water or amal-pani) into his hand, and he will drink it off, and every one of the men round him will drink it in the same way” (1585).

A high Native official at Jeypore gives the following account of the ceremonial uses of opium among the people of the Jeypore state. “On occasion of the annual celebration of the religious festivals of Akshay Tij, Holi, and Dusserah opium-eating is looked upon as highly auspicious and conducive to prosperity and happiness. Opium is accordingly distributed among relations, as well as among friends and dependants, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, and the drug is partaken by all concerned as something sacred. Marriage contracts, and the celebration of marriage among Rajputs, are considered neither auspicious nor valid unless opium is eaten on such occasions. Opium is also used on occasions of funeral ceremonies. Moreover, when two inveterate enemies become reconciled and propose to pass the rest of their lives peacefully, they generally partake of opium at each other’s hands; and the practice is recognised as making the tie of friendship inviolable. If either of the two parties decline to take opium, it is understood that he is not disposed to abide by his promises. It is generally the practice among natives of India to offer some refreshments to a friend or acquaintance who comes to pay a visit. Pan-supari (betel and betel nuts), tobacco, and spices, are often presented, but a Rajput would offer opium as an unmistakable token of friendship and attachment” (20,175).

An officer of the Dholpur State (Rajputana) relates “That opium has been for ages an established institution in the country. It has come to be looked upon as the chief factor in some social customs and usages throughout Rajputana. For instance, it is customary among the Rajputs, at the betrothal ceremony, that the bridegroom should eat or drink opium offered by the bride’s party. The whole company afterwards drink the drug by turn, out of the palm of the host. The extent to which opium has got itself wound up with the daily avocations of the people, as a tradition, will be realised from the fact that among the Thakurs and others high castes, it is invariably seen that before beginning a letter, a prayer is expressed on top of it, asking the addressee to take, on the writer’s account, double the quantity of his daily allowance” of amal-pani (21,655).

Here is a curious picture from Malwa, drawn by the Dewan (administrator) of the Rutlam State: “I should like to add that there is attached to the Palace, at Rutlam, what is called an Abdarkhana, where respectable persons coming to see His Highness or the Dewan are treated with a drink of a solution made of opium (kusumbha). The Jagirdars, as also the servants of His Highness, and citizens who frequent the Darbar office, partake of the drink. If respectable Jagirdars and Thakores are not offered the kusumbha drink, they would feel that they are not treated properly. On a birthday, the Dasora holiday, and at the time of certain darbars, the Thakores, Jagirdars, officers, and others are treated with kusumbha. The darbar is dissolved after all the persons have resumed their seats after having taken the kusumbha. No pansupari, flowers, garlands, &c. are given in such darbars, the kusumbha taking the place of all these things. The Abdarkhana institution has been in existence from time immemorial.

* According to Major Ferris “kasumbha” is thus made in Kathiawar:—“Cut the opium into small pieces, add a little water, mix to a thick consistency, put the mass into a thick woollen cloth, pour cold water on gradually, and strain through. Drink the decoction without any addition of sugar, or anything to destroy the bitter taste.” The proportion is usually one part of opium to 20 parts of water (22,577).

During the minority of his late Highness the Political Superintendent of the State had to maintain it, and it has been maintained up to this time, though nowadays it is used principally by persons of the middle class. Formerly it cost much, now the cost is much reduced. The importance of the kusumbha drink is so great that in friendly letters and invitations the Thakores, Rajas, Dewans, and others generally endorse in their own autograph as follows:—"After reading this letter, do you take kusumbha drink as a treat from me in honour of yourself." This request is considered complimentary, and is made by one not inferior in rank to the other. When a friendly letter with such a request is received, the request is in certain cases literally carried out by "at once having a kusumbha party in honour of the person who made the request" (23,232).

Among the occasions on which it is obligatory to take opium, the paymaster of the army of the Native State of Jaisalmir, mentions the following singular instances—"on the visit of a son-in-law to his father-in-law's house"—"on the first removal of hair of a male child among Rajputs and Charans"—"on the parting (or shaving in the middle) of the beard of Rajputs and Charans" (21,128).

In the Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar similar customs prevail. Major Ferris gives the following account of kasumbha drinking among the Natives of the Kathiawar States:—"Among the Kathis kasumbha is consumed at all funerals, marriages, betrothals, and such like ceremonies. As a fact it is never refused, but there is no religious obligation to take it. Nevertheless if a Kathi has the habit and refuses kasumbha on such an occasion it would cause offence. In cases of reconciliation after a quarrel among Kathis, the drinking of kasumbha, even by those not having the habit, is *de rigueur*. To refuse would be to raise a suspicion that the reconciliation was not sincere. Each party must take some, however little, or the reconciliation is incomplete. It is a necessity almost amounting to a religion for a guest of a Kathi to be given and to accept kasumbha. A failure on either hand is a grave breach of hospitality and respect. Promises and verbal contracts and agreements are sealed among Kathis by the parties drinking kasumbha together. This makes the fulfilment as binding as an oath. When families agree to divide the ancestral property by mutual agreement, without having recourse to documents and the law, the parties drink kasumbha to clinch the undertaking" (22,578).

A Native Inspector of Customs at Ahmedabad gives some picturesque details of the ceremonial use of opium in that district. He says: "The Girasias and Kathis who live in the southern part of this district have always been using and been addicted to the habit of eating opium. . . . Kasumbha is prepared twice a day, that is, in the morning and evening, when poor wasavas (low class labourers) who are habitual opium-eaters, are supplied with opium according to their requirements. This is a mark of generosity. . . . It is a custom among these people that when guests come to them from a distance on any unusual occasion, or on ordinary business, the village barber, on behalf of the guests, invites the resident householders of the village to drink kasumbha. All those that assemble in response to the invitations are supplied with kasumbha by the guests at their own expense, and pieces of opium have also to be given according to the requirements of the persons invited. If one omits to do this, he is not considered respectable. Another class of people residing in this district are the Patidars and Kanbis, who have always observed the following usages. On a wedding occasion one may use opium at his pleasure, but when a respectable old man dies, the use of opium in honour of his memory is indispensable. During the first eleven days after the death of the deceased, when the people of the surrounding villages, with whom such formalities are usually interchanged, come in crowds to offer condolence, kasumbha has to be supplied to them and their servants, and opium is also distributed among them. Afterwards on the last, or thirtieth day, all persons with whom such formalities are usually interchanged, and all relations coming from a distance, assemble. This gathering is called Saraoni, and if expenditure on a large scale is contemplated, it is called Gam Saraoni. The greater the quantity of opium one dispenses on this occasion, the more credit he gets" (23,656).

It appears from the evidence of several witnesses that in Kathiawar, and throughout Gujarat, the ceremonial use of opium is on the wane, and tending to die out. This is attributed partly to the spread of Western ideas and the substitution of alcoholic beverages for opium, and partly to economic necessity. In recent years the price of opium in these districts has risen a good deal, owing to increased taxation upon it. In former times, when opium was almost untaxed, the quantities consumed on these ceremonial occasions was enormous. A Native gentleman from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad informed the Commission that on the occasion of the death of his grand-

father, in 1851, nearly three maunds, or 240 lbs., of opium were consumed in treating the guests, whereas on the occasion of the death of his father, thirty years later, in 1881, not more than 10 lbs. of opium were used by the guests (22,774-5).

(6.) OPIUM SMOKING IN INDIA.

The use of opium in the way of smoking is a subordinate habit in India; and, as compared with the ancient practice of opium-eating, is relatively modern. Opium-smoking is practised in two ways, namely, as *madak-smoking* and as *chandu-smoking*. The preparation of opium used in these two modes is quite different, and the manner of smoking is also different.

Madak-smoking.—The substance called Madak (or Madat or Muddat) is prepared by dissolving crude opium in water, boiling the solution, and straining through cloth. The strained product is boiled down to a syrup, and then mixed with charred leaves,* of acacia, betel, or guava, so as to form a soft mass. The mass thus obtained is finally divided into little balls about the size of small marbles. Samples of madak balls obtained by me at Calcutta, have a light porous texture, and a carbonised appearance. The balls weigh a little under seven grains each. The quantity of opium contained in madak probably varies in different markets, but from the mode of manufacture it must be always an attenuated preparation as compared with chandu. Judging by the directions for the manufacture of madak given in Vol. IV., p. 521, and Vol. V., p. 87 of the Proceedings of the Commission, the proportion of opium contained in it would seem to vary from about one-third to about one-fourth. Mr. Gregory, the superintendent of the factory laboratory at Ghazipur, analysed two samples of madak purchased by him in the bazaar at Calcutta. They yielded respectively 0·18 per cent. and 0·21 per cent. of morphia. This proportion of morphia indicates that the madak sold in the Calcutta shops only contains about 4 per cent. of crude opium (13,483).

Madak is usually smoked in the ordinary hubble-bubble pipe. One of the little balls is placed in the bowl of the pipe and covered with a piece of glowing charcoal; it is then smoked much in the same way as tobacco.

Chandu-smoking.—Chandu (or Chundoo or Chundool) is prepared by boiling down a strained solution of opium in water in large copper caldrons to a thick consistency. As the concentration proceeds crusts form on the surface of the simmering mass; these are removed in succession as they form. These crusts are again dissolved in water, and the solution is again concentrated by boiling, until, finally, a thick extract is obtained of the consistency and appearance of thick tar. This is the "smokeable extract" used in India by chandu-smokers. It is smoked in the freshly-made, or raw state, without any further preparation; and must be regarded as a coarse form of chandu.† The chandu used in China by the better classes is a much more elaborately prepared article, and is made to undergo, before it is considered fit for consumption, a gradual process of ripening, or maturation, lasting 10 or 12 months, whereby a delicate perfume is imparted to it, which is much prized by connoisseurs in chandu-smoking.‡

Chandu contains a large per-centage of morphia. Mr. Gregory analysed a sample of chandu made with pure opium at the Ghazipur laboratory. He found it to contain 10·17 per cent. of morphia. Two samples of chandu purchased by him in the Calcutta bazaar yielded, respectively, 9·19 per cent. and 9·07 per cent. of morphia. It thus appears that Indian chandu is about twice as rich in morphia as the crude opium from which it is prepared§ (13,479-83).

* In Bombay madak is made up with the charred husks of a grain called moong. A substance called "green gram" is employed in Southern India for the same purpose.

† It should be mentioned that the common chandu smoked in India, and by the poorer classes in China, has its quality lowered by the use, in the manufacture, of the dejections or "dross" scraped from chandu pipes after they have been smoked. This "dross," which is rich in morphia, is carefully collected, and is largely employed to mix with the pure opium in the manufacture of the commoner sorts of chandu.

‡ A detailed account is given by M. Lalande, in the *Archives de Médecine Navale*, for 1890, of the method of making chandu from Bengal opium at the French Government Factory at Saigon. The process is carried out entirely by Chinese workmen, and is said to be an exact counterpart of the process followed in China for the production of high-class chandu. In the same journal for 1892, is a paper by Dr. Calmette describing the slow spontaneous fermentation which constitutes the ripening of the chandu. The fermentive agent, according to Calmette, is the *Aspergillus Niger*, or black mould, which grows everywhere so abundantly in saccharine media. The chemical results of the fermentation are to destroy the glucose of the opium and to convert the tannin into gallic acid, and to produce, besides, certain aromatic fragrances which impart the desired "bouquet" to the finished article.

§ According to the analysis of Lalande (*l.c.*, p. 69) the chandu made at Saigon, while retaining its full complement of morphia, has only a very reduced proportion of anarcotine.

Chandu is smoked in a specially constructed pipe and in a peculiar manner. The pipe-stem is composed of a tube of bamboo, about 20 inches long and more than an inch thick. One end is closed, and the other end is fashioned into a thick mouth-piece with a large orifice. About 7 inches from the closed extremity is a round hole, mounted in brasswork, for the reception of the neck of the bowl. The bowl of a chandu pipe is usually made of terra-cotta, and is entirely unlike the bowl of a tobacco pipe. The subjoined diagram will assist the reader to understand the description. The bowl (a) consists of a hollow disc, or chamber, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and about $\frac{1}{4}$ deep. The upper surface is flatly convex, and at its centre (b) is a minute shallow cup, lined with metal, and perforated at the bottom with a small orifice. This leads to a short canal running through the terra-cotta, and is only wide enough to admit a medium-sized pin. The lower side of the disc is continued into a short neck (c) which fits into the opening in the pipe-stem.*

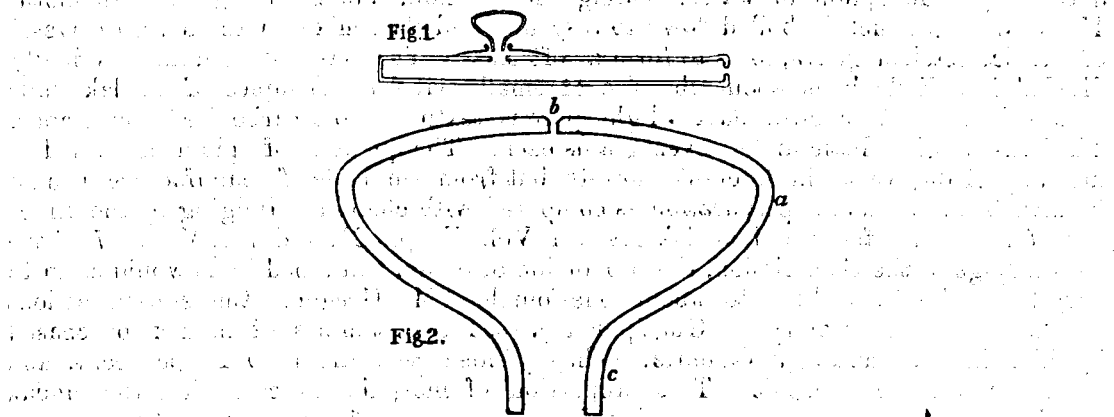


FIG. 1. Vertical section through a chandu pipe, one-tenth the actual dimensions.

FIG. 2. Vertical section through the bowl of a chandu pipe, actual size. a. The bowl. b. The receptacle for the charge of chandu. c. The neck of the bowl.

The chandu smoker proceeds in the following fashion:—Armed with a pointed probe or style he dips the point into his supply of chandu and takes up a suitable quantity which forms a little drop at the point of the style. This he now carefully heats over the flame of a lamp until it dries up into a soft pilule. He next transfers the little pilule to the shallow cup on the upper surface of the bowl. Then, assuming a reclining position, he cautiously applies the pilule to the flame of the lamp, and at the right moment, when the chandu begins to bubble and to emit smoke, he takes a full inspiration and fills his lungs with smoke, and then slowly discharges it. One or two such inspirations exhausts the charge. A practised smoker will smoke 15 or 20 pipes at a sitting.

Opium-smoking in India is the habit of the comparatively few; it is almost confined to the towns, and is scarcely known among the country cultivators. Mr. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, who has had special opportunities of studying this subject, said that "probably not so many as 1 in every 10,000 of the whole population ever smokes opium" (19,527). In the large towns and seaports the proportion of opium smokers is considerably greater than this. In Bombay, with 821,000 inhabitants, Mr. Campbell, collector of Inland Revenue, estimated that before the closing of the licensed houses, in 1892, there were 700 or 800 men who smoked opium in the licensed premises; that is to say, about 1 in 1,100 of the entire population (24,314).

The practice of opium-smoking is generally looked down upon in India as a low and vicious habit. Several of the witnesses thought the practice—and especially that of madak-smoking—injurious to health. Others thought that the injurious effects were not due directly to the smoking, but were due to the associations and surroundings of the habit. These are certainly very bad. The practice of smoking seems to require that it shall be carried on in company, and the premises or "dens" in which opium smokers meet in India are of a squalid and insanitary character. The frequenters of these premises belong to the humbler grades of society. Many of them are, no doubt,

* The above description is drawn up from an examination of four chandu pipes, one bought at Calcutta, two confiscated pipes, kindly given to me by Mr. Westmacott, at Calcutta, and the fourth purchased in Rangoon. All four are essentially alike in construction, but vary in ornamentation. The bowls of the two confiscated pipes are made of brass, and the bowls of the other two are made of terra-cotta.

decent working men, who call for their smoke much as English workmen call for their glass of beer; but these places are also the resort of idle and dissipated and vicious persons—the declassed and homeless waifs and strays who gravitate into large towns. It is easy to understand that such associations and surroundings would be deleterious to the health and corrupting to the morals of the young. Public opinion in India is against these “dens,” and the consumption of opium in any form upon the premises of licensed shops is not now permitted.

The evidence with regard to the effect of opium-smoking on health was less complete and less conclusive than that with regard to opium eating. Proof was given that smokers both of madak and chandu might continue the practice for 10, 20, or 30 years without detriment to their health. No organic disease of any kind was alleged to be producible by the habit. It was shown that opium-smoking was often resorted to for the relief of suffering, especially in cases of asthma, bronchitis, and pulmonary consumption, and that it was easy for unwary observers to mistake the effects of concurrent disease for the effects of opium-smoking. It cannot be said to have been adequately proved that moderate opium-smoking, taken by itself, and apart from its surroundings and from disease or semi-starvation, has a prejudicial effect on health.*

It is a matter of considerable scientific interest to know what the opium smoker really takes into his system. As regards madak smoking we have no positive information. Something, however, is known about chandu-smoking. Chandu is rich in the alkaloids of opium, and especially rich in morphia. These principles are, however, not volatilisable by heat; they are broken up and transformed by heat; and what the chandu-smoker receives into his lungs are the gaseous products evolved by the heated chandu, together with the carbonaceous particles which constitute the visible smoke.

Several Europeans have experimented in their own persons on chandu-smoking, and have recorded their experiences. Most of them report that they perceived no effects whatever, some suffered more or less from headache and giddiness, but none of the accounts I have seen report a distinctly hypnotic effect. Europeans are very sensitive to the hypnotic action of morphia, and their experience, even making allowance for their imperfect mastery of the art of chandu-smoking, seems to show that the enjoyment of the chandu smoker is not due to the absorption of unchanged morphia. That some traces of morphia are conveyed into the lungs of the chandu smoker is, however, pretty certain.† These traces would be carried up mechanically, in the solid form, entangled in the carbonaceous particles of the smoke. But as this smoke is forthwith expelled again there would probably be very little absorption of morphia by the pulmonary tissue.

What the gases evolved by heated chandu consist of we do not accurately know; they are doubtless very complex. But it may be presumed that their effect on the Eastern smoker is kindred, though not identical, with the reviving and exhilarating effect of solid opium on the opium eater. It may moreover be assumed that the reason why Europeans (with rare exceptions) do not experience this reviving effect from chandu-smoking is that they lack the proper constitutional susceptibility thereto, just as they equally lack, as before pointed out, the proper susceptibility to the reviving effect of the opium pill and opium draught.

* The most detailed and circumstantial information, laid before the Commission, on the health of opium smokers in India, is to be found in a publication entitled:—“Lives of Bombay Opium Smokers,” compiled by Mr. Rustomji Jehangir, Chief Inspector of the Bombay Opium Department. This little book contains short biographies of 222 opium smokers, of whom 60 were madak smokers, and 162 chandu smokers. These biographies are printed in full in the Proceedings of the Commission, Vol. IV., Appendix XXII.

† According to the observations of Moissan, made in the laboratory, the ripened chandu used by the better classes in China, yields its smoke at a comparatively low temperature, and he was able to detect the presence of morphia in the smoke, together with some volatile perfumes. The coarser chandu smoked by the lower classes, which is made with opium adulterated with the “dross” scraped from old chandu pipes, requires a higher temperature for the development of smoke, and this smoke contains toxic compounds such as pyrrol, acetone, pyridic and hydroxyridic bases. (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, December 5, 1892.) These toxic compounds appear to be somewhat similar with those found in tobacco smoke.

MEMORANDUM II;
ON SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE OPIUM QUESTION IN
INDIA AND CHINA;

By SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

If the questions contained in the Order of reference are read in the light of the preamble and of the speech which the Prime Minister made in support of the amendment which embodies them, it will be evident that the replies must depend not upon the past history of the case in India and China, but upon facts and international relations now existing. Historical arguments have however, been much relied upon in this controversy, and have again been brought forward by some of the witnesses who have appeared before the Commission. The view which some of these witnesses take of the existing facts of the case, seems to be coloured by a view of its past history which, if true at all, is only partly true. Mr. R. M. Dane's two Notes which are appended to this Report, contain a large amount of authentic information, much of which does not seem to have been known to the writers, official or non-official, who have sketched the history of the question in the course of the controversy. None of these writers seem to have been thoroughly acquainted with both the Indian and the China sides of this history. In particular the writers on the China side have generally been ignorant of many Indian facts, and have not sufficiently recognised the necessity of considering Indian interests. It appears to me, that there are some important incidents of the history, upon which certain broad conclusions may be safely formed from a perusal of the authorities given by Mr. Dane. These conclusions are as follows:—

II. App. B.
and C., pp. 28
o 214.

1. The production of opium, the opium habit, and the export of opium to the Straits, China, and the Malay Archipelago, were all established facts in India before, and presumably long before, the first Europeans, the Portuguese, appeared on the scene at the very end of the 15th century. In China, also, before that time there was some home-grown, as well as Indian and Turkish, opium in use, and there are clear indications that the use was not medical only.

The common use of opium as a stimulant seems to have originated among the Mussulmans of Western Asia, probably in connexion with the strict prohibition of alcohol in their religion, and to have been extended by their power and influence to the Nations further East. This will explain the fact that the habit was established in Persia, India, and the Malay countries earlier than in China.

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries the sea-traders of the different European Nations, which successively joined in the trade round the Cape, all took part in the traffic in Indian opium between India and other countries further East. But throughout this long period the Portuguese and Dutch had a much larger share of this particular trade than the other Europeans, and till close upon the end of it the share taken by British merchants was very small. The Portuguese and Dutch were both before the English in establishing trade relations with China: the Portuguese established their important trading settlement of Macao in 1537, a hundred years before the British made their first attempts to trade with China.

The habit of smoking opium was derived from the habit of smoking tobacco, which the Malays acquired from the Spaniards and Portuguese at the commencement of the 17th century. The Malays and Chinese by the end of that century had invented the opium-smoking habit, and by the year 1729 it had grown so common in some parts of China that it drew down an Imperial edict severely prohibiting opium-smoking shops, and the sale of opium for smoking purposes.

The above conclusions seem to rest securely upon admitted facts, and, if so, it is evident that some of the denunciations which have been used with great effect even lately by leaders of the anti-opium movement are entirely inaccurate and misleading. For example, it has been said that we created the opium trade to China, and then made war to maintain it, and that we did not find the vice in India, but created it to raise a revenue from it.

2. It has frequently been assumed that the edicts against import of opium issued by the Chinese Government were founded simply upon its experience of the great moral and physical injury caused by the habit; and this assumed fact has again been used as strong proof of the actual severity of the injury, and as a reason why Englishmen were morally bound to take no part direct or indirect in a trade which the Chinese Government made contraband on such high moral grounds.

There is no reason to doubt that Chinese views of religion and morality and of the injurious nature of the habit were the principal motives of the earlier edicts, but it would be contrary to fact to assume that the later edicts, and the strong action taken to enforce them, were elicited by these motives only.

The first edict of 1729 prohibited, not the import of opium, but opium-smoking taverns and the sale of opium for smoking purposes. It was issued with the sanction of an Emperor who had a high reputation for religion and morality, and was directed, like previous edicts against tobacco smoking, against a new habit which shocked Confucian ideas of propriety, and was thought to be very injurious. The edict of 1799, which was the first to directly prohibit import, is quoted at length by Mr. Dane. It is a very strong denunciation of the opium habit as morally and physically degrading, and as ruinously expensive. It appears to have been issued by the Governor of Canton: to have had some effect at Canton itself for a year or two; and then to have been neglected. As Mr. Dane says, at the end of his narrative, it was the exportation of sycee silver which actually induced the Chinese Government to exert itself earnestly to suppress the trade. Without that additional motive the interdiction against opium would probably have remained, like the Imperial edicts against tobacco, "a luminous manifestation of celestial benevolence."

VII. p. 214.

The governing class in China held at that time, and, as is shown by the evidence procured for us lately from that country, often still hold, the idea which long prevailed in Europe that export of the precious metals meant national impoverishment. Whenever, as happened two or three times between 1799 and 1829, the high Chinese officials seemed to wake up to the fact that the import of opium was steadily increasing, and ought to be stopped, there is evidence which indicates that they were not thinking only of opium. It seems clear that the export of silver was always closely connected in their minds with the import of opium, and was apparently the reason which occupied the prominent position. There was an old law restricting Chinese commerce with foreigners to barter, but sometime between 1753 and 1799, the Chinese were prohibited from bartering goods for opium. In this way the drug became contraband, and had to be bought off the ships in a more or less surreptitious way; the Chinese had to smuggle silver out to smuggle opium in. Another reason for this connexion of ideas was that, as between India and China the balance of trade was always, in those times, in favour of India, though with other countries it was generally in favour of China. About 1829, however, increased imports of all kinds, and of opium in particular, made the general balance of trade with all countries unfavourable to China for the first time in its history, and a real drain of silver began. The currency, which is in copper coin only, was depreciated, and this was much felt, particularly by the official classes. In 1832 a memorial from the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton was sent to the Emperor, in which the drain of silver and import of opium were connected, and the legalisation of the opium trade was recommended for that and other reasons. Though this proposal received censure, a similar one was made in 1836 by a high official at Peking, and by another Governor of Canton for the same reasons. (Papers of 1840.) In reply, in 1837 an Imperial decree was issued, announcing the Emperor's determination to remove the baneful effects of opium, the prevalence of which was leading to a daily decrease in China of fine silver. Finally, when, in 1839, the Special Commissioner Lin demanded surrender of the opium, he mentioned in his orders to the Hong merchants the immense loss of silver exported to pay for opium as the great evil of the trade. It is not surprising, therefore, that Englishmen concerned in the trade were generally disposed to hold the export of silver to be the fact which really led the Government of China from time to time to take action against the import of opium. With that motive they could not of course be expected to have sympathy.

VII. p. 74.
I. 1309.

VII. p. 115.

3. The connexion of British merchants with the trade to China in Bengal opium began to be considerable, as we have already said, in the end of the 18th century. It followed the establishment of the East India Company's Bengal opium monopoly, which arose out of the conquest of Bengal and Behar in 1758. In 1773, Warren Hastings, as the Company's Governor General, was organising, after a time of confusion, a complete system of administration for these Provinces. He then found that, for a long time past, certain persons at Patna, supported more or less by authority, had held a monopoly of purchase of opium from poppy cultivators and petty dealers. Patna was the opium emporium of this part of India, the place from which the sea-traders, at this time principally Europeans, procured the drug, and they could practically only buy it from these monopolists. Here, as elsewhere, the cultivation was free, like that of any other crop, but the business of wholesale purchase and manufacture in the

tracts from which Patna drew its chief supplies, was practically a monopoly, though elsewhere in India that business seems also to have been always free. When the subject of the Patna opium trade came to be discussed by Warren Hastings and his Council in India, and by the Directors of the East India Company in England, the only question was between a State monopoly and free trade. Those who objected to a monopoly did so on the ground that it was unfair to the cultivators, as it diminished the price they could get, and was bad both for trade and agriculture, as with free trade production and export would increase. Warren Hastings and the majority of his Council decided on taking over this monopoly for the State, and their objects, judging from remarks made in various discussions in the Council, appear to have been the following: (1.) To raise a revenue for the Company's Territorial Government. (2.) To keep the agents of the foreign European Companies and interlopers of British or other European nationalities from dealing directly with the poppy cultivators in the interior, as such direct dealings led to disorders and oppression, which the Administration was not strong enough to check. (3.) To keep up the quality of the drug, as free trade and competition were thought to lead to great adulteration by the cultivators. (4.) To have power to regulate or restrict internal consumption if necessary.

The monopoly was leased to a contractor, who had to deliver at Calcutta all the good opium he could collect, for which Government paid him at a low contract price. The opium was then sold, for export only, at public auction to the highest bidder. The Government, therefore, had only appropriated and monopolised the position and profits of the manufacturer. It had nothing to do with the export. It has sometimes been supposed that the British East India Company had previously been engaged on its commercial side in exporting opium to China, and that the monopoly was taken over to enable the Company to control and encourage the China trade. On the contrary, the Company was not exporting opium to China, and had no intention of engaging in that trade, and the measure was not adopted with special reference to the China opium trade. At this time the export of Bengal monopoly opium to Malay countries and elsewhere was still as great, if not greater, than that to China, and in dwelling on the importance to the trade of keeping up the quality of the drug, it is the fastidiousness of the Malay taste which is alone mentioned in the resolution. It seems probable that at this time opium had already begun to be treated as contraband in China, but if so the fact does not seem to have been noticed in the discussion. It has been suggested that an attempt ought to have been made by the Company's Government to prohibit purchasers exporting to China. But such an attempt would necessarily have been impracticable, for once on board ship and at sea the opium could not be prevented from going directly or indirectly to the best market. There was, in fact, no choice between total prohibition of export of Bengal monopoly opium and selling without reference to alleged destination. At that time our administration of Bengal and Behar was not strong, and the cultivation of the poppy was free: the idea of restricting it came later. The smuggling of opium was also rife in spite of the monopoly, and impossible to put down. The Company held only a small part of India in a precarious way, liable to internal revolt and attacks from outside enemies, European and Asiatic. From all the rest of India, in much of which opium was produced, the drug could find its way to a hundred ports beyond the Company's control. No sane person would then have suggested that such old industries as the cultivation of the poppy, and the opium export trade, in which many European and Asiatic nations, were interested, should be extinguished because the Chinese part of that trade was said to be treated as contraband by the Chinese Government.

The same arguments which induced Warren Hastings to prefer a monopoly again decided the question when Lord Cornwallis re-considered the matter, and again, when Sir John Shore changed Warren Hastings' contract monopoly into the State agency monopoly, which has since existed practically unchanged. State agency was found necessary, because the contract system had proved oppressive, and had almost ruined the industry.

The decision to take over the monopoly, and not to attempt to interfere with the destination of the opium exported, seems to have been a right decision, honestly adopted. The obloquy which, in the course of this controversy, has been sometimes attached to Warren Hastings and his immediate successors for the establishment of the system appears to have been due to imperfect knowledge of the subject. It is true that certain acts of Warren Hastings connected with the monopoly were made the subjects of articles in his impeachment, and in a vague manner this fact has been made to do service in attacking the system. But the charges were not that he had created the monopoly, but that in working it he had disregarded, for corrupt motives, certain instructions of the Directors. Of these charges he was fully acquitted.

4. It has been asserted that, even if the Government of India did not create the opium habit in India and the opium trade to China, it has extended both the one and the other, and that its sole policy has been to make as much revenue as possible out of the drug. The Government has also been charged with a policy of extending and encouraging the production of Malwa opium in the Native States for a similar object. These assertions seem to be clearly incorrect. There does not appear to be any good opening, down to the year 1830, for impugning, from an anti-opium point of view, the policy followed by the Government of India, in respect to opium. From 1830, its policy as regards the export trade changed, as will be explained later on.

The original policy adopted for working the Bengal monopoly was elaborated by Warren Hastings' immediate successors, and seems to have been as follows:—

- (1.) To regulate internal consumption in a restrictive direction.
- (2.) To confine cultivation of the poppy to certain tracts where soil and cultivators would produce the best quality, and where the collection of the raw opium could be carefully supervised.
- (3.) To raise as large a revenue out of the export trade as could be got without materially increasing the supply at Calcutta.

As to (1.) some history of the regulations applying to internal consumption is given in the second Section of this Report. As to (2.), in 1799 a law was passed by which the cultivation of the poppy without a licence was prohibited. By force of this law the cultivation was extinguished at the beginning of this century in British districts generally, and only permitted in parts of Behar and Benares. As to (3.), we find that the number of chests of Bengal opium sold annually by auction at Calcutta in 1787, when statistics begin, till 1830, averaged about 4,000, and showed no tendency to increase till the last five years, though from 1801 the price realised rose immensely, and continued very high. From 1831, however, a large and sudden increase in the supply of Bengal opium began and continued, coupled with a tendency to fall in price. The fact is that, in 1830, the Government of India thought itself compelled to abandon its old policy of a small supply sold at a high price in favour of a larger supply at a cheaper rate. The reasons why it was led to this change of policy appear to be as follows:—The great and sudden rise of the price of Bengal opium, in 1801, must have been due to a decline in the supply of Malwa opium in the foreign markets. The violent civil wars between different Maratha leaders, which had for two or three previous years devastated the territories producing that opium, and thrown into confusion Gujerat and the other country on the Bombay Coast through which it reached the sea, must necessarily have caused such a decline. The attention of the Calcutta Government appears to have been in this and other ways directed to the previous effect of the competition of the Malwa drug, and when, by the war of 1803, the Company had acquired some littoral territory and great political influence on the Bombay side, the Bombay Government was directed to do its utmost to keep down and ultimately extinguish the trade in order to maintain the high price to which the Bengal drug had risen.

At this time the Company had no influence over the country where the bulk of the Malwa opium was produced, so, till 1820, the efforts to extinguish the trade (which are described in the third Section of this Report, and more fully in Mr. Dane's Memorandum) were directed to the establishment of a cordon to prevent the opium reaching the coast, and the enactment of laws to prevent British subjects or British ships having dealings with it. Though not very effective outside our own territory, which was then very small on the Bombay side, these efforts, aided by the continued confusion in the Malwa country, had considerable results, and the price of Bengal opium kept very high. After our war of 1818 against the Marathas, the position was changed, as the Malwa opium-producing countries came into political relations with our Government as allied and protected States. It was no longer possible to absolutely ignore their interests and their equitable claims.

No one, therefore, at this time suggested that we should attempt to prohibit the production of exportable opium in these States, either by agreement or by compulsion. Neither course appears to have been considered open to discussion. Moreover, the Directors in England had always expressed much doubt of the fairness of the indirect measures already adopted against the trade, and had commented on the hardships caused by them to the agricultural and commercial classes concerned in this old industry. It was also known, by this time, that the trade could not be extinguished by any cordon we could establish, though it could be much crippled by it. The Malwa opium still found its way to the coast and Portuguese ports by smugglers' paths and the circuitous routes through Sindh. For all these reasons, and because it was foreseen that an increase in poppy cultivation must follow from the pacification of the

Malwa country and the high price of opium abroad, some new plan was seen to be necessary if the price of Bengal opium was to be kept up. The plan suggested was to monopolise the purchase of Malwa opium for export, and so get the whole supply of exportable Indian opium, Bengal and Malwa, under control, and command prices in the foreign market. The total export could be kept in this way no greater or even less than before, and though the commercial classes interested in the old private Malwa export trade might suffer, the injury to the Rulers of the Native States and their agriculturists would be alleviated.

It was first attempted to effect this by empowering Government agents in the Malwa country to purchase annually not more than 4,000 chests of opium. They were to buy it out of the produce likely to be exported, as being in excess of demand for internal consumption. As these agents, being unaffected by the cordon, could send what they bought safely and by easy routes to Bombay, while native purchasers could only get their opium to the coast by difficult and circuitous routes, it was thought that the Government agents would be able to outbid others and yet buy at moderate rates, and so establish a practical monopoly of the export trade. This plan, however, failed, as fondness for the trade and the high prices in the foreign market made the native dealers compete keenly, and extension of cultivation could not be checked. An attempt was then made to secure the same object by inducing the Native States concerned to enter into Treaties whereby the production in their States, for export and home consumption, should be limited to certain quantities, and the quantity for export should be sold to the Government of India at certain moderate prices. This plan was resisted by some of the States, and very unwillingly accepted by others. After making us very unpopular with the people and Princes of these States, it also had to be abandoned for reasons given at length in the third Section of the Report. In 1830, therefore, the Government of India reluctantly abandoned all idea of monopolising the export of Malwa opium in addition to that of Bengal, and established what is known as the transit duty system. To enforce this system they kept up the cordon as before, but allowed the Malwa drug to pass through it to Bombay for export by certain routes only on payment of a duty. The direct revenue obtained by this duty was only a secondary consideration: the main object of the system was to do what could still be done to keep up the price of Bengal opium by putting a duty on Malwa opium, and to regulate the passage of the latter drug to the sea, and so prevent its being smuggled wholesale into British territory. The Directors in England cordially agreed, when the matter came before them, that the change to the transit duty system was necessary; and in the final report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, presented in 1832, the policy of the change was said to be beyond a doubt.

5. I think I have shown in the last paragraph that down to 1830 the policy of the Government of India was strongly restrictive in respect both to production of Bengal opium for the Calcutta export market and export of Malwa opium from the Bombay side. In that year the Government reconsidered the whole case, and appear to have decided that a change of policy was necessary, and to have come to the following conclusions: (1) That it was not possible to control the Malwa trade by a monopoly; (2) that with peace secured and no check but the transit duty (which at that time had necessarily to be put very low, as it could be evaded), the export of Malwa opium would steadily increase, and the price of Bengal opium go down in the foreign market; (3) that to prevent the possibility of the Bengal opium being driven out of the foreign market, and to make good the loss of revenue from the expected fall in its price, it was necessary to abandon the old policy of not increasing the supply of Bengal opium in the Calcutta market. The Government, in fact, made up their minds that in future the Calcutta export market must be allowed a supply which would enable it to compete favourably on commercial terms with the Bombay export market.

To carry this out they directed their Behar and Benares opium agents to invite applications to cultivate poppy in tracts and villages, other than those to which they had hitherto restricted it. The import of opium from the Native States of Oudh and Nepal, which had previously been absolutely prohibited, was also temporarily allowed for sale to Government only. In these ways the quantity of Bengal opium put up for export sale at Calcutta by Government was at once largely increased. It was almost at once double what it had been before, and four times as great in a few years; and from this time the quantity went on increasing rapidly in answer to a keen demand at high prices, though not so high as those which had ruled from 1801 to 1830. The export of Malwa opium also went on increasing, and for the next 15 years was about equal in quantity to that from Bengal. The steady rise in quantity was not checked

by Chinese edicts or even by war with China, and did not begin to abate till it was affected in 1854-55 by the great extension of poppy cultivation in China.

It is evident from what has been said above that the year 1830 was a most important epoch in the history of the Bengal monopoly. Whether the new working policy then adopted, of increasing the supply of Bengal opium in competition with the Malwa trade to the extent of the Calcutta export market demand was justifiable, is, no doubt, open to question. In defence of the Government of India, it must be first remembered that it was not even asserted at this time that any Government had used force against China in support of the trade. Nor can it be fairly assumed that that Government, which was familiar with the use of opium in India, had reason to consider the drug an article which must be regarded as a poison and on a different plane from other dangerous stimulants like alcohol, for example. Till 1868 opium could be sold at any village shop in England, and was so sold largely in the Fen districts. No doubt the Government of India was well aware that the increasing demand came from China, where the article was contraband, but down to 1830 the Chinese Government had shown little or no sign of anxiety to enforce the edict, and the merchants who took the drug to the China coast found an eager market, and had no difficulty in disposing of the drug to Chinese, who landed it with the connivance of Chinese officials.

The practice was, in fact, so different from the assumed law that the sincerity of the Chinese Government was generally doubted, and the matter was commonly regarded as, at most a dispute between it and the Chinese people, which they had to settle for themselves. Moreover, the Government of India was bound to carefully consider the interests of its Indian subjects, for whom it held in trust the revenue derived from the Bengal monopoly. If it lost that revenue by keeping down the supply of Bengal opium at Calcutta, and so preventing the Calcutta exporting merchants from competing with the Malwa trade, it would do British India harm, and, perhaps, not diminish the quantity of opium in China, as the supply of Malwa and Turkish or Persian opium was likely to increase in proportion. The demand in the interior of China was also known to be already met in part, at least, by home growth.

By increasing the supply in Calcutta the Government of India only did what private manufacturers would have done under the same circumstances, as a matter of course. If the business had been in their hands; they would have been guided simply by the demands in Calcutta, and would have declared themselves not responsible for what the exporting merchants did with the opium, or for what Chinese buyers and Chinese officials did in disobedience to the Government of China. Whether the Government of India, with the facts before it as they stood in 1830, was bound on moral grounds to act differently, seems not an easy question to answer with confidence. It had long before, for motives which then seemed good, appropriated the manufacture of an important product of British India as a State monopoly; having got—wisely or unwisely—into that position it was not free to disregard Indian interests and commercial considerations. If any of the self-governing Nations of the civilised world had found themselves in the same position, I think that the most they would have done would have been to abandon the monopoly, and set free the cultivation and manufacture by way of relieving their Government of direct responsibility. It is, perhaps, a pity that this was not done in India in 1830, but there were great difficulties in the way; and it would have been of no benefit to the Chinese Government's policy of exclusion, and certainly injurious to the Indian revenue, and to the power of regulating and restricting consumption in India. It must also be again pointed out that the whole export of opium was not to China, and that Bengal opium could only be prevented from going to China by stopping the whole export. Once on board ship the drug would go to the best market, which was China. Even if a law had been made prohibiting British subjects and British ships from taking it there, and a British preventive service had been organised on the China coast to enforce such a law, it would have only meant a transfer of the trade, at Calcutta or mid-way, to ships flying other flags. The Chinese Government was known to be as incapable of itself stopping Chinese smuggling along its coasts as it had been of stopping Chinese piracy. So long ago as the year 1633, the Chinese Government had to ask the Dutch to help them to put down Chinese pirates, and partly succeeded only with their help. In the present century such piracy has been checked almost entirely by our ships of war.

6. We now come to the consideration of the war between China and England of 1840-2, which is commonly called the opium war. It has been commonly asserted and believed that the cause of this war was on the part of the Government of China the wish to stop the trade in Indian opium, and on the part of the Government of England the wish to maintain it in the interests of the revenue of India. There will always be room for difference of opinion as to the degree to which the opium

trade was the cause of the war; no doubt in its double form of opium smuggled in and silver smuggled out the trade was a principal cause; but even in this double form I think that it was not the sole or even the main cause of the war on the side of China, and that it cannot be said, with any truth, that England went to war to maintain the opium trade.

The main cause, in my opinion, was the persistent, radical, and irreconcilable difference of view between British representatives and merchants on the one side, and the Chinese governing class on the other, as to the following matters:—The facilities of trade and conditions of residence in China properly demandable, the subjection of British subjects to Chinese law courts, and the proper extent and form of official or diplomatic relations.

From 1757 when the trade was confined to Canton, the policy of the Chinese Government was to allow our merchants to trade to that port, provided that the concession did not involve getting into relations with us other than commercial, and provided that we could be kept at arm's length in a submissive attitude, such as the Dutch adopted at Nagasaki till Japan was forced open, and the Portuguese at Macao.

It can easily be understood that apart from mere ordinary arrogance and dislike of foreigners, the Chinese governing classes had motives for their policy which were from the first not without reason, and which the experience of subsequent years did not seem to weaken. They knew what had happened, or was happening, to other countries like Japan, the Phillipines, India, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, and Burmah, from intercourse with Europeans of different nationalities.

Rightly or wrongly the British merchants and their representatives resented the Chinese policy, and persistently kicked against the restrictions imposed.

VII. App. C. If the account of our relations with China from 1757 to 1840, given in Mr. Dane's Memorandum, and supported by extracts from authentic documents, be carefully read, it will be seen that there was all along constant friction; that the part thereof due to the contraband trade in opium was for a long time very trifling, and though great in the last two years, only secondary even then.

In point of arrogance of tone there was not much to choose between either side, but the high Chinese officials seem to have wished to be fair and accommodating, provided they could do it without relaxing their policy in essentials.

In the various controversies the Chinese seem to have been right in some and wrong in others, and there were cases in which neither party could be said to be in the wrong, such, for instance, as the frequent refusals of the British to make over British subjects charged with homicide to be tried by Chinese law and Chinese Courts.

With this increasing friction, British trade and power and pretensions also greatly increased as time went on.

VII. p. 98. As early as 1829 it is evident from an edict of the Emperor and the papers connected with it that the British were regarded as the most "fierce and unruly," and "proud and domineering" of all the foreigners, and that the Chinese Government was making up its mind that it would probably have before long to expel them from Canton, and put an end to their trade. The British demands which elicited this edict had nothing to do with opium, but the edict shows that the Emperor had that trade in mind, and consoled himself for the loss of duties which expulsion of the English would involve by reflecting that the stoppage of the drain of silver due to the opium trade, would be a good set off.

From this time to the end of 1838, the wish to check the opium trade and consequent drain of silver was no doubt one strong cause of the increasing tension which prevailed, but the main cause was the determination of the Chinese Government to maintain their exclusive policy, which determination was only confirmed by the efforts we made to force ourselves into closer and freer relations.

Down to 1834 the Chinese Government had hopes of maintaining their policy without violent measures. In that year the British Government abolished the East India Company's China monopoly, and the Supra-cargoes, its commercial representatives, and sent out diplomatic officers of much higher position under the name of Commissioners in China, with demands for direct diplomatic relations, and for new trade concessions. The Chinese Government rightly understood that this meant a decided step on our part to break down their policy. Naturally they assumed in reply a stiffer and more obstinate attitude than before. From this time till the end of 1838, though their action wavered as to maintaining prohibition of the opium trade, it never wavered as to their main point, our retention in the position in which they had from the first wished to keep us as regards commercial intercourse and diplomatic relations. Mr. Lay says in his Note that it was the claims we advanced as regards

diplomatic relations in 1834, and which Lord Palmerston again insisted upon in 1836, which were the real cause of war. Sir Thomas Wade in his evidence conveys much the same meaning in the reverse way, by saying that it was the refusal to grant proper diplomatic relations which made war inevitable. These are men experienced in dealing with the governing class in China, who have studied the history of those times on the spot. It seems evident that though China aimed her first blow in 1839 at the opium trade, that was not her main point. Being determined to resist our demands, which had nothing to do with opium, she saw that resort to force was inevitable, and that to boldly stick to her old policy and make no concessions was the safest course to adopt. Her hesitation as to treatment of the opium question therefore disappeared, and she undertook to put that trade down by force; partly no doubt as a measure she much desired to effect for its own sake, but also as a counter-move, and the one best suited in her opinion to bring our authorities and our merchants to their senses. We did not treat the violence to our representative and the whole British community at Canton by which China got possession of the opium as a cause of war; nor did we then advance a claim for compensation. It was not till a year later, when the Chinese had rejected all our overtures, declared all trade at an end, and fired on our ships, that we declared war. We went to war then not to uphold the contraband opium trade, but to dispute the right and power of China to expel us with insult and stop all trade. It may be noted that the same conclusion as to the main cause of the war was held by General Gordon, whose letter of 1882 to Mr. Boulger on the opium question has often been published. He wrote as a friend of China and an enemy of the opium trade, and his knowledge of Chinese Statesmen and indisputable honesty makes his evidence of much value. In that letter he said that "The opium wars were not about opium; opium was only a *cheval de bataille*; it was against the introduction of foreigners, a political question," and the following quotation from a letter to the "Christian World" from Dr. Griffith John, a missionary of 35 years' standing, dated Hankow October 6th, 1891, is to much the same effect. It may be mentioned that in the last memorial to the Secretary of State for India, of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, this gentleman's arguments against opium are quoted at length, and he is stated to be one of the most competent and experienced observers of Chinese affairs. After discussing the prevalence of riotous assaults on missionaries, and saying that the root of the opposition experienced by them was to be found, not so much in the feelings of the people as in the anti-foreign policy and attitude of the governing and literary classes, he refers further on to the first war with China as follows:—

As to the hatred of the foreigners, missionaries included, among the literary and official classes, there can be no doubt in regard to it. But this hatred is not a thing of to-day. It existed long before the first Protestant missionary set his foot on the soil of the Celestial land. The hatred of the foreigner, be he missionary or be he layman, among the literary and official classes, is a deeply-rooted and fondly-cherished sentiment. Our first war with China is generally regarded in its relation to the opium trade, as springing out of this trade, and waged in order to obtain indemnity for the losses sustained by the surrender of the opium. But it may be justly regarded in another light, namely, in its relation to the immoderate assumptions of the Pekin Court, and the haughty, contemptuous, and insulting bearing of the Chinese officials in their intercourse with all foreigners from the beginning. The principle which guided them in their intercourse with foreigners is given in the following translation of one of the Chinese maxims:—

"The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled by the same principles as the Chinese. Were any one to attempt to control them by the great laws of reason, it would lead to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings understood this well, and therefore ruled barbarians by misrule. Hence to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling."

It is perfectly clear that no beneficial results could possibly accrue from arguing with a people who could think, speak, and act in this way. While their extravagant pretensions remained unrepelled, all overtures on the part of a foreign Government would be rejected with disdain. No great Power, however, could possibly submit long to such insults and humiliations as England was called upon to submit to in the persons of her representatives; and hence war, apart altogether from the opium traffic, was inevitable sooner or later.

One other opinion to the same effect may be quoted from the evidence procured from China for the Commission through Her Majesty's Minister in China, and appended to our proceedings. The Reverend John Macintyre, missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, Scotland, who has resided for more than 20 years in China, and who thinks it would pay the British Government, even now, as a matter of policy, "to back out" of the opium trade, writes in para. 15 of his evidence, as follows:—"Merchants used to grumble that so much silver went out of the country."—"I never, at any time, believed it was a matter of morality with the Chinese. It was a question of interfering with their fiscal arrangements."—"I mean to say I disbelieve the loud talk about morality in which Chinese statesmen have, from time to time, indulged when they speak on the so-called opium war and the use of opium. The opium war was a war in which the Chinamen fought to keep out the foreigner as such. I regret that we took the opium with us. Had we dropped

“ it then we should have had an unequalled position to-day in China. But the
 “ opium was an accident of the war. Nothing but war could have brought the
 “ Chinese of that day to acknowledge us as belonging to the *genus homo*, and not
 “ only so, but as subjects of a free and independent Sovereign, and a power infinitely
 “ superior to themselves. That to my mind was the subject of the war.”

7. It has been argued that though the main cause of the war on the part of China was not opium, and though we did not go to war to maintain that trade, or demand that it should be legalized or tolerated as a condition of peace, yet after all the practical result of the war, was to force opium upon China by intimidating the Chinese Government from stopping the trade. The first answer to this is that the Chinese Government was never before or after the war capable of stopping the import of opium. It was capable of making a spasmodic effort at one place, and of temporarily stopping the trade there by burning of Chinese ships and boats, capital punishments and bastinado, and other such rough and violent measures, but the only result was that for the time, the foreign opium ships moved off to other points of the coast, and sold there to a fresh set of Chinese smugglers. It had no proper preventive service, no honest or active body of officials, and was not supported by any popular action in the matter; the Chinese Government, in fact, was always as incapable of stopping in any permanent way the smuggling in of opium as it was of stopping permanently the smoking of the drug in China.

To force opium upon the Chinese people in the simple sense of the words was, of course, always impossible. No foreign shipper of opium could have sold an ounce of opium on the coast of China if there had not been a Chinaman ready to buy. There were always Chinamen eager to buy at high prices, and at any risk. There is no doubt, however, that the view that a policy of non-interference with the import of opium had been practically forced upon the Chinese Government by the war became a popular belief among the Chinese after the war, and has been since held by many Englishmen and other foreigners, and is expressed, for example, in General Gordon's letter, from which I have quoted above. I think, however, that the evidence shows that this view, if true at all, is only true to a very limited degree. To the extent that after the war, as before the war, we refused to ourselves attempt to repress the contraband opium trade off the coasts, or in the inner waters of China, or to stop the export of Malwa and Bengal opium from India, it is true that we forced the trade on her, but not otherwise. It is, however, evident that the difficulties in the way of our undertaking to put down the trade, even in Indian opium only, were immense if not insurmountable. These difficulties have been described above in paragraph 5 of this section, in considering the arguments which may be used to excuse the increased production of Bengal opium after the year 1830. The only effectual way would have been to stop all export of Indian opium, which was no doubt physically possible after the annexation of Sindh in 1843. That is the measure now advocated by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and the existing reasons for and against adopting it are considered in the Seventh Section of the Report.

That we did not in any other sense force toleration of the trade on China after the war, or attempt to hinder her from herself taking all legitimate measures for stopping it, seems proved from the Parliamentary Papers of 1840 and 1857, and from the text of the Treaties. Opium remained contraband, but the trade went on more vigorously than ever. Though strong action was taken by the British Government under the Treaty to attempt to confine all British trade, opium included, to open ports, and so limit the area which the Chinese had to guard, and though the British High Commissioner and British Consuls frequently sent information to the Chinese officials of European smuggling operations in the inner waters and suggested action, the Chinese officials remained inert. It is no doubt possible that the Chinese did not believe altogether in the honesty of our official attitude, and thought it dangerous to take strong measures against Europeans, but this is no good explanation of the fact that they were equally inert in acting against the native smugglers, boatmen, or merchants, and did nothing to prevent their transporting opium to the towns where it was openly sold. They failed in the same way to respond to the American Minister's suggestions, and consequently, as Mr. Reed stated in 1859, the clause in the American Treaty forbidding Americans from engaging in the opium trade was ineffective. In short, for some reason or other, for which the British Government does not seem responsible, the policy of the Chinese Government at this time was not to take action to stop the trade. Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Plenipotentiary, within a month after the execution of the Supplementary Treaty of the 8th October 1843, wrote as follows to Lord Aberdeen:

"I cannot help thinking that everything has now been done that is possible, or that China can expect from us, to assist her objects in this respect; and it is further my duty to inform Her Majesty's Government that whatever may be the terms in which the trade in opium is spoken of in this and other official communications that are placed on record, I have the strongest causes for doubting whether even one in a hundred of the officers of the Chinese Government is at all disposed to check the trade;"

And Keying, who, after being Chinese Plenipotentiary with Sir Henry Pottinger, had become High Commissioner at Canton, recorded his opinion in 1844 that opium smokers were innumerable, and that it was impracticable to prohibit the habit.

The popular belief mentioned above that the Chinese Government was forced by the war of 1840-42 to tolerate the trade was greatly due to the fact, that by Article IV. of the Treaty it was obliged to compensate the owners of the opium destroyed by its orders in 1839. That article runs as follows: "The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 6,000,000 dollars as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a ransom for the lives of H.B.M. Superintendent and subjects who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese high officials." Though the manner in which the delivery of the opium from the ships at Lintin was enforced put the Chinese Government in the wrong it is unfortunate that it was held necessary to compensate the owners, but it appears that the reason for this course was that Captain Elliot made a promise of indemnity to all owners, in or not in the power of the Chinese Government, to induce them to join in the surrender. The bill, therefore, had to be paid, either by England or China, and in the circumstances the English people were not prepared to accept the liability.

8. It is admitted that our second war with China of 1856-58 had nothing to do with opium; the incident which was the immediate cause, and the preceding controversies which had led to extremely strained relations between the two Powers, were unconnected with this trade, which was going on smoothly. But the voluntary character of the legalisation of the opium trade by China which followed the war has been denied, and it has been asserted that we took advantage of her defeat to apply pressure which she could not resist. I think it can be shown that, though legalisation was suggested as it had been before, nothing of the nature of pressure was used, and that the measure was adopted because the Chinese Government recognised that as it was not in its power to stop the trade or check the habit, the wisest course was to regulate the trade and derive a revenue from taxing it. They must have known this after the first war, but as General Gordon suggests in his letter to Mr. Boulger already quoted, they appear to have been prevented from then changing their traditional policy towards the opium trade principally by pride and fear of loss of prestige in China. This consideration disappeared after the second war, for the Treaty which they were forced to agree to by that war contained conditions much more injurious in their opinion to the prestige and interests of China than a change of policy in regard to opium, and accompanied by no countervailing advantages of revenue. When therefore the revision of the tariff came to be discussed they, of their own accord, proposed to admit opium as a duty-paying article, and all the conditions they suggested were agreed to.

A short account of the negotiations which followed the hostilities of 1856-58 will establish the view here expressed.

In the instructions issued for the guidance of these negotiations to Lord Elgin by the British Government the points included in the demand to be made on the Chinese Government bore no reference to opium, but laid stress on the execution of the stipulations of the former Treaty as regards Canton, and on the necessity of obtaining recognition of the residence of an accredited Envoy at Peking or of his occasional visit to that city, with the right of corresponding direct with the high officials at the capital. In a supplementary letter of the same date, Lord Clarendon explained more fully the provisions regarding commerce which the Government considered desirable. The paragraph relating to opium runs as follows:—

"It will be for your Excellency, when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese 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."

In approaching the Court of Peking after the operations against Canton, Lord Elgin gave prominence to the questions of access to Peking, the regulated circulation of foreigners in the Empire, and the advantages of relaxing the existing restriction of legal trade to a few ports, which had occasioned the rise of a large contraband.

Elgin
Papers, 1859,
pp. 1-4.

p. 5.

p. 182.

Elgin
Papers, 1859,
pp. 325-30.
pp. 330-6.
pp. 345-6.
pp. 399-404.

The need of revising the tariff, owing to variations in the prices since 1843, and of suppressing illegal transit duties, was also pointed out, and, finally, the advisability was mentioned of ensuring better treatment of Christian missionaries, a point specified by Lord Clarendon as one which should, if possible, be gained. The letter met with no response, and the advance on Tientsin followed. In the negotiations that ended in the Treaty concluded at that place, the proposals regarding admission to Peking were alone prominent, though that of allowing foreigners to visit the interior on passports was accepted, but not for immediate execution. The Treaty itself did not deal with the tariff, but provision was made for the revision of that of 1843 through authority separately delegated by the two Powers.

The subject of opium was not mentioned in the Treaty, and was not even discussed by the Plenipotentiaries at Tientsin. Lord Elgin's dislike of the opium trade is well known; he has explained why he refrained from then introducing the subject in a letter to Mr. Reed, the American Minister, from which the following passage may be quoted:—

"Not because I questioned the advantages which would accrue from the legalisation of the trade, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect under the kind of pressure we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin."

The Treaty was signed on the 26th June 1858. The negotiations for the revision of the tariff began some time later, and were concluded on the 8th of November. The revised tariff arrangements were thus signed by Lord Elgin and the Chinese Commissioner five months after peace had been restored and the foreign armaments withdrawn from the Peiho. These facts, and the character of Lord Elgin and his strong views on the subject, are sufficient proof in themselves that the action of the Chinese in legalising opium was voluntary. As additional proof the testimony of Messrs. Lay and Oliphant, recorded in 1880, and quoted by the Government of India in their despatch of 1881, may be cited. Their evidence is of such value and importance that it is advisable to save the trouble of reference by quoting it here; Mr. Lay says:—

Times, 22nd
Oct. 1880.

"All the negotiations at Tientsin passed through me. Not one word on either side was said about opium from first to last. The revision of the tariff and the adjustment of all questions affecting our trade were designedly left for after deliberation, and it was agreed that for that purpose the Chinese High Commissioner should meet Lord Elgin at Shanghai in the following winter. . . . In the meantime the preparation of the tariff devolved upon me, at the desire of the Chinese no less than of Lord Elgin. When I came to opium I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was 'we have resolved to put it into the tariff as *yang yoh* (foreign medicine).' I urged a moderate duty in view of the cost of collection, which was agreed to."

Mr. Oliphant's letter bears date three days later; he writes:—

Times, 25th
Oct. 1880.

"I was appointed in 1858 Commissioner for the settlement of the trade and tariff regulations with China, and during my absence with Lord Elgin in Japan, Mr. Lay was charged to consider the details with the subordinate Chinese officials named for the purpose. On my return to Shanghai I went through the tariff elaborated by these gentlemen with the Commissioner appointed by the Chinese Government. When we came to the article opium, I informed the Commissioner that *I had received instructions from Lord Elgin not to insist on the insertion of the drug in the tariff, should the Chinese Government wish to omit it. This he declined to do.* I then proposed that the duty should be increased beyond the figure suggested in the tariff, but to this he objected, on the ground that it would increase the inducements to smuggling. . . . I trust that the delusion that the opium trade now existing with China was 'extorted' from that country by the British Ambassador may be finally dispelled."

China
Papers, 5 of
1871, p. 432.

In Parliament and elsewhere certain words used by Sir Thomas Wade, in a despatch written from China in 1868, have been often quoted as proof, that, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, the legalisation of the opium trade was a concession extorted from China by force, against the conscience of the nation, and in defiance of the moral convictions of its educated men. If, however, the whole despatch is read, it will be seen that Sir Thomas Wade was referring to the concessions which were demanded from the Chinese Government as conditions of peace, and which were embodied in the Treaty of 26th June 1858, and specially to the liberties and protection conceded to missionaries and their converts, and the demand for embassies at Peking. There was no party among the Chinese people in any way in favour of these concessions, and, rightly or wrongly, we distinctly extorted them by force from the Chinese Government; on the other hand, we made no such demand for the legalization of the opium trade, and if, after the Treaty of Peace was concluded, any suggestion in favour of such a measure was advanced from our side, the evidence shows that it must have been done informally and without the least pressure. The legalisation of the trade did not increase it, and unless it is assumed that the Chinese were able to stop the contraband trade, and likely to do so, it cannot be said that the measure was

profitable to our Government, or to the Indian revenue. It was the revenue of the Imperial Government of China that gained by it. Nor can it be assumed of the Chinese nation as a whole, or of the Chinese educated class, that there was no party in favour of the trade or its legalisation. The smoking habit pervaded all classes, and was particularly common among the official and educated class, and without the active aid of Chinese smugglers, merchants, and officials the contraband trade would, of course, have been an impossibility.

As another proof that the Chinese Government agreed to the measure of their own free will, it may be noted that Mr. Reed, the American Minister, after personal investigation of the case, fell in with Lord Elgin's view that the legalisation of the trade was the right course to adopt in the interest of China, and the American Government, therefore, promptly agreed to the new tariff. Yet, previously, the American Government had always shown a disposition to side with China against us in this and other matters.

The provisions regarding opium in the agreement of November 1858, made in the circumstances above mentioned, include the imposition of an import duty of 30 taels (about 10*l.*) per chest. It was a condition that whenever the drug was moved from the port of arrival it must be accompanied by Chinese alone. This was in order to prevent Europeans pushing the trade in the interior, and to keep it, when outside the areas of the foreign concessions or settlements of the open ports, entirely in Chinese hands, and fully subject to Chinese control.

For the same reason the passport system laid down in the main Treaty was not to be applicable to trade in opium; nor, again, were the restrictions placed on the limit of the Li-Kin, or transit duty, in the case of other goods extended to that article. Finally, at the revision of the tariff, which could be demanded by either party to the Treaty at intervals of 10 years, opium was to be exempted from the rules limiting increase of rates of import duty that applied to other merchandise.

Sir Thomas Wade informed the Commission that Lord Elgin was prepared to agree to any rate of duty, however high, so that the trade was regularised. The limit was obviously the point at which smuggling could again become profitable. The rate fixed was double that imposed on other merchandise, and as Mr. Oliphant's evidence quoted above shows, the Chinese Commissioner refused to put it higher on the ground that it would induce smuggling. This import duty, it must be remembered, only covered import to the foreign concessions at the open ports; on the opium leaving those concessions, the Chinese Government was free by the agreement to impose on it any rate of Li-Kin, or transit duty, it liked. There was no limit as regards opium, and no privilege of paying an extra half rate and getting a certificate freeing the parcel through all Li-Kin collectorates to destination. In both these respects opium was denied the privileges which were conceded to other goods. In fact, the Chinese Government under the tariff agreement which followed the Tientsin Treaty got all it asked for as regards opium, and was free if it liked to confine the drug to the foreign concessions by prohibitive rates of Li-Kin duty. It was too wise to make the attempt, as it knew that the drug would then be smuggled in from other directions, and that import duty, as well as Li-Kin duty, would be lost.

In short, the whole character of the provisions legalising the import of opium in the agreement of November 1858, is another proof that the arrangement was voluntary.

It was the wisest arrangement which the Chinese Government could make under the circumstances, and this is the opinion which was expressed by no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone in a speech made in 1870.

9. After the trade was legalised in 1858, questions about opium only appear in negotiations in connexion with the revision of the tariff, which either Government had the right to propose at certain intervals. In this way there were negotiations in 1868, and, again, at Chefoo in 1876. On the first occasion the Chinese Commissioners were apparently anxious that our Government should stop the trade altogether by prohibiting all export from India, but failing that, they had no wish to alter the arrangements made in 1858 for legalising the trade, and were satisfied with a moderate increase of the import duty. In considering the statements which Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade made in the course of the negotiations of 1868, it must be remembered that they were doing their best for China in opposition to the Indian officials, whose business it was to protect the interests of India. On the second occasion, in 1876, the policy of the Chinese Government seemed to have changed. Their Commissioners expressed no wish that the trade should be stopped, and seemed anxious to improve the system of collection and increase the revenue. Accordingly

I. 1301.
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Hansard
201, p. 516.

they gladly accepted an arrangement proposed by Sir Thomas Wade, which was expressed in the Chefoo Convention as follows:—

“On opium, Sir Thomas Wade will move his Government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants whose opium is brought into port will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the Customs and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the Li-Kin, in order to prevent the evasion of the duty. The amount of the Li-Kin to be collected will be decided by the different provincial Governments according to the circumstances of each.”

The reasons why the Convention of 1868 was never ratified, and which long prevented the ratification of that of 1876, are fully explained in Sir Thomas Wade's evidence.

In the latter will be found a full account taken from a formal report recorded at the time, of an important interview which Sir Thomas Wade had at the Chinese Foreign Office, on 16th January 1881, with the Minister who was then virtually Foreign Minister of the Empire. Sir Thomas asked him what was the policy favoured by the central Government in respect to opium, native and foreign, pointing out that policies which seemed to be diametrically opposite were being followed in the different Provinces of the Empire. We quote in full the record of the reply to this question, and of the further conversation which passed, as it seems to throw much light upon the views which have been recently held by the Chinese Government.

“The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all. Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium-smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium-smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account. The only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the government of the Empire. Sir T. Wade went on to say that many persons, notably the foreign missionaries in China, had been urging on the British Government through various channels the advisability and the equity of abandoning their connexion with opium. Suppose, for as yet it was a pure supposition, that the British Government were eventually to effect a gradual diminution of the opium trade from India, by limiting the import to an increasing degree, year by year, until the trade was abolished altogether, did the Minister think that such an arrangement would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government? The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion such a plan would be useless. As long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere. Any serious attempt to check the evil must originate with individuals. As long as men wanted to smoke and insisted on smoking, they would 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.”

The negotiations for the ratification of the arrangement in the Chefoo Convention regarding opium were later on transferred to London and conducted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Ministers at the Court of St. James. They were somewhat protracted, owing to the necessity, on the part of the latter, to refer certain points to Peking, but were concluded in 1885, and the result embodied in an additional article to the Chefoo Convention. In the footnote* the text of all the

China, 5 of
1885.

(C.—4448.)

China, 3 of
1886.

(C.—4735.)

* *Main Clauses of the Additional Article to the Chefoo Convention, ratified 18th July 1885.*

2. In lieu of the arrangement respecting opium proposed in clause 3 of Section III. of the Chefoo Agreement, it is agreed that foreign opium, when imported into China, shall be taken cognizance of by the Imperial Maritime Customs, and shall be deposited in bond, either in warehouses or receiving hulks which have been approved of by the Customs, and that it shall not be removed thence until there shall have been paid to the Customs the tariff duty of 30 taels per chest of 100 catties, and also a sum not exceeding 80 taels per like chest as Li-Kin.

3. It is agreed that the aforesaid import and Li-Kin duties having been paid, the owner shall be allowed to have the opium repacked in bond under the supervision of the Customs, and put into packages of such assorted sizes as he may select from such sizes as shall have been agreed upon by the Customs authorities and British Consul at the port of entry.

The Customs shall then, if required, issue gratuitously to the owner a transit certificate for each such package, or one for any number of packages, at the option of the owner.

Such certificate shall free the opium to which it applies from the imposition of any further tax or duty whilst in transport in the interior, provided that the package has not been opened, and that the Customs seals, marks, and numbers on the packages have not been effaced or tampered with.

Such certificates shall have validity only in the hands of Chinese subjects, and shall not entitle foreigners to convey or accompany any opium in which they may be interested into the interior.

5. The Chinese Government undertakes that when the packages shall have been opened at the place of consumption, the opium shall not be subjected to any tax or contribution, direct or indirect, other than or in excess of such tax or contribution as is or may hereafter be levied on native opium.

In the event of such tax or contribution being calculated *ad valorem*, the same rate, value for value, shall be assessed on foreign and native opium; and in ascertaining for this purpose the value of foreign opium, the amount paid on it for Li-Kin at the port of entry shall be deducted from its market value.

material clauses of the article is given. The Chinese Government obtained all the concessions it asked for, and the Secretary of State for India, in communicating the result to the Government of India, in his despatch No. 7, of 22nd January 1885, made the following remark:—"You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing, and includes all that they desire."

VII. p. 214

10. The arrangement of 1885 works smoothly, and no notice of desire to terminate it, or to re-consider the opium question, has been received from China, though two opportunities have occurred. The Chinese Government has not been without encouragement to re-open the question. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade has more than once addressed it direct, and urged it to act, and Sir James Fergusson, speaking on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891, said, "The Chinese at any time may terminate the Treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend 1l. in powder and shot, or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium on the Chinese."

Hansard
352, p. 316.

The natural conclusion from the above brief account of the negotiations subsequent to 1868, is that there is no reason to believe that the Chinese Government at present wishes to re-open the settlement of questions connected with the opium trade attained in 1885, or that it would be afraid to take the initiative if it had the wish. This conclusion is also supported by the opinion given by Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, Mr. O'Connor, in a letter to the Commission, dated February 6th, 1894, which is in the Appendices. Sir Thomas Wade, and Mr. Lay, C.B., also express the same opinion in their notes and evidence. Nor do any of the unofficial witnesses, whose evidence has been sent to us from China, assert the belief that the Chinese Government wishes to move in the matter.

V. p. 229.

J. B. LYALL.

February 25th, 1895.

(Footnote—continued.)

6. It is agreed that the present Additional Article shall be considered as forming part of the Chefoo Agreement, and that it shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted therein word for word.

It shall come into operation six months after its signature, provided the ratifications have then been exchanged, or if they have not, then on the date at which such exchange takes place.

7. The arrangement respecting opium contained in the present Additional Article shall remain binding for four years, after the expiration of which period either Government may at any time give 12 months' notice of its desire to terminate it, and such notice being given it shall terminate accordingly.

It is, however, agreed that the Government of Great Britain shall have the right to terminate the same at any time should the transit certificate be found not to confer on the opium complete exemption from all taxation whatsoever whilst being carried from the port of entry to the place of consumption in the interior.

In the event of the termination of the present Additional Article, the arrangement with regard to opium now in force under the Regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin shall revise.

8. The High Contracting Parties may, by common consent, adopt any modifications of the provisions of the present Additional Article which experience may show to be desirable.

MEMORANDUM III. ;

By Mr. HARIDAS VEHARIDAS.

I am in some doubt as to how I can best put on record a few comparatively trifling particulars with regard to which I differ somewhat from the conclusions at which my colleagues have arrived, as I fear that any attempt on my part to dissect any portion of the Report and introduce into the body of it phrases expressing my own view, will not only spoil the harmony of thought and composition, but will, perhaps, not meet with the approval of my colleagues. I agree with almost all the decisions given on the chief points of reference. Thus, if the Right Honourable Chairman will permit me, I would venture to submit separately a few observations on those points where I think my own views require a little more elucidation.

2. Had the policy of the Government of India with regard to its relations with opium not been assailed from a moral point of view—had the people of India not been impressed with the idea that any reduction in the Indian revenue effected by the proposed abolition of the production and sale of opium would have to be met by fresh taxation—had they not been afraid that the inquiries by the Opium Commission would probably result in a further restriction to the supply and sale of opium which would deprive them of the privilege of conveniently using it in many ways;—and had a number of Christian Missionaries as well as a few others not been somehow or other strongly prejudiced against the use of opium except for purely and authoritatively medical purposes—I am confident that opium would have been shown before our Commission with greater justice to itself, as regards its capability of doing both good and harm, than what we have been able to learn of during our Inquiry. I believe it is fair to say that opium was introduced to us by both sides in a more or less exaggerated form with respect to its faults or otherwise.

3. Bearing this in mind, I should be disposed to pass over without too careful scrutiny the whole of the evidence which bears the marks of exaggeration, whether medical, military, or missionary. I would, on the other hand, lay great stress on the evidence given on behalf of the Native States, where opium is grown and also where it is not grown, and by the people in general, who have expressed their desire not to prohibit the production and sale of opium as proposed, and also their unwillingness to bear any tax to make up the loss in the Indian revenue that would be caused by the enforcement of the proposed prohibition of the product and sale of opium. So far as can be seen from the evidence before the Commission, the laudable endeavours of the disinterested and philanthropic associations at whose instance the Commission has been appointed have not been successful in making out a case against the use of opium in a manner that would necessitate such prohibition. But the evidence has shown us very conclusively that any further restriction against the use of opium would contribute towards the increase of the use of alcohol, which is admitted by all parties to be much more injurious and mischievous than opium, not to speak of its objectionable character in a majority of cases from a religious point of view. But it is greatly to be wondered at and regretted that this has not adequately drawn the attention of Government, inasmuch as they have adopted much more stringent measures against the use of opium than that of alcohol. For instance, it is illegal to sell or to keep more than from two to ten tolas of opium, while country liquors can be sold or kept up to a gallon without hitch or hindrance, and any quantity of European liquors can be imported as well as sold and kept even without a license. We have also evidence to show that the use of alcohol is spreading far and wide. It strikes the people of this country as unfair that before any attempt is made to relieve India from the effects of alcohol, which is comparatively a far more injurious and objectionable article, there should have been a movement, disinterested and sympathising as it is, to suppress the use, except for medical purposes, of a stuff like opium, which is admittedly far less harmful and objectionable so far as India is concerned. I would now leave it to the British people, noble-minded and sympathetic as they are, to see their way to adopting effective measures to check the exportation of European alcohol to India.

4. As regards the exportation of Indian opium to China. To abolish it would result in a great loss to Indian revenue. This loss the Indian people are unwilling and unable to make up by accepting the imposition of any additional tax. They have no voice to

check or reduce the expenditure made in India or in England to be borne by India, which is admittedly poor and already over-taxed, while its resources are constantly drained off to foreign countries without adequate and substantial return from them. It may also be mentioned that India is a dependency of England, while China is not that of India. Under these circumstances it cannot be for a moment imagined that those British people, who have disinterestedly taken up this cause for the good of India and China, would ever expect India, helpless as it is, to extend its generosity, at a great loss, towards China, in the manner proposed before the Commission. Again, viewing this point in another light, it is the Chinese Government that should take stringent measures against the importation of Indian opium, if it believes that it is either injured or ruined by accepting the drug from India. This it can well do now when it has been publicly announced before Parliament on behalf of the British Government that the Chinese Government are under no Treaty obligations to accept Indian opium, if they choose to refuse it. But if the Chinese Government, from past experience, still entertain any fears as to the *bonâ fide* carrying out of the authoritative announcement made before Parliament, I would suggest that an official communication might be sent from the British Government to the Chinese Government, informing the latter that any action on their part towards the stoppage of the importation of Indian opium into China, would be unhampered by the treaty obligations entered into by them with the British Government. I am, however, afraid China would not be prepared to do so, so long as it allows an extensive growth of opium on its own land, and also accepts importation of the drug from Turkey and Persia. Thus any attempt from outside for the benefit of China, would, if I have been able to see through the subject correctly, be ineffective, unless China takes the initiative in adopting the strictest measures, first against the cultivation of opium on its own land, and then gradually against the importation of the drug from foreign countries.

5. Though I am not prepared to agree altogether to the reasons stated in Section VII. of the Draft Report, in support of the Bengal Opium Monopoly, I feel inclined to acquiesce in its continuance so long as no better, or less objectionable, way of the manufacture and sale of opium has been brought to the notice of the Commission. But from the evidence before us I see reason to believe that the convenience and interests of the improvident and ignorant opium cultivators have suffered in the interests of the monopoly. The zeal of the officers engaged on the monopoly establishment, with some exceptions, appears to have been mostly directed to secure the interests of Government.

6. In addition to the recommendations made in the Draft Report therefore, I would propose that a general notification should be issued, and promulgated in such a manner as to make its contents fully and correctly known to the cultivators concerned, to the effect that they are not in any way bound to cultivate opium, that it is altogether optional for them whether to continue growing opium or to give it up, as it may suit them from time to time. It was objected to this during our Inquiry that such a notification would result in the decrease of opium cultivation, and consequently in a great loss to the opium revenue. But evidence was produced before the Commission to establish that the opium crop is the most paying of all other crops; and if that is the case, I fail to understand why fears should be entertained of a decrease in opium cultivation from any number of notifications of the tenor proposed. Such a notification would, in my humble opinion, be the only way of knowing the real wishes and convenience of the cultivators concerned as to growing opium. My proposal is based on the simple principle that when a cultivator pays fixed rent for his land, he ought to have, as a matter of right, full and unfettered discretion as to what kind of crop he should grow on the land. If any considerable number of cultivators within the opium monopoly district gave up the cultivation of opium, Government should either extend the limits of the territory now under the opium monopoly or find another part of the country where cultivators are willing to grow opium. But to make the cultivators of a particular part of the country grow opium against their wish is, as it were, to realise a revenue at their expense for the benefit of the rest of the British Indian subjects.

7. I am sorry to be unable to endorse the opinion expressed in Section VI. of the Draft Report as regards the Vaid and Hakims who practice in Brahmanic and Musalman methods of medicine. They are, I must admit, not surgeons, but very good physicians in their own way, and, so far as my own experience and knowledge go, not at all less careful in treating their patients than those practising according to European methods of medicine. These Vaid and Hakims, more or less, undergo a regular course of study in books of medicine which show the properties of different medical

stuffs, and describe the prescription and preparation of the same. These men may, in my humble opinion, be much more safely entrusted with dispensing opium than the common ignorant opium farmers or vendors under the present system. I am against the prohibition of the use of opium except for medical purposes, not because I think that no arrangement could be made to carry out prohibition, but because it appears to me to be neither desirable nor necessary that such a prohibition should be made under the present circumstances.

8. I think the system of local option against the free use of opium might be introduced in India as a tentative measure. The Government of His Highness the Gaekwád of Barodá has, of late, introduced this system in connexion with some undesirable caste customs. Government might legislate an enactment on this subject, and let those who choose to come under the law, apply for its enforcement, as was once the case for municipalities. Such an enactment would eventually lead to another—and a more beneficial one—for the check of the increasing use of alcohol.

9. As regards opium-smoking, I do not think orders such as have been already issued to check it will practically bring about the desired result. We have found from evidence that the practice of opium-smoking goes on all the same by simply arranging to be just beyond the technical scope of the restrictions made in such orders. The practice of opium-smoking is generally condemned; but nothing short of its abolition by law will, in my humble opinion, put an end to it. It is most desirable that it should be made penal. There were some cases before the Presidency magistrate of Bombay, where the accused were acquitted only because there were in a house, say, eight persons, and the quantity of opium used by them for smoking did not exceed the total of what each of them was allowed by law to possess. This is in my view plainly ridiculous. Under the present state of law, the opium-smokers can indulge in their vicious practice with impunity. To remove this difficulty a strict law should be made prohibiting opium-smoking in any form and under any circumstances, and thus frustrating the attempts of the lovers of opium-smoking as well as those interested in the opium trade to escape from its clutches.

10. Knowing as I do, as a Native of India, the feelings of the Natives in general regarding the habit of opium-smoking and its effects, I do not feel myself justified in entertaining any fears like those expressed in Section VI. As the evidence has shown that the habit of opium-smoking is confined to a very small number of people, and that it is disreputable, I feel the more convinced as to the necessity of prohibiting it by means of legislation, so that it may not gradually increase. This weighs with me so much that with every deference to the views expressed in para. 195, I feel constrained to differ from them.

11. I do not see why the practice of opium-smoking can not be made illegal when gambling has been so treated. I do not find in the Bombay Act No. IV. of 1887 any restriction as to the number; but a qualification is made as regards the place of gaming. Such a qualification I would propose to remove in the case of opium-smoking. This meets the objection raised at our private sitting in Bombay against the practicability of my above proposal.

12. With regard to the estimated loss the opium-producing States would suffer, should the cultivation of opium in those States be discontinued. I may be allowed to bring prominently to the notice of the Right Honourable Chairman and my colleagues that the States concerned submitted these figures showing roughly estimated loss only because they were asked to do so. But almost all of them asserted that they would not be willing to undertake the abolition of the cultivation of opium in their territories for any amount of compensation, unless they were forced by Imperial orders to do so. Under these circumstances there remains no question of compensation.

(Signed) HARIDAS VEHARIDAS.

Junagadh,
24th January 1895.

ANNEXURE IV.

MINUTE OF DISSENT, BY MR. HENRY J. WILSON, M.P.,
WITH NOTES AND APPENDIX.

1. As I am unable to concur in the report prepared by my colleagues, it is necessary that I should submit a statement of my own views upon the principal subjects of the inquiry. I desire to do so as briefly as possible.

2. The resolution of the House of Commons in pursuance of which the Commission was appointed was proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and carried by 184 to 105. The minority, consisting mainly of those who may be described, for brevity's sake, as the Anti-opium Party, desired the appointment of a Commission for a very different and more useful purpose than that which was finally recommended by the resolution of the House. NOTE A.

3. The 722 witnesses who appeared before us may be roughly divided into three classes, 191 who disapprove of the general use of opium, or are opposed for various reasons to the present opium system, or anti-opiumists; 487 more or less approving that system, or pro-opiumists; and 44 neutral or unclassified, including those who appeared purely for statistical or other evidence of a restricted character.

4. The anti-opiumist witnesses who were Natives of India were, generally speaking, not equal to the pro-opiumists in wealth and social position, but were not on that account less able to represent the habits and opinions of the great mass of their fellow-countrymen. This class includes a majority of the native journalists, lawyers, teachers and professors. Of qualified non-official native medical practitioners, a considerable majority were either anti-opiumists or somewhat undecided in their views. An enormous majority of the medical and other Christian missionaries who appeared before the Commission also gave anti-opium evidence.

The pro-opiumists, on the other hand, represented the great majority of the official classes, both European and Native, including military medical officers, together with many titled personages, landowners, and persons who considered that their financial interests were at stake.

5. A change appears to have come over official statements in reference to opium within the last few years. These were, until very recently, almost invariably condemnatory of the drug. Illustrations of this are given in the Notes, and it will suffice to make here one quotation only. On the 24th October 1817 the Directors of the East India Company, writing to the Governor-General, referred to their desire "to restrain the use of this pernicious drug," and went on to say, "were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind." NOTE B.

It will be seen from the evidence, some of which is hereafter referred to, that a very considerable body of officials now adopt a decidedly altered tone. No definite cause has been assigned for this change, but it is impossible to dissociate it from the financial difficulties of India, and from the pressure of the anti-opium movement in England having been increasingly associated with the discussion on the reduction of Indian expenditure.

PRODUCTION OF OPIUM.

6. The production of opium in British India is not specially mentioned in the reference to the Commission, but it seems desirable to make some allusion to it.

So far as British India is concerned, the interest may be said to be almost confined to what is commonly known as the "Bengal Monopoly System,"*

* The "Bengal Monopoly System" provides 98 per cent. of the opium produced in British India. The remaining 2 per cent. is produced in the Panjab and Ajmere-Merwara. As to opium produced in the Native States, see pars. 42-47.

under which the cultivation of poppy is (for the convenience of surveillance) concentrated in two areas, known as the Behar Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Patna, and the Benares Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Ghazipur. The cultivation is by Act XIII of 1857 restricted to cultivators who have received license to grow poppy.

Vol. II, p. 325.

On the average of the last three years (1890-1 to 1892-3), as to which returns were supplied, 243,605 acres of poppy were grown in the Behar Agency, and 229,574 acres in the Benares Agency, making together 473,179 acres.

Taking the average of the same three years, the licensed cultivators, numbering 1,247,941, delivered to the officials 78,944 maunds of opium, or about 57,995 cwts., for which they received Rs. 15,774,607, say, 854,457l.* including certain advances made before sowing or delivery.

5254-8, 10,807-8,
12,226, 12,963,
18,679, 19,535.

From these figures it will be found that the average cultivator delivered about 5.20 lbs. and received Rs. 12.64, say 13s. 8½d.* It is claimed that the cultivator is greatly benefited by getting an advance "without interest," but this advance is under 6s. and for only part of the year, so that at 5 per cent. per annum the interest would amount to less than 2½d. per cultivator.

NOTE C.

See Note C.

Return, C. 8378,
"Opium negotiations
with China," 1882.
Vol. II., 5300 to
5304.

7. It is said that there was a time when the poppy was a generally remunerative, and, therefore, popular crop. But it is certain from the correspondence which took place in 1881 between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, that it was not then by any means universally popular.

Vol. V., App. I.
NOTE D.

In 1883 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department, and from official correspondence which arose out of the report of that Commission it is perfectly clear that in some districts many of the ryots were reluctant to undertake the cultivation of the poppy.

13,521 to 13,534.

The Commission of 1883 made numerous recommendations for improving the position of the poppy cultivator, but most of their recommendations have been neglected by the authorities.

2767, 6282, 10,909,
13,897, 11,362-3,
19,093.
NOTE E.

There is still difficulty in obtaining the quantity of ground desired by the Government, and methods, which in India are called "persuasion" and in England compulsion, have to be resorted to.

The evidence showed that this compulsion is greater in the Behar than in the Benares Agency; it is natural, also, that it should be greater in the places where the poppy is least productive.

(a) 13,457.

(b) 13,579.

(c) 2927, 3249,
19,849-4, 19,535-7,
10,795-6, 14,942,
19,126.

It is the duty of the zilladars, the lower officials of the Opium Department, who are distributed all over the opium districts, to induce the people to apply for licenses and advances and to bring them to the weighment places. Mr. Gregory called this "coolie driving" (a), and although he afterwards said it meant only to collect them (b), I fail to reconcile this kind of driving or collecting with anxiety on the part of the people to obtain the alleged privilege of cultivating (c).

The most conclusive evidence on this subject is furnished by what has happened since the Commission left India. The Indian Revenue Department's Resolution No. 2208, 20th April 1894, comments on the decrease in the area of cultivation, giving among other reasons the competition of other crops, and states "that the price of opium paid to cultivators will have to be increased in order to keep pace with the rise of prices of other produce." In accordance with this, the price paid to the cultivators has been raised 20 per cent., viz., from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per seer. This proceeding in the present condition of Indian finance is in curious and suggestive contrast with the official evidence presented to the Commission as to the profitable, and therefore popular, character of poppy cultivation.

(d) 2920, 19,131,
19,537.

8. The official witnesses denied that compulsion was practised (d). Mr. Forbes, who holds the important position of Commissioner of Patna, stated

* Here and elsewhere the value of the rupee has been taken at 1s. 1d. English.

(^d) "as far as I know, the cultivators grow it entirely of their own free will," (^c) 10,829.
 He also said that the charge of compulsion had taken the officials by surprise (^e). (^c) 12,079, 5399.
 "The charge, in my opinion, arises entirely from the ignorance of the gentle-
 "men, who, no doubt in good faith have conceived an entirely mistaken idea
 "of the relations between ourselves and the inhabitants generally of the
 "country" (^f). (^f) 12,156.

Yet at the same time he informed the Commission that, in consequence of a rumour from Calcutta only a week before, he had been making special inquiries into the allegations, and that in that short time he had heard of three cases, as to which he undertook to make further and strict inquiry (^g). (^g) 12,079.

It appears from Lord Brassey's remark (Q. 12,081) that Mr. Forbes had already spoken to him on the subject, and it was dismissed at the time by Lord Brassey's statement to Mr. Forbes:—

"You have assured me that you will not allow the matter to be neglected, and that if there is anything wrong the man shall be punished."

The result of these inquiries has been communicated by Mr. Forbes since our return to England, and will be found in Appendix XXXII., Vol. V., a perusal of which, and of Note F., will show that a zilladar, or inferior officer of the Opium Department, was seriously implicated in one case, that Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, was compromised in two cases, and Mr. Skrine, who holds the important office of Collector of Bhagalpur, was guilty of direct interference and pressure for the purpose of promoting opium cultivation. NOTE F.

There is no evidence that any official has been subjected to any censure or discipline.

9. Exactions of every kind are practised by the zilladars and other subordinate officials on the ryots. The Commission of 1883 reported, "Every seer of opium which a cultivator delivers pays toll to the amlah (subordinate official) and from every rupee which a cultivator receives a per-centage is deducted for their benefit." It was admitted by official witnesses that illegal exactions have continued (^e), that little attempt is made to detect them (^d), and it is too plain from Mr. Wace's cautious answers, that even some European officials (^e) are not altogether free from suspicion. Report, 1883, par. 658. (^e) 10,851, 12,336, 12,149. (^d) 12,325. (^e) 10,899, 10,901.

10. Cases were reported to us (^f) showing that the officials of the Opium Department, not content with the severe law providing ample punishment for offences, take upon themselves to summarily destroy the crops of cultivators who have, or who are supposed to have, neglected to grow the full quantity of poppy for which they have taken advances. One very interesting and suggestive case of this kind, of which full particulars are given in the Notes, was proved beyond all doubt, and no attempt was made to disprove the others. (^f) 11,355-89. 12,396-454. 20,444.*

Resolution of Revenue Department, No. 2208, of 20th April 1894, states that in nearly 70 per cent. of the cases of alleged infraction of the opium laws in the Aliganj Sub-Division in the year 1892-3, "departmental punishment was inflicted on the offenders, who were all opium cultivators, instead of sending them up to the criminal court." If this means that cultivators have been summarily punished as in one of the cases above referred to, it is much to be regretted that the Government of Bengal should, since the Commission left India, have expressed its approval of "the course adopted in the Aliganj Sub-Agency of punishing opium cultivators departmentally." NOTE G.

COMPENSATION ON TERMINATION OF POPPY CULTIVATION.

11. Some of the Government witnesses (^a) as well as persons financially interested (^b) suggested that if the Bengal monopoly system should be terminated, compensation ought to be paid to the zemindars and ryots. It has become common to speak of "prohibition" in connexion with this matter, but it must be remembered that prohibition has already been enacted by the (^a) 2080, 5254, 14,398, 26,832. (^b) 14,441, 12,943-60.

* The petition, which is not printed, alleges that part of a wheat-field was "unsowed" by officials of the Opium Department.

(*) Vol. II., pp. 527
and 531.
2948.

Opium Acts of 1857 and 1878 (*), and cultivation is punishable except in the case of persons duly provided with annual licenses under stringent conditions.

(*) 19,117, 14,932.
(*) 19,109.

Cultivation has been terminated through the greater part of British India by general prohibitory enactment. It has also been terminated frequently and extensively simply by the non-issue of licenses. This course has sometimes been adopted, wholesale, in a given locality for the purpose of "facilitating excise" (c), or because it is "unremunerative to the Department." (d) This termination by the non-issue of licenses has also been continually practised when the accumulation of reserve stock, the falling off of the export trade, or other reasons, rendered such a course desirable in the interests of Government. (e)

(*) 2949 and 3019.

In none of these different cases has any compensation whatever been made by Government either to the zemindars or to the ryots. (f)

(*) 3020, 3122,
13,754, 19,153,
14,938, 5775.

(*) 13,694, 17,869.

(*) 5333, 10,821,
6095.

(i) 5306-9, 6180,
5569, 6172, 8514-5,
14,371.

(*) Vol. IV., p. 512,
par. 13.

12. It was also contended by some witnesses that termination of poppy cultivation must needs be accompanied by reduction both of land revenue (g) and of rents payable by the ryots. (h) But repeated questions failed to elicit evidence of a single case of reduction of rent, (i) and only one instance was laid before us (so far as I know) in which a reduction of land revenue (k) was said to be consequent on termination of poppy cultivation. In this solitary case the reduction was not made till after the lapse of some 14 years, during which period many other causes may have affected the assessment.

CONFLICTING POLICIES.

2086. Hansard,
Vol. 352, p. 343.

13. In the opium debate in the House of Commons, on the 10th April 1891, the late Mr. W. H. Smith, the then Leader of the House, stated, "the course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years . . . has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India;" and Sir James Fergusson, speaking on behalf of the India Office, said: "I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it. They have diminished the number of licenses, and they diminished the area on which the poppy was grown. One million acres * less are now under poppy in Bengal than 10 years ago."

2088. Hansard,
Vol. 352, p. 323.

2086.

Sir David Barbour, Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, having had his attention called to these utterances, said in reference to Mr. Smith's statements: "I should hardly say that he is speaking there of the policy of the Government of India. I should say he was speaking of the policy of the Home Government, and, I must say, I was not aware until that statement was made that it was the policy of the Home Government." He also said: "As regards the export of opium from Bengal, the policy has been for some time to sell about the same amount every year, neither diminishing that amount nor increasing it. This means, of course, that the average area under cultivation would remain about the same, rising or falling a little according to circumstances." In reply to other questions he said: "It is not to be wondered at that members of the Government at home should not be perfectly informed of the facts. . . . I believe that on various occasions inaccurate impressions have been conveyed to" the House of Commons.

2077.

2087.

2089.

From this it will be seen that the important statements made by Ministers in the debate in question were entirely erroneous as to the policy really being pursued. They were also erroneous as to the actual facts. The average area under cultivation for the decade ending 1362-3 was 338,153 acres; 1872-3, 475,048 acres; 1882-3, 518,625 acres; and for 1892-3, 512,663 acres.

The resolution proposed by Mr. Gladstone and adopted by the House of Commons on the 30th June 1893 was based upon the same kind of erroneous information, because it pressed "on the Government of India to continue

* Hansard gives "one million acres," which is evidently a mistake. Other reports give 100,000.

“ their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy, and the production and sale of opium.” Two different Ministries, and two different Parliaments, were entirely misled as to the action of the Government of India.

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS PRODUCED IN BRITISH INDIA.

14. The main purpose of the production and sale of opium in British India unquestionably is to supply the Chinese and other Eastern markets.

The average production of opium in British India during the last three years as to which returns were supplied was 54,707 cwts., of which 49,512 cwts., or 90·5 per cent., was “intended for export to China and the Straits Settlements, “ technically known as *provision opium* ”; the remainder “intended for consumption in India, technically known as *excise opium*,” was 5,195 cwts., or 9·5 per cent. Of that which is exported to the Straits Settlements, a large proportion is re-shipped to China. Practically the whole of the Government opium thus sent to China and other Eastern countries is used for the purpose of smoking. That this practice of smoking is in the highest degree prejudicial, morally and physically, to those who indulge in it is established beyond all reasonable doubt.

Vol. II., p. 345, paras. 6-7.

15. English officials resident in China and the far East have for the last 100 years continuously referred to opium smoking as a cause of moral and physical destruction. (See Note H.)

NOTE H.

The Chinese Government and Chinese officials have used similar, or even stronger language. (See Note J.)

NOTE J.

From the time when the earliest Christian missionaries became acquainted with the habits of the Chinese, down to the present year, they have persistently borne testimony to the same deplorable facts. (See Note K.)

NOTE K.

The oral^(a) and written^(b) evidence presented to the Commission is overwhelming in its force against the opium habit in China. Sir Thomas Wade^(c) who said that “the treatment of the question by the Anti-opium Association “engages me on the other side” said also at the same time “no man who has “lived the time that I have in China, and who has been in contact with Chinese “of all kinds, can deny that the excessive use of opium in that country is an “exceeding misfortune to that country.” Such extenuating evidence as reached us is mainly negative in its character, and vague in its terms. The evidence of medical missionaries (Dr. Maxwell, Rev. Hudson Taylor, M.R.C.S., and others), after years of daily contact with the people, was not only definite and specific, but is in the main confirmed by the written opinions of other medical men received by the Commission. The majority of the English officials in China who sent answers to the questions agree in this condemnation. One of the questions sent was whether, if the Indian opium supply was stopped, the people would take to alcohol. The replies, in the proportion of about 40 to 6, are that it would not have this effect.

(^a) 165, 214, 287, 380, 430, 450, 498, 543, 609, 639, 673, 751, 790, 825, 1509, 1638, 1863, 1961.

(^b) Vol. V., pp. 212-343.

(^c) 1285.

214, 380.

It would occupy too much space to refer at length to the consular, missionary, and other evidence from China, which will be found in Vol. V., App. XXVI., but it is abundantly manifest that opium in China is a gigantic national evil.

16. It is, therefore, impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such widespread misery and disaster. It is known that the cultivation of opium is now largely carried on in China, with the connivance, if not the express permission of the authorities, and without throwing any doubt on the sincerity of the desire of Chinese statesmen to rid their country of the blight of opium, it is impossible to say, especially in the present condition of the Chinese Empire, whether the cessation of importation of Indian opium would be accompanied or followed by any serious attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to exclude opium from other sources, and to prohibit its cultivation within the limits of their own empire. But however that may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that, if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples.

Q. 11.

17. The effects of the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements and other places in the east are substantially the same as already described in the case of China. A similar objection, therefore, exists to its production and sale for these other localities and nationalities.

18. The result of careful consideration of this part of the subject is that in my opinion the opium trade with China and the far East should be prohibited.

19. Sir James Fergusson, speaking as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government, declared on the 10th April 1891, in the House of Commons, that—

Hansard, Vol. 352,
p. 816.

“The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend one pound in powder and shot or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese.”

Vol. I., App. IV.

Exception was taken to the accuracy of the first part of this statement by some of the witnesses opposed to the trade. A memorandum from the Foreign Office shows that Sir James Fergusson was mistaken in saying that China could free herself from all treaty obligations in the matter by giving 12 months' notice. The remainder of Sir James Fergusson's statement is sufficiently explicit as regards the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers at the time, but it is very important that the British Government should make a definite declaration in that sense to the Chinese Government.

THE CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH INDIA.

(*) 26,040, 21,116,
25,903.
(b) 26,060, 20,323.
(c) 26,040, 26,802.
(d) 20,212, 20,323.
(e) 13,480-4, 26,040,
27,889.
(f) 26,060.
(g) 4512.

20. Opium is consumed in three ways (a); —I. By eating (b) in the form of small portions, or pills; II. By drinking decoctions of the crude drug, known as *kasumba* (c) and *amal pani*; or an infusion of poppy heads, or capsules called *post* (d); III. By smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu* (e) (the Chinese form) and *madat*, or *madak* (f), or *gooli* (g). The first method (eating, or more correctly, swallowing) is that by which far the greatest quantity of opium is consumed.

The evidence laid before us as to the prevalence of the opium habit was very contradictory. Many witnesses, including some of the most important officials, gave evidence which tended to show that the habitual use of opium is widely prevalent amongst the various populations. This view was urged upon us by repeated statements that the consumption is so necessary to the happiness, well being, and even life of the people that it would be impossible to contemplate prohibition, or even any serious increase of restriction of the supply, because the result would not improbably be such general discontent as would amount to serious political danger. (See Note L.)

NOTE L.

Evidence of a directly contradictory character was given by many other witnesses, including a considerable proportion of natives of India, who may reasonably be supposed to be better acquainted with the habits of their relations, friends, and neighbours than officials, and especially highly placed officials, can possibly be. In order to arrive at some conclusion upon this conflicting testimony, it will be convenient to form some opinion as to what may be considered an average consumer's daily dose, and then to examine the actual statistics of consumption.

NOTE M.

21. The particulars given in the Notes show that the average quantity taken daily by each adult male consumer is about 20 grains. Taking this in conjunction with the evidence of many Government witnesses as to the very wide prevalence of the habit, the impression conveyed to the mind must be that there is a consumption far in excess of anything that is shown by the actual statistics.

NOTE N.

An examination of the statistics for each province shows that in Assam, where the consumption is largest, the quantity of opium issued is only sufficient to supply 20 grains daily to one person out of 52 of the entire population, while in the province of Madras, at the other end of the scale, the supply is only sufficient for one person out of 521 of the population.

NOTE O.

But greatly as the provinces differ from each other, various localities in these provinces differ still more widely, for while in Calcutta the consumption is equal to 20 grains daily for one person out of 26, in Tippera it will only provide the same quantity for one person out of 8,588.

It is clear from the Notes above referred to, and from the evidence on which they are founded, that the popular ideas which seem to prevail among Europeans in India are entirely irreconcilable with the actual facts.

Even if it could be shown that the average consumption of individuals is less than 20 grains, the argument is not materially affected. Moreover in these calculations no allowance is made for legitimate medical use, nor for the practice which is said to prevail of giving opium to animals.

Vol. V., p 127.
20,323.

USE OF OPIUM BY THE TROOPS.

22. A general impression has prevailed, and important witnesses (*) gave evidence as to the general use of opium by the native troops, and especially by the Sikhs. The evidence taken in India shows this to be a delusion. Major-General Sir Robert Low, K.C.B., in command of the Oudh District, stated (b) that the highest number of opium-eaters reported in any one regiment under his command was 20; in the Ghoorka regiment only two consumers; and in another, none. Evidence was given by other military witnesses as to the consumption of opium by Sikhs in 12 corps. As to two of these, (c) it was stated that opium was consumed by all. In two cases (d) the proportion appears to average about 33 per cent. In eight cases (e) the proportion varied from 1.3 per cent. to 6.5 per cent., or an average of 3.1 per cent. Colonel Jamieson, although a decided pro-opiumist, admitted (f) that the Rajputs in his regiment, as a rule, do not take opium. Official information (g) shows that while 23 regiments, including two Sikh regiments, made no arrangements for the supply of opium while on service, 3 lbs. were taken by the 23rd Bengal Infantry as sufficient for two years, and small quantities taken by the 32nd Bengal Infantry and the 3rd Sikh Infantry were brought back untouched.

(*) 872, 1559.

(b) 14,110-2.

(c) 14,117, 18,641.

(d) 18,688, 17,017.

(e) 19,704, 14,147,

15,751, 19,893, 17,059,

16,943, 7108, 17,017.

(f) 14,163.

(g) Vol. II., p. 452.

NO ANALOGY BETWEEN ALCOHOL IN ENGLAND AND OPIUM IN INDIA.

23. In whatever way the statistics are looked at, they show that there are in India vast tracts where a mere fraction of the population are consumers of opium. In England, on the other hand, the great majority of the people are more or less consumers of alcohol. Any attempt therefore to treat the case as analogous is entirely fallacious; in the one case we have a nation of consumers, in the other a nation of abstainers.

PURPOSES FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

24. It may be plainly stated at the outset that there is a general consensus of native opinion (*) in almost all parts of India against the habitual use of opium by the healthy and able bodied.

(*) 13,336, 17,513-4
19,836, 20,133, and
24,937, 28,061,
many others.

25. The importance of opium, as a remedy in certain diseases, has never been disputed. It is daily used in many parts of India, not only for specific ailments, for which it would be prescribed by European practitioners, but in many other cases, with the object of relieving pain, although it may have no permanent effect on the cause of the pain. The theory was advanced by some witnesses (b) that the habitual use of opium for non-medical purposes must have originated in the case of each consumer for the purpose of repressing some positive ailment, or to avoid disease which climatic or other conditions render probable. In accordance with this theory evidence was given before us (c) as to the belief of the natives, in many malarious districts, that opium is a prophylactic against fever, and that such belief was shared by many Europeans, (d) principally military medical officers. On the other hand, this view was strongly controverted by other witnesses, (e) including medical practitioners, both European and Native, who disputed the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever, or as a remedy in the disease, and as regards many parts of India there was no such belief amongst the natives. (f) It was clearly established by the evidence that the habit of consuming opium is practised by a certain portion of the inhabitants in many parts of India for purposes which have no relation to the actual presence or even fear of disease. Many men begin the consumption of opium at about the age of 40, (g) under the impression that the system is stimulated and the declining bodily

(b) 13,089, 17,233,
28,107, 21,878, 2147,
4992, and many
others.

(c) 3657, 19,528,
25,583, 27,574.

(d) 2188, 3404,

3606, 21,901-2,

28,141, 9516-7.

(e) 4710-5, 13,116,

5837, 16,558, 16,902,

19,203, and many
others.

(f) 8642, 4280, 9132,

9852, 13,382-3,

18,195, and many
others.

(g) 3943, 12,576,

4060, 26,061, and
many others.

powers preserved by its use. Under these circumstances, it does not appear to incur popular disapproval.

26. There is a special and licentious purpose for which opium is taken, and when it is habitually used by young and healthy men it is usually for this purpose, which is universally reprobated as vicious and degrading. (*See Note P.*)

NOTE P.

(b) 10,088, 15,762,
19,192, 20,990.
(c) 8596-9, 8612,
9848, 18,253, 19,029,
23,457, and many
others.

27. Opium is in some districts frequently taken by persons requiring to make special or unusual exertion^(b) in enterprises involving fatigue and exposure, while others entirely deny that any advantage is derived from such use,⁽ⁱ⁾ and on the contrary maintain that the stimulation which it affords is merely temporary and delusive. This idea as to the benefit of opium under such conditions is similar to the belief which formerly prevailed in England as to the use of alcohol in the like circumstances, but which the experience obtained in Arctic and other arduous enterprises has now proved to be delusive.

20,982, 21,577,
23,656, 24,659.

28. The drug is also used in some provinces and castes as a mark of friendship and hospitality in connexion with family and social ceremonies.

(k) 23,104, 25,367,
13,994, 15,672,
11,808, 3502, and
many others.

29. To infants from the time of birth until they are three or four years of age opium in minute doses is habitually given in many parts of India,^(b) partly with the impression that it protects them against disease, but chiefly in order to keep them quiet, and prevent them from crying in the absence of the mothers when engaged in household or field work.

(l) 16,266, 21,577.
23,261, 25,876.
(m) 16,902, 21,298,
23,491a, 26,619,
25,894.

This practice is defended^(a) in general terms by several witnesses, and strongly condemned^(b) by many who are specific in their enumeration of the evils which follow. The best excuses offered are the poverty and the ignorance of the parents.

(n) 24,671, 25,865,
26,674.

Vol. IV., p. 498.

In Bombay there is an extensive use of Bala Gooli,⁽ⁱ⁾ that is pills made of opium mixed with other drugs and spices for the use of children. This is at present carried on under the sanction of the authorities, which in my opinion should be withheld.

(o) 16,231, 20,990,
21,987.
(p) 22,776, 23,750,
26,429.

30. The practice of drinking the decoctions or infusions of opium, already alluded to, is somewhat restricted. It appears to be mainly confined to Rajputana and the Punjaub, and to be chiefly associated with social and ceremonial observances.^(m) There is some evidence that this use is declining.⁽ⁿ⁾

SMOKING OPIUM.

(q) 3510, 16,546.
(r) 16,766-7, 28,082,
18,564, 27,065.
(s) 27,388, 3843,
15,698, 19,527,
16,012, 17,705.
(t) 27,467, 20,698,
11,858, 21,870, 21,812.

31. The smoking of chandu and madak is usually a social^(a), as distinguished from a personal, habit, and appears to be principally confined to the cities and large towns^(b). It is almost universally admitted to be injurious and demoralising, is practised by the vicious and degraded^(c), and is generally reprobated^(d).

(u) Vol. II., p. 396.

In view of the evils attending the habit, smoking on licensed premises was forbidden throughout British India^(e) on the 25th September 1891.

5008, 15,170-72,
16,684-709, 26,948.

Secretary of
State's letter, Vol. II.,
p. 396.

Evidence was given that smoking clubs, so-called (though without any pretence of paid membership), existed before the issue of this prohibition, and have multiplied since. Very little effort had apparently been made to suppress them. There appears to be no reason why the authorities should not have taken steps to acquire any further powers which were needed for this purpose as they were invited to do by the Home Government.

Three missionaries and a newspaper editor at Bombay having exposed certain incidents connected with the sale of opium were proceeded against for defamation by the manager of the opium farmer in that city. At one of the trials which took place after we left India, Mr. Cooper, the presiding magistrate, stated in his judgment, "it is admitted that during the last Mahim fair there were five or six of these clubs opened at Mahim, and the statement in the article regarding the mismanagement of these clubs appears to be true." In the course of these proceedings, the following remarkable evidence was given by the chief opium inspector at Bombay:—
"There are about 150 clubs at Bombay. . . . I do not think the opium-

" smoking clubs at Bombay and at Mahim are undesirable. . . . I do not think the opium-smoking establishments should be shut up, therefore we have not tried to shut them up." It is noticeable that since the imprisonment of the missionaries the opium officials at Bombay have instituted proceedings against several of these so-called clubs, and have obtained convictions against them.

The question of dealing with unlicensed opium-smoking clubs in India has been compared to that of preventing illegal sales of alcohol in clubs in England. There is this important difference, that the question in England is how to prevent the consumption in unlicensed places of beverages which are not disapproved by public opinion generally. In India it is a question of stopping a practice under all circumstances which incurs almost universal reprobation. 26,218, 26,948.

PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

32. A large body of evidence of a conflicting character was given on this subject. Many medical and other witnesses stated that the habitual use of opium in any form for other than medical purposes is decidedly deleterious. NOTE Q.

Other witnesses, including a majority of the official doctors, deny that there are any evil consequences from opium-eating in moderation, some maintaining that it produces no evil effects and others alleging that it is actually beneficial.

Allusion has already been made (paragraph 25) to the controversy as to the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever. Copious references to important medical evidence will be found in the Notes, showing that this prophylactic theory is an entirely new one; not taught in the medical schools; never heard of by many practitioners; that opium is not used or recommended by many of those who have heard of the theory; that many practitioners who profess to believe in it prefer other remedies; that other practitioners, both pro-opiumists and anti-opiumists, deny altogether that opium does possess any such prophylactic properties; and that vast numbers of the people have no knowledge of or belief in opium as a preventive of fever. NOTE Y.

It is incredible that if the highest medical and other authorities in India seriously believed in this prophylactic use of opium that they should have allowed so many members of the medical service to remain in ignorance of it. The opinion of the Government of Madras was indicated when a complaint was made that they were teaching the people of certain tracts to rely on opium as a febrifuge, for they replied that so far from that "we are doing all we can to gradually wean them from their hereditary habit of using it on all occasions." "Consumption of Opium in India," C.—6562, 1892, p. 52.

It is admitted on both sides that habitual consumers, who are unable to get the usual dose at the usual hour (^e), besides suffering pain and inconvenience, are for a time, incapacitated wholly or partly for the discharge of their ordinary duties. (e) 2173-6, 12,902, 20,331, 23,606, 27,916, and many others.

MORAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

33. As to the moral effects there is the same diversity in the evidence, for while a large number of witnesses declare that the use of the drug is detrimental morally, leading to idleness, inactivity, weakening of control over the will, and bad habits generally, other witnesses maintain that in their experience these results have not been observable. NOTE R.

It is obvious that the positive testimony of those who have witnessed the evil of which they speak is not displaced by the evidence of any number of witnesses who have not observed the injurious effects of the drug on other people. It is admitted on all hands that the opium habit obtains an imperious sway over those who become subject to it. It is surely playing with words to contend that a mastery so powerful is not lowering to the moral nature of man.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

NOTE S.

34. Violent crimes are not attributed to opium, but there was a good deal of evidence that there is, in the case of the habitual consumer, an imperious craving for the periodical dose which constantly leads him, when he is poor, to resort to petty thefts in order to obtain money for the purpose of getting opium.

This allegation again was denied by certain Government witnesses, but we had no evidence that it is the practice to inquire into the original cause of petty theft; indeed one witness distinctly stated that it was not.

8770.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

10,868, 4200, 4235,
12,391-2, 26,770,
19,331, 27,102,
25,511, 25,954,
27,569, 28,114.

35. It is universally admitted, even by pro-opium witnesses, that the injurious effects of opium appear much sooner and more markedly in the case of the poor than of the rich, because the latter are able to provide themselves with abundance of good and rich food, which appears to counteract the action of the opium.

NOTE T.

Nor is it denied by pro-opium witnesses that excessive use produces evil results both physical and moral. It is clear from the evidence that the excessive use is largely a matter of time, because as soon as a moderate dose fails in its effect, as it usually does sooner or later, the quantity must be increased.

5832, 8805, 15,145,
17,177, 19,032,
25,522, 2151, 25,960,
26,613, and many
others.

The fact of this tendency to increase the dose was attested by the evidence of a large number of witnesses on both sides. The anti-opium witnesses were practically unanimous on this point, and were supported by not a few of those who defended the practice of eating opium. But other pro-opium witnesses denied this tendency to increase beyond a given point. How this point is to be determined, except indeed by dangerous experiment, was not explained.

12,484, 15,912,
19,228.

The difficulty of discontinuance or even diminution of the habitual dose becomes greater in proportion to the length of the period of indulgence, until at last cessation becomes almost impossible.

NOTE U.

COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

36. The question has been raised as to whether the consumption of opium is a matter of race, whether there is any reason why opium is consumed more in the East than in the West, and whether there is any difference in the tolerance (to use the medical term) of the inhabitants of Europe and of India.

NOTE V.

The evidence presented to us shows that if there be any difference, Europeans possess greater tolerance.

INDIAN MISSIONARY OPINION.

2302-4.
23,329.

37. In some Christian denominations in India there is actual prohibition, and in others a general understanding against the admission into church membership of converts who indulge in opium. This fact is strong proof of the sincerity of the opinions of the missionaries of those denominations, for it is obviously not to their interest to unduly restrict the number of their converts, and it is clear that they would not do it but for substantial reasons.

(*) Vol. II., p. 314.
Vol. II., p. 460.
Vol. V., p. 137.

Several memorials were forwarded to the Commission from missionaries and others interested in mission work. Some of them (*) expressed strong views against the use of opium and the present opium system, these views being supported by some of the signatories appearing personally as witnesses. Other memorials (b) took a less unfavourable view, and it is important to observe that none of those who signed these latter memorials offered themselves as witnesses, and consequently were not subjected to any examination of their views and means of knowledge.

(b) Vol. II., p. 438.
Vol. V., p. 138.

Of the 45 missionaries and others closely associated with them who appeared before us as witnesses, and submitted to the test of cross-examination, 41 (c) condemned the use of opium, two (d) may be said to have occupied neutral or indefinite positions, and two others, (e) one of whom declared himself an "abolitionist on purely moral grounds," to some extent defended or at least extenuated the use of opium.

(c) 2238, 2589, 2756,
6921, 11,015, 13,928,
21,382, 21,463, 23,308,
23,332, 23,456, 25,521,
26,484, 26,539, 27,822,
4278, 7739, 10,611,
19,894, 21,297, and
21 others.
(*) 8652, 17,246.
(c) 5457, 16,902.

See also Vol. I. Q. 26.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO THE PROHIBITION OR RESTRICTION OF THE GENERAL
USE OF OPIUM.

38. The balance of evidence shows that the non-medical use of opium is usually injurious to the consumer, and I am of opinion that much may be done to discourage the common use of the drug.

The Minutes of Evidence contain a large body of testimony showing that prohibition or restriction would be approved by the mass of the people in many parts of India. More than a hundred witnesses (three-fourths of whom were natives of India) were in favour of prohibition, in addition to a number of others who desired some form of restriction, short of prohibition.

The difficulties in the way of any further restriction propounded by some of the witnesses appear to me greatly exaggerated.

It is contended that, were further restriction attempted, it would be impossible, except in the large towns, to find persons to whom the sale for medicinal purposes could be entrusted. But the present regulations authorise the issue of druggist's and doctor's licenses, and these are granted to hakims and vaidas practising eastern systems of medicine. In Bengal alone, 1,264 of these licenses were issued in 1892-3.

As the people of India are in the main abstainers from the drug, and its consumption is not general, except in certain districts, some form of local veto on the common sale, ought, I think, to be adopted. It might also with great advantage and with popular approval be made applicable to alcohol.

I would further recommend a change of system by which the present opium contractors or vendors, who profit directly in proportion to the amount of opium they sell, should be replaced by official vendors, with fixed salaries.

So far from having any inducement to push the sale of the drug they should be directed, as far as possible, to discourage the non-medical use, and regulations should be laid down authorising them to refuse to supply persons whose relatives or friends complain that it is improperly used. All opium sold should be labelled "Poison," as in England, and should be accompanied by a caution, printed in the vernacular and in English, against its use for non-medical purposes. These official vendors would usually be natives of India, on moderate salaries. They should be located in places suitable for supplying the legitimate medicinal requirements of the people and be vigilantly supervised.

The alterations suggested, if properly carried out, would undoubtedly be an important step towards the reduction of the consumption.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM SMOKING.

39. Although very diverse views were laid before the Commission as to the habitual use of opium by eating and drinking, there was a striking consensus of disapproval of smoking as an injurious and degrading practice. Not only did the anti-opium witnesses attribute the worst effects of opium to the habit of smoking, but practically the whole of the witnesses who justified or palliated the practice of habitually eating moderate quantities emphatically condemned smoking in all its forms, as being unquestionably injurious and pernicious, and constituting a low and vicious habit.

Most of these pro-opium witnesses were in favour of further reduction of the facilities for smoking, and some of them approved of its total prohibition.

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie said:—

"I think there is a consensus of opinion among all, including opium-smokers themselves, that the chandu and madak manufactures should be abolished."

The Hon. A. Cadell, member of the Revenue Board, North-West Provinces and Oudh, while approving of opium eating, said:—

"Opium smokers are, if belonging to the upper classes, debauchees, and if belonging to the lower classes, disreputable persons, with a tendency to crime, caused not by any tendency of opium in that direction, but by the irresistible character of the vice and by the necessity felt to gratify a vice which is an expensive one. . . . There is also a general feeling among the more respectable classes against opium smoking."

See Note W.

NOTE V. V.

Vol. II., pp. 427
and 457.

Vol. II., p. 429.

2761, 2510, 4921,
5001, 5913, 3843,
6341, 10,840, 14,228,
15,723, 19,594,
19,757, 20,047,
25,288, 28,025, 4448,
21,590, 21,812,
21,655, 26,271,
14,416, 16,009,
16,668, 17,422-3,
18,536-8, 22,033,
26,067, 21,870.

3529.

19,097.

19,098.

NOTE W.

40. Regarding the evidence on this particular subject as remarkably distinctive in its unanimity and conclusiveness, I consider that nothing short of absolute prohibition will satisfy the requirements of the case. The only proper action of the Government in accordance with public opinion should clearly be—

- I. To discontinue all licenses in respect to preparations of opium for smoking
- II. To make unlawful—
 - (a) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of chandu, madak, and other preparations of opium for smoking purposes;
 - (b) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of materials, utensils, or apparatus for making or smoking such preparations of opium;
 - (c) the association of two or more persons at any place for the purpose of smoking opium or any such preparations.

The administration and enforcement of such a law prescribing proper penalties for breaches thereof ought to be easy and effectual, for the evidence of any actual offence must be readily obtainable.

The fear has been expressed that a prohibitory measure of this character would open the way to inquisitorial and domiciliary visits by the police, and their possible bribery by the more influential and wealthy opium smokers. But the existing law is similarly open to be used in an objectionable way, and absolute prohibition, is not liable to any greater objections than those which apply to more partial and inadequate measures of repression.

BURMA.

41. The case of Burma is exceptional and must be referred to separately.

Most of the British officials in Burma have frankly recognised the evil effects of the consumption of opium in that country, as well as the practically unanimous opinion of the Burmese people against its public sale, and notwithstanding serious revenue considerations, have strongly advised restriction or prohibition. The Government of India has yielded slowly and apparently with reluctance to the advice given, by its own officers in Burma, and to representations made from Great Britain. New regulations came into force on the 1st January 1894. As a general rule the possession of opium, except for medical purposes, is now forbidden to Burmans. This rule is absolute in Upper Burma. In Lower Burma natives were allowed some months during which they might register themselves as consumers, and thus become entitled to purchase opium. The desire of the authorities in Burma that registration should be made compulsory for foreigners as well as for Burmans ought, in my opinion, to be acceded to. In some districts the sale of the drug to foreigners and registered Burmans is still in the hands of farmers. In other districts a system of retail sale by official vendors is being tried. This will, I think, be found to be a distinct improvement upon the old system of licensed shops. In every other practical way the consumption of opium should be restricted to the legitimate medical requirements of the people.

6658, 6691, 6777-8,
7585, 8341-2.

I., p. 354, pp. 463-79.

6659, 8021.
Vol. II., p. 537, par. 5.
Vol. II., p. 545, par. 26.
Vol. II., p. 635, Rules
23, 24.

Sir David Barbour, in speaking of the special measures which had been taken to check the consumption of opium in provinces where its use was believed to be excessive (including Burma), said, "I am not at all sure now that those measures have not been carried too far, but they have been adopted to a great extent in deference to English public opinion."

2108.

The whole history of the sale of the drug in Burma under British rule; of the protests of the people of that country against it; and of the reluctance of the Indian Government to listen to their entreaties, furnishes, in my opinion, most powerful testimony to the need and to the value of the expression of English public opinion in these matters.

Vol. II., p. 650, par. 7.

The Burmans are clearly entitled to demand that their wishes should be respected, and their right to the protection they have so long asked for should be fully recognised.

MALWA OPIUM.

42. The term Malwa Opium is employed to describe the opium produced in the Native States in the west of India, either for consumption in India or export from the port of Bombay.

A great part of this opium is produced in the ill-defined tract of land known as Malwa, comprising several Native States, the soil and climate of which are said to be specially favourable to the growth of poppy.

The extension of British territory in India has been so managed as to cut off the poppy-growing States from communication with the sea; and the transit of opium through British territory has been prohibited, except under an elaborate arrangement of passes, granted by British officers on payment of a heavy duty, and by certain duly authorised routes. This pass duty is not the subject of any agreements or treaty stipulations, but is imposed at the will and pleasure of the paramount power. It was fixed on the 1st October 1862 at Rs. 600; was raised on the 16th July 1877 to Rs. 650; on the 15th September 1879 to Rs. 700; on the 28th June 1882 it was reduced to Rs. 650; on the 5th July 1890 further reduced to Rs. 600; and on the 1894 was raised to Rs. 650. The amounts realised from this source, together with the quantity of opium, are as follows:—

Vol. II., p. 347.

Average of 3 Years.	Rx.	Chests.	Duty per Chest. Rs.
1883-84 to 1885-86	2,498,455	41,008	650
1890-91 to 1892-93	1,753,110	32,510	600

Vol. II., pp. 342 and 347.

These figures are in part taken from a table which will be found in Vol. II., p. 347, which shows that while the quantity of opium exported from Bombay has been considerably declining, that which is diverted for local consumption has been somewhat increasing.

THE NATIVE STATES.

43. No good purpose would be served by a detailed statement of the treaties and agreements made in regard to opium with the numerous Native States. They are described in App. X., Vol. II. By pressure, which they were not in a position to resist, most of these States have been induced to consent to arrangements the aim of which has been to safeguard and increase the revenue which the East India Company and the Indian Government have obtained from opium. In many cases it has been arranged that the rulers of Native States shall prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, and so regulate the traffic in opium as to increase the revenue of the State at the expense of their subjects. There is no evidence that in any of these States compensation has ever been given to cultivators or traders whose interests have been interfered with.

44. As to the power to stop the transit of opium through British territory, Sir Lepel Griffin said, "Of course you can prohibit the export." Sir D. M. Barbour said, "I think the export to China could practically be stopped," but he was confident smuggling into British territory could not. The Hon. W. Lee Warner, in his memorandum, lays down that "interference with the internal affairs of Native States has been justified in the past, either (a.) when adopted in the interests of the states, or (b.) when adopted in the interests of the British Government." He marshals instances "under class (a.)" into six recognised grounds, including "(vi.) to check offences against natural law or public morality." The suppression of seizing people for sorcery, and abolition of suttee, are given as instances.* Mr. Warner holds that opium does not come under any of these heads. Colonel Trevor, agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, was asked, "would not it be an

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2082.

Vol. IV., p. 495.

20,794, 20,839.

* In India, as elsewhere, officials are too much disposed to dread reforms and innovations. The case of suttee affords an illustration. Hunter, in his *Indian Empire*, page 475, says: "In spite of strenuous opposition, both from *Europeans and natives*, Lord W. Bentinck carried a Regulation in Council on the 4th of December 1829, by which all who abetted suttee were declared guilty of culpable homicide." Hunter also refers to other reforms which "were distasteful to the covenanted service, and to the officers of the Army," and adds that Lord Bentinck "was supported by the Court of Directors, and by the Whig Government at home."

"injustice not to allow" the produce of the States to be transmitted through British territory, and replied, "I do not quite see that. If you think a thing is bad, you are not bound to give a passage through your territory."

22,201.
Vol. IV., p. 117.
22,235.

16,265.

16,271.

16,289.

16,372.

45. Certain Native States, including such important ones as Indore, Baroda, and Bhopal, consider that interference or prohibition in regard to opium would be outside, or contrary to, treaty engagements. Some of the Sikh States, on the contrary, took a different position. General Sardar Ratan Singh, of the Jind State, said, "if the Government prohibits the use of opium in British territory, similar orders could be issued in the Jind State." He was not sure whether such a thing would be viewed as interference. Lala Dewa Singh, of the Nabha State, was asked what compensation, if any, His Highness' State would be fairly entitled to in the event of prohibition, and replied "As the prohibition is entirely beneficial to the people, this State does not wish for any compensation for the loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition." Pandit Sarup Narian, of the Faridkot State, gave a similar answer.

46. The fact that in the face of a greater falling off in the supplies of Malwa opium than of Bengal opium the Indian Government has, since the visit of the Commission, materially increased the payment to the Bengal cultivator and put an additional burden of duty on the Malwa produce, shows more clearly than any official evidence that the right of dealing at will with the export trade, Native as well as British, is quietly claimed and exercised by the paramount government.

47. It is not possible to treat the suggested claims for compensation placed before the Commission seriously. Though compiled at the instance of the Indian Government and revised by its political officers, they neither deserve respect nor criticism. A few illustrations must suffice. The Tonk State in claiming Rs. 132,900 for loss of land revenue, Rs. 59,919 for Customs revenue, and Rs. 94,600 for traders' profits, claims Rs. 104,030 for compensation for money lenders! One item in Colonel Abbott's summary is, "extra expense of living on account of great rise in price of opium" Rs. 489,873.

Vol. IV., p. 394.

20,922.

20,945.

Vol. IV., p. 395.

In the State of Bundi, the average out-turn for the 12 years ending 1892-3 is given at 1,007 maunds; for the last half of that period at 371 maunds. (In the last year it was only 93 maunds.) Yet compensation is claimed for an annual trade of 2,000 maunds, and Colonel Abbott reports that the "Political officer, Lieut.-Colonel Thornton . . . considers the Durbar's estimate of the losses, direct and indirect, both to itself and its subjects, as accurate as it is possible to make them under existing circumstances."

Vol. IV., p. 407.

Vol. IV., p. 407.

In the Central Provinces, Sailana claimed Rs. 160,475 for land revenue. Lieut.-Colonel Robertson estimates it at Rs. 60,000. The State claims Rs. 128,380 for cultivators. He reduces this to Rs. 40,000. Of Multhan the same officer writes, "Losses to cultivators and traders were not given by the State, they were assumed by me."

It is clear that the evidence thus brought before us can be of no assistance if claims in equity should be seriously advanced by these States.

CONCLUSIONS.

48. The form of the questions submitted to the Commission makes it difficult to give categorical answers, but in reference to the paragraphs thereon I reply:—

- I.—(a.) That the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, except for medical purposes.
 - (b.) Such prohibition should not be forcibly imposed on the Native States, but the example of the British Government should be supported by such influence as may legitimately be employed.
- II. The existing arrangements with the Native States in respect to the transit of opium through British territory depend absolutely on the will of the paramount power, and appear to have been dominated throughout by the financial policy of British India. When the Chinese trade from British India has been brought to an end, as I

hold it certainly should be, and when licenses to cultivate are no longer granted, licenses for the transit of opium through British territory may justly be withheld.* There is no legal claim for compensation. Any equitable claims must be tested by further inquiry and reliable evidence.

- III.—(a.) There is no precedent for compensation to landlords or cultivators on the termination of opium cultivation, and there would be no claim for compensation for withholding further licenses.
- (b.) Adequate information was not placed before us as to the cost of additional preventive measures, but the general statements that were made appear greatly exaggerated.
- (c.) The revenue derivable from opium has been for some years declining, and can no longer be safely relied upon. (See Note X.)
- IV. It is desirable to replace the present opium contractors and vendors by official vendors, with instructions and discretion to restrict the sale. I recommend the entire prohibition of smoking.
- V. The consumption of opium obtains more or less extensively amongst the races and in the localities most fully represented before the Commission. Little or no evidence was tendered from large districts where its non-medical use is little known. It is clear that the opium habit so far from being common amongst the people generally is relatively exceptional in British India. It is a vice in Calcutta and the large towns, but certainly not of the majority of the populations. It is common amongst the Rajputs and to a less extent the Sikhs, but the sweeping statements made as to its universal use by them are quite untenable. Women are seldom addicted to the habit. The moral effect is hurtful in tarnishing and weakening the will power of the user: the physical effect is generally injurious in proportion to the amount taken and to the inability of the consumer to protect himself against it by plenty of good food.
- VI.—(a.) The people of India do not, so far as regards the greater part of that country, regard the use of opium for non-medical purposes favourably.
- (b.) The people of India maintain that they are already taxed to the very limit of their ability, and that they are unable and unwilling to submit to any additional burdens.

Serious consideration should promptly be given to the question of reducing the expenditure now borne by the people of India.

49. In these pages I have given my conclusions on the evidence presented to the Commission. As stated in a Memorandum accompanying this Dissent, I do not think that the whole of the facts were presented to us with the impartiality and completeness due to such an inquiry. The Report adopted by my colleagues appears to me to partake more of the character of an elaborate defence of the opium trade of the East India Company, and of the present Government of India, than of a judicial pronouncement on the immediate questions submitted to us. On this ground also, as well as for the reasons already given, I am unable to join in it.

50. One of the last paragraphs in the Report (No. 274) refers to me, and includes the following sentence:—"We regret that in the discussions which took place during the preparation of our Report we were not placed in possession of the views of our colleague."

It will be seen by a letter to the Chairman from myself, a copy of which is appended, that I was distinctly precluded by him from taking part in the discussions referred to. At the first subsequent meeting of the Commission, I referred to my letter, and to Lord Brassey's desire that I should refrain from discussion. Lord Brassey intimated that I had correctly stated his wishes. I do not therefore understand the propriety of this reflection, by the majority, on the course which I took at the Chairman's direct instance and request, with the concurrence of four other colleagues.

18th March 1895.

HENRY J. WILSON.

* Legitimate medical requirements are not here alluded to.

B.—NOTES TO MR. WILSON'S DISSENT.

NOTE A. to par. 2.—RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (30TH JUNE 1893) WHICH LED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION.

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

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

NOTE B. to par. 5.—OFFICIAL OPINION OF OPIUM.

Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, political agent to the Western Rajput States, in his work on the "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," written in 1820, published in 1832, writes:—

"This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajput of half his virtues. (Vol. I., p. 644.)
 "This drug, which has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influences of pestilence and war." (Vol. II., p. 630.)
 "Execrable and demoralising plant" (poppy). (Vol. II., p. 634)

Mr. C. A. Bruce, superintendent of the tea plantations in Assam (prior to 1840), refers to opium as the—

"Dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country . . .
 "This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population . . .
 "Few but those who have resided long in this unhappy country know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native."

Mr. A. Sym, 11 years in the opium district of Gorakhpur, and for a time in charge of the opium agency there, wrote in 1840:—

"The health and morals of the people suffer from the production of opium. Wherever opium is grown it is eaten, and the more it is grown the more it is eaten, . . . its pernicious effects are visible on the population of the opium districts, particularly in the neighbourhood of the depôts . . . One opium cultivator demoralises a whole village."

Hansard,
vol. 68,
p. 380.

Hansard,
vol. 68,
p. 382.

A resolution by the Government of Bombay in 1881.—

"Ordered that the following letter be addressed to the Government of India:—

" . . . on the question of the expediency of permitting the cultivation of the poppy in Sind. . . .
 "III. I am at the same time to state that this Government consider there are very strong objections to the introduction of an industry so demoralising in its tendency as opium cultivation and manufacture into a province where it is at present unknown. . . .
 "It has already been tried in Gujarat, and the result was widespread corruption and demoralisation.

"At present the consumption of opium in this Presidency is very limited, but if the cultivation of opium and manufacture of opium were permitted, every village might have its opium shop, and every cultivator might contract the habit of eating a drug which is said to degrade and demoralise those who become addicted to it. On the ground of public morality, therefore, his Excellency the Governor in Council would strongly deprecate the grant of permission to cultivate the poppy in Sind, or in any other part of this Presidency."

NOTE C. to par. 6.—SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE GROWTH OF POPPY AS IT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL RYOT.

[The figures are not the same as in par. 6, because there the agencies are dealt with together, and here separately.]

In the Benares Agency.

In the month of September he proceeds to the head-quarters or weighment place of the district in which he lives, a distance, on the average, of about 20 miles, to receive license to cultivate a specified plot for the growth of the poppy, the plot being usually only a small portion of his farm or holding, averaging $\cdot 61$ of a bigha, equal to $\cdot 38$ of an acre, or 1,839 square yards. He receives at the same time the first advance of Rs. 3.66 (or, taking the rupee at 13*d.*, 3*s.* 11*½d.*), being at the rate of Rs. 6 per bigha. Returning home, he prepares his ground and sows the poppy seed.

When the crop is a few inches above the ground he sometimes, not always, gets a further advance, not exceeding Rs. 1.22, or 1*s.* 3*½d.*, being at the rate of Rs. 2 per bigha. In February or March when the seed capsules or heads are formed, he lances or slits them, and carefully scrapes off the exuding juice or opium, which is preserved in earthen pots until April, when he again travels with it to the weighment place, where he delivers it to the officials of the Opium Department.

The average weight received from each cultivator is 2.77 seers, or 5 lbs. 11.17 ozs., and the payment on account which he then receives averages, say, Rs. 7.93, or 8*s.* 7*d.*

The opium is then forwarded to to the factory at Patna, in the case of the Behar Agency, or to Ghazipur in the case of the Benares Agency. The "consistence" or proportion of moisture in the opium is there ascertained. An account is made out, and in July or August the cultivator, travelling again as it appears to the weighment place, receives the balance due to him, averaging, say, Rs. 1.06, or 1*s.* 1*½d.*, the price being calculated at the rate of 5 Rs. per seer, equal to 2*s.* 4*½d.* per lb. av. for opium of 70 degrees of "consistence." A somewhat higher or lower price will be paid in case it contains more or less than 30 per cent. of water. The total average amount paid to each ryot for opium is 15*s.*

In the Patna Agency.

In the Bihar or Patna Agency the ryot is in a worse position. He has to deliver his opium with 5 per cent. less moisture. Other arrangements of the Agency are less favourable to him. The land is less productive. The total amount of opium he weighs in is only 4 lbs. 11.70 ozs., for which he receives only 12s. 5½d.

NOTE D. to par. 7.—EXTRACT FROM CORRESPONDENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE OPIUM DEPARTMENT.

"The railways and other means of communication which have been opened out, and the ever growing demands of the commerce of the country, have completely changed the state of affairs. Opium has lost its place as the most lucrative crop a cultivator can grow. . . . The Board are of opinion that much may be done to improve the popularity of the opium cultivation. . . . In conclusion I am to state that the policy the Board would recommend may briefly be summarised as follow:—I. An adequate price to be paid for crude opium, to be settled from time to time with reference to the competition of other crops. . . . IV. Adequate salaries to be paid to the native establishment and the abolition of all illegal gratification strictly enforced."

(Letter from Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 19th January 1884.)

NOTE E. to par. 7.—ON DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING POPPY CULTIVATION.

Mr. Kemble, opium agent, of Bihar, in his Annual Report of the Agency for the year 1890-91, says:—

"There can be no doubt that since the opening of the Bengal and North-Western Railway the difficulty of maintaining the cultivation of such a delicate crop as poppy has largely increased." (Par. 7.)

He adds that competition of other crops

"is becoming so keen that our department now have difficulty in maintaining their position." (Par. 8.)

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent, Benares, in his Annual Report for 1890-91, speaks of certain districts where the cultivation of the poppy is popular, but of others where the cultivators have "for the present lost heart," and of other cultivators as "gradually withdrawing from the industry." (Par. 6.)

Similarly in his Report for the year 1891-92, Mr. Kemble (Bihar) says:—

"We cannot be surprised at the disinclination generally of the cultivators to take advances. . . . The other main cause which tended to reduce the settlements was the difficulty in obtaining good lands for our cultivation, owing to the competition of other crops." (Par. 8.)

He quotes Mr. Christian, an officer of long experience, as saying:—

"The good lands are no longer under the poppy cultivation, but have either gone to indigo or other better paying crops. The crops that are competing with poppy, in fact, I ought to say, that have swamped and overcome it, are tobacco, potato, haldi, chillies, and other garden produce." (Par. 9.)

In his Report for 1891-92 Mr. Rivett-Carnac again discusses the competition of other crops, but takes a less gloomy view of the prospects of the opium department, than his colleague, Mr. Kemble.

NOTE F. to par. 8.—OFFICIAL INQUIRIES ON COMPLAINTS OF COMPULSION (OR PERSUASION) IN REGARD TO THE CULTIVATION OF POPPY.

In the first case referred to by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Lyon, settlement officer, had reported that certain officers had been bringing pressure to bear.

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A deputy magistrate, Maulvi Syed Ali Hosain, who was directed to make an inquiry on the subject, gives the statements of a number of ryots.

Vol. V.,
p. 357.

"Bansi Mahton states: My brother is khattahdar of this village. His name is Tulsi . . . the former zilladar (since transferred) induced us to cultivate poppy, and told us to try for this year. The land is not capable of producing opium . . . he (the zilladar) took my brother to Hajipur; my brother was unwilling to go, and he said that we would not grow opium . . . He (the zilladar) did not threaten us with punishment if we did not grow, but he pressed us to do so by taking my brother to Hajipur for receiving dadni (advance)."

Shaik Hidayat Ali, says that the Zilladar Rheda Bux—

"Insisted Tulsi to receive dadni (advance for poppy) . . . he stayed three or four days to persuade us to grow opium . . . he did not beat any of us . . . his fault was to compel khattahdar to receive advances, we had since fear that if we did not cultivate we would be falsely proceeded against by zilladar."

Gudri Mahton, referring to the zilladar, says:—

"I cannot say that he told each and every villager to grow opium, but he did me."

Tulsi Mahton says:—

Vol. V.,
p. 358.

"He (the zilladar) told me that we must grow opium. He advised us to cultivate poppy, as we had no mind to grow this year. He said that I must go to receive advances."

Other ryots made no complaints. Some said they cultivated willingly. It was suggested by them, or to them, that the zilladar stayed so long in the village because it was raining.

The Deputy Magistrate, reporting on the case, says:—

"What the zilladar, seems to have done was that he insisted a little too much upon the khattahdar to receive dadni (advances), and holding out good hopes for the poppy growth owing to rains, and he points out that there was no kind of violence used by him in compelling them to grow opium."

It is instructive in the face of these statements that Mr. Hare in enclosing the report and depositions says:—

"No touch or trace of any attempt at compulsion appears." Vol. V.,
p. 356.

Mr. Forbes in his letter says that—

"Market garden produce has admittedly of late years begun to compete successfully with opium. Cases of this kind must therefore be expected to occur." Vol. V.,
p. 355.

This seems to show that compulsion, which is called in India "persuasion," is expected as a matter of course.

THE SECOND CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., dewan (chief officer) of the Dumraon Raj, was interviewed on the 28th and 29th of August 1893, by Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, and Mr. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent, in reference to the "reluctance of the cultivators to engage the full area" desired or required by the Opium Department. It was arranged that the dewan was—

Vol. V.,
p. 359.

"To use his influence with some of the ryots of the Raj to induce them to continue the cultivation . . . by using influence he only meant persuasion; that he had merely asked the ryots of certain villages for his sake to try cultivation for one year (this year) longer, and that they had consented to do so."

Vol. V.,
p. 355.

It is further explained that this influence or persuasion was exercised by a circular letter issued to the

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tahsildars of the Raj, directing them to use their endeavours to help poppy cultivation.

A copy of this circular has been asked for, but has not yet been produced.

It appears further that Mr. Christian had a conversation himself with one of these tahsildars, who explained "the kind of help given by the Raj." So far as I understand, it amounts to this: that land was to be taken from one man and given to another for opium, if he would grow poppy; that if one man possessed a well another was to be allowed to take water from it to grow poppy, and that rent was to be reduced by the middleman to a ryot who would grow poppy.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the dewan was, as Mr. Forbes states, unwilling to give evidence. His position was extremely embarrassing.

Mr. Dane says that the dewan "attended at Bankipur on the first day that the Commission sat there" (January 3rd). If this means that he was present at the sitting and was ready to be called it does not accord with Mr. Forbes' statement.

Mr. Dane and Mr. Forbes agree that this important witness was present on a later date (January 6th). On neither occasion was his presence known to the Commission generally. It was most important that he should be heard, and no explanation has been given as to why any member of the Commission was kept in ignorance of his presence.

THE THIRD CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Mr. F. H. B. Skrine, collector of Shahabad, and subsequently of Bhagalpur, had an interview about the middle of August 1893 with Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent, already referred to, who desired—

"My co-operation in restoring the area under poppy to its normal. He told me that . . . the opium agent of Behar, had instructed him to consult me on the subject."

Mr. Skrine undertook to issue a circular, but delayed it for about a fortnight, when he was reminded of his promise by Mr. N. C. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent. He says:—

"Thereupon I addressed a circular . . . to the sub-divisional officers of Bhabua, Buxar, and Sasaram, and the manager of D. & D. Kumar's Ward Estate, in which I informed them that it was the policy of the Government to extend opium cultivation in wards and Government estates. I asked them to give the sub-deputy opium agent a list of villages in their charge which contained land suitable for sowing opium, and to instruct their tahsildars to use their utmost efforts, in co-operation with the sub-deputy opium agent, to induce our ryots to take opium advances."

Mr. Skrine, being called to account, makes various statements in palliation of his conduct, which he does not attempt to defend, and Mr. Commissioner Forbes admits that—

"Things were pushed further than they ought to have been." Mr. Skrine's orders being "such as I should certainly not have approved had they come to my notice; nor are they warranted, so far as I am aware, by any instructions that have ever been issued by Government or by the Board of Revenue."

NOTE G. to par. 10.—POTATOES UPROOTED AT BARNI, NEAR PATNA.

On the 19th December 1893, Mr. Gennoe, assistant sub-deputy opium agent, destroyed a plot of potatoes at the village of Barni, near Bankipore, on the allegation of a zilladar that this was land on which the cultivator had engaged to grow opium. Evidence to this effect was given before us on the 6th January 1894 by my son and Mr. Gupta.

On the same day we were informed by Mr. Tytler sub-deputy opium agent, in the presence of Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent at Benares, and other officials, that it is not lawful under any circumstances to pull up the crops. 12,269.

At the request of the Commission a further inquiry was subsequently made, and the report of this inquiry has been forwarded to us since our return from India. The report shows that as a matter of fact the cultivator had committed no offence whatever. Mr. Wace says:—

"I have very little doubt that he lost his potatoes because he did not see the zilladar."

The Assistant Sub-Deputy Agent attempted, in a letter sent by him to Mr. Wace, to justify his action by reference to a rule and a form in the Opium Manual. Mr. Wace points out that the rule does not cover this case, that the form is irrelevant, and that the official in question had not availed himself of an opportunity given him to produce witnesses on his own behalf.

NOTE H. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY ENGLISH OFFICIALS RESIDENT IN CHINA AND JAVA.

Sir George Staunton, who was in China from 1792 to 1816, referred to opium as "an article of vicious luxury," and said:—

"The best lands of India might have been made to produce that which was beneficial to man, instead of being devoted to the cultivation of such a pernicious article." Hansard, 1840, vol. 53, p. 743.

Sir Stamford Raffles, who died in 1826, said:—

"The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European Government, overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer at Hong Kong, refers to opium as—

"Desolating China, corrupting its Government, and bringing the fabric of that extraordinary Empire to a state of more rapid dissolution." Report H. of C. on China Trade, 1847

Sir Harry Parkes refers to opium as "a baneful article."—See his life by Stanley Laue Poole, Vol. I., p. 421.

Mr. L. E. Oxenham, late British Consul in China, says:—

"Do the Chinese . . . desire the continuation of the trade now? Would the Chinese Parliament vote for such a traffic? No one with any knowledge of China would answer in the affirmative. The opium is equally denounced by the Government, by the Confucian literati, and by the Buddhist and Taoist priesthood."—Society of Arts Journal, April 1892, p. 485.

NOTE J. to par. 15.—CHINESE OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM.

Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who is in the service of the Chinese Government as Director of Customs, in the special report on opium issued in 1881, said:—

"Chinese who have studied the opium question are opposed to a traffic which more or less harms smokers. . . . They do not find in . . . the revenue produced . . . any sufficient reason for welcoming the growth of the trade, or for desisting from the attempt to check the consumption of opium."

Vol. V.,
p. 359.

Vol. V.,
p. 355, par. 4.

Vol. V.,
p. 372.

Vol. V.,
p. 358, par. 5.

Vol. V.,
p. 360.

Vol. V.,
p. 361.

Vol. V.,
p. 361.

Vol. V.,
p. 356.

12,396 to
12,454.

The Chinese Foreign Office wrote to Sir Rutherford Alcock in July 1869 :—

East Indian Finance Committee, 1871.

"That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind. . . . The officials and people of this Empire . . . all say that England trades in opium because she desires to work China's ruin, for (say they) if the friendly feelings of England are genuine, since it is open to her to produce and trade in everywhere else, would she still insist on spreading the poison of this hurtful thing through the Empire?"

Sir Rutherford Alcock, at that time Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, said in reference to this :—

"He had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium was genuine and deep-seated."

In a letter in the "Times" of July 29th, 1881, Li Hung Chang, then Grand Secretary and Viceroy of China, said :—

"I may assert here once for all that the single aim of my Government in taxing opium, will be in the future, as in the past, to repress the traffic . . . never to desire to gain revenue from such a source."

* China, Commercial and Social, vol. 11, p. 187.

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer of Hong Kong, states that the Emperor of China had remarked :—

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes, but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

NOTE K. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

The Rev. Dr. Medhurst, one of the earliest missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which was the first Protestant Society to enter China, in his "China" (London, 1838), says :—

"Those who have not seen the effects of opium-smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results on the health, energies, and lives of those who indulge in it. . . . In proportion as the wretched victim comes under the power of the infatuating drug, so is his ability to resist temptation less strong, and debilitated in body as well as mind he is unable to earn his usual pittance, and not infrequently sinks under the craving of an appetite which he is unable to gratify. . . . Those who grow and sell the drug while they profit by the speculation would do well to follow the consumer into the haunts of vice, and mark the wretchedness, poverty, disease, and death which follow the indulgence, for if they did but know the thousandth part of the evils resulting from it they would not, they could not, continue to engage in the transaction."

Numerous testimonies were communicated to the Commission by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and by the Secretary of the China Inland Mission, all testifying to the evil effects of opium.

See also an important memorial signed by 17 Chinese Missionaries of all denominations (including two Bishops), and all of more than 25 years standing in China.

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NOTE L. to par. 20.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO ALLEGED EXTENSIVE USE OF OPIUM AND POLITICAL DANGER FROM INTERFERENCE.

Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., M.D., says :—

"It is well known that over large areas of country in India, by tens of thousands of people, opium in moderation is habitually used by the natives."

Dr. K. C. Bose, President of the Calcutta Medical Society, says :—

"Amongst the permanent residents of Calcutta only 10 per cent. of the people actually take opium, whilst amongst those who come from other portions of the country nearly 20 per cent. use opium in some shape or other."

Rai Sheo Bux Bogla Bahadur, merchant and banker, representing the National Chamber of Commerce, says :—

"About 70 or 80 per cent. of both Rajputs and Sikhs take opium as a daily ration."

Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab, says :—

"I fancy that about 50 or 75 per cent. of the inhabitants of Lucknow take opium."

Mr. J. J. S. Driberg, Excise Commissioner of Assam, says :—

"Bearing in mind the conditions of the climate, and the fact that opium has been consumed in the Province from time immemorial, so that it has now become a necessity of life, it is certain that any attempt to stop consumption or even to limit or reduce it more than has been done in the past 10 years would have a disastrous effect on the physical condition of the people." "Then you say that stopping it would depopulate whole tracts?—Yes."

Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.I.E., Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says :—

"There is no doubt that the people use opium very largely, not in great quantities, but very widely. I think nearly all of them give it to their children, and believe that it is necessary. . . . My opinion is that we could not actually prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes without a very large and oppressive force, and without an inquisition into the habits of the people which would be very unpleasant to them, and would make the Government, I think, exceedingly unpopular."

The Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, says :—

"I hold that, in a political point of view, total prohibition would be so dangerous, and would alienate so large a body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as to be impossible. . . . The dissatisfaction would be enormous, and I am not prepared to say that, fanned as it would be by professional agitators, it would not amount to disaffection, and require the presence of more British troops in India."

The Hon. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Abkari, Bombay, says :—

"In my opinion to prohibit the sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes, would be to invite a general rising all over the country against what would be regarded, and, in my mind, justly regarded as cruel and causeless oppression."

See also Q. 4999, 6059, 14,059, 15,700, 15,703, 19,530, 20,425, 27,029, 27,036, &c.

NOTE M. to par. 21.—AVERAGE OF OPIUM TAKEN BY ADULT MALE CONSUMERS.

The analysis of the evidence of 85 witnesses shows that :—

	Grains.
The average of what 31 witnesses consider strictly moderate use is	7.77
" " 34 " customary use	15.12
" " 20 " excessive use	41.00
Thus the 85 witnesses give a gross average of	18.53

But we have more precise information from three medical witnesses:—

					Grains.
Average of Dr. Huntly's record of	-	-	-	100 cases	= 20·89
" " Surg.-Lt.-Col. Hendley's record of	-	-	-	4,409 "	= 21·5
" " Dr. Ram Roy's record of	-	-	-	215 "	= 26·4
Gross average of	-	-	-	4,724 "	= 21·7

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In view of these figures, it will probably be pretty near the mark to take 20 grains as the fair average daily consumption of each adult male consumer; and that this is not, in the opinion of the authorities, an unreasonable or excessive allowance is clear from the fact that 20 grains is the authorised ration to soldiers on service, and the further fact that in Burma 45 grains a day appears to be the official estimate for each smoker.

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NOTE N. to par. 21.—TABLE SHOWING CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM BY PROVINCES.

Columns 2 to 6 are to be found in official statements; Columns 7 to 11 are calculations therefrom.

In order of Col. 9.	Province.	Area.	Population (1891).	In 1892-93.		To each Shop.		Annual Consumption of Opium per Head.	Daily Dose for 1 per Cent. of Population.	Consumption is equal to 20 grains daily to One Person out of	
				Shops.	Amount of Opium issued.	Area.	Population.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	
		Sq. Miles.			Lbs.	S. Miles.		Grs.	Gr.		
1	Assam	49,004	5,476,833	882	109,741	55	6,209	141	38·6	52	
2	Berar	17,718	2,897,491	478	37,876	37	6,062	91	24·9	80	
3	Bombay	77,275	15,985,270	845	108,980	91	18,918	47	12·9	155	
4	Sindh	47,789	2,871,774	300	18,052	159	9,572	44	12·3	166	
5	Punjab	110,667	20,860,913	1,780	125,292	62	11,158	42	11·5	174	
6	Central Province	*81,300	*10,046,540	†1,663	52,248	58	6,041	34	9·3	214	
7	N.W. Provinces	83,286	34,254,254	853	74,984	97	40,157	24	6·6	304	
8	Oudh	24,217	12,650,831	188	27,217	129	67,291	15	4·1	486	
9	Bengal	151,543	71,346,987	‡2,095	159,171	73	34,056	15	4·1	486	
10	Madras	141,189	35,630,440	§1,034	119,470	136	34,459	14	3·8	521	
	Total	783,988	212,021,333	10,118	833,031	—	—	—	—	—	
	Average of British India						77	20,955	27	7·4	270
	Bengal (excluding Calcutta)						—	—	12½	3·4	589

* Excluding proprietary estates.

† Including 518 temporary licenses.

‡ Excluding 1,264 druggists' licenses.

§ Including 30 poppy-head licenses.

NOTE O. to par. 21.—TABLE SHOWING EXTREMES OF LARGE AND SMALL CONSUMPTION IN SELECTED LOCALITIES.

Province.	District.	Reference.		Population.	No. of Shops.	In 1892-3.		In 1892-3.			To each Shop.			
		Vol.	Page.			Maund s. c.	lbs.	Annual Consumption per Head.	Daily Dose for 1 per cent. Population.	Consumption is equal to 20 grains daily to one Person out of	Population.	Yearly Amount sold.	Amount sold Daily (365 Days per Annum).	No. of 20 Grain doses.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Bengal	Calcutta	II.	434	874,460	101	419 9 0	34,493	276·14	75·6	26	8,058	341 8	14·42	315
"	Jessore	"	"	1,888,827	51	24 7 0	1,989	7·37	2·0	990	37,036	37 0	1·62	35
"	Dacca (Div.)	"	"	9,844,127	188	92 27 0	7,025	5·42	1·7	1,347	52,363	40 9	1·77	39
"	Tippera	"	"	1,782,936	7	2 26 0	218	·85	·2	8,588	234,705	51 2	1·30	30
Bombay	Ratnagiri	IV.	280-1	997,000	8	—	273	1·91	·5	3,822	124,636	34 0	1·49	33
"	Bronch	"	"	326,030	50	—	8,762	187·61	51·4	30	6,638	175 4	7·08	118
Central	Damoh	"	521	325,613	—	6 30 11	557	11·97	3·3	610	—	—	—	—
"	Wardha	"	"	400,854	—	49 19 14	4,073	71·12	19·4	102	—	—	—	—
N.W.P.	Bullia	V.	93	942,465	—	2 27 0	220	1·63	·4	4,478	—	—	—	—
"	Benares	"	"	921,943	—	140 14 0	11,548	87·69	24·0	83	—	—	—	—
Oudh	Hardoi	"	"	1,115,311	—	14 8 0	1,168	7·35	2·0	998	—	—	—	—
"	Lucknow	"	"	774,163	—	143 24 0	11,815	106·84	29·2	68	—	—	—	—
Punjab	Jhang	"	119	436,841	39	Seers, 192	395	6·88	1·7	1,163	11,201	10 2	·44	10
"	Ludhiana	"	"	646,722	105	7,963	16,360	176·82	48·4	41	6,178	156 1	6·84	150

NOTE P. to par. 26.—ON LICENTIOUS PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

Numerous witnesses declared that a special purpose for which opium is taken is for prolonging sexual indulgence.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, C.I.E., says :—

6327. "The chief of these pleasures which allures men to the use of the drug is what I may call sexual endurance.

6334. "They (smokers) told me that this invariably was the origin of . . . the pernicious habit."

Assistant-Surgeon Shah, chief medical officer of Junagadh State, says :—

24,119. "Opium is commenced for sexual enjoyment."

Mr. Jagat Narian, B.A., pleader of Lucknow, says :—

16,672. "It is taken for immoral purposes by 80 per cent. of the opium eaters here."

See also 2594, 12,654, 13,994, 18,210, 26,286, 26,542, and many others.

General Sardar Ratan Singh, member of the Council of Regency of the Jind State, says :—

16,262. "Those who commenced the use of opium for the sake of pleasure in their youth are looked down upon by society, and are considered as using it for licentiousness."

See also 18,313, 2594, 18,264.

NOTE Q. to par. 32.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, L.M.S., President of the Calcutta Medical School, says :—

8835. "It produces slow, steady, and certain degeneration of the human system, abundantly evidenced by the digestive disorders and emaciation that attend its use."

Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., Fellow of the Calcutta University, Lecturer on Forensic Medicine in the Calcutta Medical School, says :—

5833. "The power of resistance of disease generally becomes diminished, and the opium-eater becomes pre-disposed to some diseases, for example, cold, bronchitis, diarrhoea, dysentery, and dyspepsia."

Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., says :—

13,099. "The attenuated body, the peculiar withered and blasted countenance with a characteristic gait, will reveal the opium eater at a glance. His digestive organs become highly disordered, and he scarcely eats anything. His mental and bodily powers are destroyed. In fact, he becomes impotent."

The Rev. Colin S. Valentine, LL.D., L.R.C.P., and L.R.C.S.E., &c., Principal of the Agra Medical Missionary Training Institute, when asked, "What are the results of the habit, physical, mental, and moral?" replied :—

9,907. "Deterioration in all three points. The appetite is taken away, the digestion is impaired, there is congestion of the various internal organs, congestion of the lungs, constipation and diarrhoea consequent upon it, pains all over the body. A man in the habit of eating opium is upon a lower standing than a man in perfect health."

Brigade Surgeon J. H. Condon, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c., says :—

16,551. "Physically, it reduces strength, though like alcohol it gives a sort of fictitious strength for a short time; after a time varying with the amount eaten daily, they become emaciated and debilitated, miserable-looking wretches, and finally die, most commonly of diarrhoea induced by the use of opium."

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel A. Cameron, M.D., says :—

12,572. "Even when used in moderation for non-medical purposes, the habit is not to be defended. Unless required for some bodily ailment a man is better without it. Its habitual use, except in the smallest

"quantities, causes emaciation and enfeeblement of the body, saps the energy and dulls the mental faculties."

See also Q. 4042-4, 4718, 9360-3, 16,282, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Surgeon-Major R. Cobb, M.D., says :—

"I believe the moderate use of opium to be quite an innocuous habit." 3704.

Surgeon-Colonel R. Harvey, M.D., M.R.C.P., &c., says :—

"The moderate way in which the great majority take it not only does them no harm, but does them a great deal of good." 3120.

Mr. Sita Nath Roy, banker and zemindar, and secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, says :—

"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." 2706.

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Purves, F.R.C.S.E., says :—

"I generally agree that the moderate use of opium in this country is rather beneficial than otherwise." 3662.

See also 9524, 12,610, 15,907, 19,228.

NOTE R. to par. 33.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS MORAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Mookerjee says :—

"Its mental and moral effects are none the less harmful, and none the less marked. It most certainly tarnishes the moral nature of man, weakening his mental control over his will, and thus causing him to be the prey of the evil and vicious habits of lying and stealing." 8905.

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Cameron, M.D., says that :—

"The general opinion amongst natives themselves is that in positions where energy, alertness, a clear head, or a good memory is required, an opium-eater is not to be trusted." 12,573.

Ram Kali Chaudhuri, retired Subordinate Judge, and late member of the Legislative Council of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says :—

"The results of the habit of opium-eating, whether considered physically, mentally, or morally, are bad and condemnable. The consumer, as a general rule, becomes both physically and mentally weak and inactive, and as a consequence loses courage, and his moral conduct suffers so far as it depends on the energy of body and mind, such as the performance of duties requiring activity. In the early stage of the habit sexual virtue is disregarded, where the initial motive was to increase sexual vigour." 13,191.

Dr. Manohar Prasad Tewarie, L.M.S., says :—

"Its use in any of its forms deadens the intellect, impairs the physical and moral sense, induces laziness, immorality, and debauchery." 15,146.

See also 9129, 9962, 10,496, 11,684, 18,706, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS MORAL EFFECTS.

The Hon. Sri Ram Rai, Bahadur, M.A., B.L., member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Council, says :—

"In no way, so far as my experience goes, does it lead to moral degradation."

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson, M.B., says :—

"In my experience it does not in any way lower the moral tone, nor does it develop a propensity for gambling or sensuality."

See also 26,757, 19,228, 23,303, &c.

NOTE S. to par. 34.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says :—

“They must satisfy their opium craving; they are necessarily driven to have recourse to all sorts of vicious acts, such as petty thefts, pickpocketing, &c.”

3191. Judge Ram Kali Chandhuri (already quoted) says :—

“Where there is little or no means, the habit leads the consumer to commit petty thefts and trickeries.”

See also 12,569, 3413, 9173, 25,490, 16,902, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Sir John Lambert, K.C.I.E., Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, says :—

5080. “I fail to discover any connexion between opium and crime of a serious nature.”

Mr. James Munro, C.B., formerly Commissioner of Police in Bengal, now engaged in missionary work, says :—

5463. “The conclusion which I came to from wide experience was that so far as regards crime, opium has no perceptible influence in causing it.”

See also 3184, 14,414, 19,749, 19,797, 25,583.

NOTE T. to par. 35.—PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson, already quoted, says :—

14,226. “When taken to excess it causes both moral and physical deterioration. It produces emaciation, gastric disorder, loss of appetite, gives premature senile expression, and no doubt shortens life. Morally, over-indulgence makes the victim idle and timid and engenders a habit of exaggeration.”

Surgeon-Major G. W. P. Dennys, civil surgeon in the Punjab for many years, says :—

18,733. “A confirmed excessive opium eater is generally a physical and mental wreck, emaciated to an excessive degree, and incapable of performing any ordinary work. He is a deplorable object to behold. Excessive opium eaters have no stamina whatever, and succumb to comparatively trivial ailments.”

Mr. G. B. Prabhakar, L.R.C.P., a medical practitioner of Bombay, says :—

25,989. “Opium when taken in excess impairs the digestive system in general, engenders lazy habits, causes dulness of intellect, and produces anæmia and emaciation.”

See also 12,608, 24,675, 25,657, 26,022, &c.

PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO MORAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. F. Reed, in command of 29th Punjab Infantry, says :—

18,706. “The habitual (*i.e.*, excessive) opium eaters are marked men in the regiment, and are not trusted like the rest.”

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., referring to those taking opium in large doses, says :—

13,948. “They are regular drunkards, a depraved lot, generally belonging to the criminal class, thieves and burglars.”

See also 24,087, 26,022, &c.

NOTE U. to par. 35.—DIFFICULTY OF DISCONTINUANCE OF HABIT.

The personal experience of Mr. Datta may be usefully cited :—

“I took opium myself for three months, for chronic diarrhoea and dyspepsia. The first day it acted like

“magic, but gradually the dose had to be increased, until I used to take 20 grains of it. I keenly felt the after effects and thought of relinquishing. It took me some time before I gave it up by gradually reducing the doses.

“If I did not take opium at the regular time, when I was used to taking it, I was seized with nausea, pains all over the body, a sort of uneasiness which cannot be described, a bad scalding sense of uneasiness all over the body. Even if I took a lesser dose the diarrhoea would reappear, and with greater violence. I could not retain the smallest quantity of food, and I was not able to work.

“It took me about four months to relinquish the habit, gradually reducing the dose all that time. I took other remedies to restore my health. I had to place myself under other treatment.”

There is abundance of other uncontradicted evidence to the like effect.

See also Q. 2593, 18,927, 25,513, 5913, 16,219, 28,168, and many others.

NOTE V. to par. 36.—COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

Surgeon-General Sir Wm. Moore, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P., was asked by Sir Wm. Roberts :—

Q. “You would not admit it was due to some profound constitutional difference.”

A. “No, I don't think so.”

Q. “But of course you would not be positive.”

A. “I do not think the constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it.”

Surgeon Major-General Rice, head of the Indian Medical Department, says :—

“I have satisfied myself in my professional practice that Europeans are more tolerant, that is, require larger doses of opium than natives, bulk for bulk.”

Dr. Rice further says :—

“To produce the same effect from a medicinal dose of opium in a European you would have to give a larger quantity of it than you would to a native.”

Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., says :—

“The ordinary native takes an amount of opium that would be almost laughed at in England as a dose of opium.”

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel J. McConaghey, M.D., was asked by Sir W. Roberts :—

Q. “Have you been able to notice, or been led to the opinion, that there is a difference between the European constitution and the constitution of the natives of India, in their relation to opium?”

A. “I do not know that there is much difference.”

“I have had Europeans under my treatment who were quite as much addicted to the use of the drug as natives.”

“Taking the population of the Europeans I meet with, it will be very nearly the same proportion.”

Dr. G. R. Ferris, M.R.C.S., was asked by Sir W. Roberts :—

Q. “Has it never struck you that there was a difference of tolerance, depending upon race or climate, or food, or the environment of Europeans on the one hand, and of the inhabitants of India on the other?”

A. “No. In Calcutta I have seen the greatest quantity taken by Europeans. The maximum I have seen has been taken by a European.”

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Wilcox, M.D., was asked by Mr. Mowbray :—

Q. “Have you had any experience of Europeans taking opium in this country?”

A. “Yes. I have stated that the worst cases I have met with have been Europeans.”

Q. “You think that the effect of opium on the Europeans who take it is worse than on the natives?”

A. “I do not think so. These cases I speak of were cases of extreme abuse.”

See also 3387, 21,298, 19,363, 24,706.

NOTE V. V. to par. 38.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM, EXCEPT FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES.

8508. Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, President of the Calcutta Medical College, approves of the production of opium for medical use only:—

“To that extent and no further.”

8544. Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the sale of opium, except for medical purposes:—

8545. “So far as I can gauge public opinion, they (the people of India) will support it (prohibition).”

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says:—

11,108. “I am for limiting the use of opium strictly for medical purposes. Its use as a narcotic indulgence should be prohibited by laws.”

13,163. “And you believe that such a prohibition would be received with favour by the people?—Yes.”

19,519-21. Babu Bepin Behari Bose, M.A., a barrister at Lucknow, is in favour of prohibition, except for medical purposes, and says that such action would be supported by the general opinion of the country:—

19,822. “The opinion of the country is very settled on this point—that opium eating is not good at all.”

18,205-6. Pandit Gopi Nath, assistant manager of three newspapers, and secretary of two bodies of orthodox Hindus, is in favour of prohibition except for medical purposes, and thinks it would be generally approved:—

18,707. “It is nonsense to think that because opium is prohibited there will be any riots.”

Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, proprietor of two native newspapers at Lucknow, and a member of the Municipal Board, says:—

14,223. “It would be a blessing to my city if the Government stops the sale of opium, and strictly orders that none but those who require opium for medical purposes should have it.”

14,525. “I think the majority of the opium smokers themselves will agree with me.”

9139. Rai Goonabhiram Borooah, Bahadur, retired Extra Assistant Commissioner of Assam, thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes:—

9140. “All but opium sellers and opium eaters will be in favour of it. Even they would like it because their children would be saved.”

Gobind Ram Chowdry, Tahsildar, Assam, says:—

19,238. “I wish it could be prohibited except for medical purposes.”

19,239. “The great majority, not being opium consumers, would certainly support it. . . . There is nothing to fear from the natives of the country in regard to prohibition.”

Mr. Kali Sankur Sukul, M.A., Professor in the City College, and Rector of the City Collegiate School, says:—

9330. “The sale of opium, except for medical purposes, should be stopped.”

9331. “Undoubtedly public opinion would favour the total prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, especially if the country were assured that no other taxation would follow.”

See also 9932-3, 13,389, 15,009-10, 15,626-9, 18,261-2, 27,843-4, 11,692-3, 10,504-5, 4543, 16,569-76, 4298, 8021-2, 8342, 18,033-36, 19,733, 24,301, 8646-51, 9053-4, 9467-8, 11,449, 23,457, 24,335-6, 26,518, 26,567, and nearly a hundred others.

NOTE W. to par. 39.—FURTHER EVIDENCE AS TO OPIUM-SMOKING.

15,738. Mr. G. M. Ogilvie, Second Financial Commissioner for the Punjab, said in reference to smoking:—

“This use of opium is generally reprobated. It is not practised by the peasantry, and is, I believe, generally confined to the vicious classes of the population.”

He added an opinion that in consequence of the discontinuance in the Punjab of licensing the sale of chandu and madak, the practice of smoking is rapidly decreasing in that province. 15,714.

Mr. T. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-west Provinces and Oudh, says:—

“I have nothing to say in favour of opium smoking. Speaking of these provinces, I regard it as a low and vicious habit, practised, broadly speaking, by low or by vicious people. It would be unreasonable to say that any physical or moral deterioration which may have been observed in opium smokers is necessarily due altogether to that particular practice and not to other demoralising habits and associations or physical infirmities. . . . But in these parts people who pursue the habit do in my opinion often or generally suffer from it or its surroundings. The policy of the Government of the North-Western Provinces has always been directed to repress and check the practice and has been attended with success.” 19,327.

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., civil surgeon at Amritsar, referring to that district, says:—

“The class of opium smokers is very limited. Four years ago the opium-smoking shops were closed by order of the Government, and since then opium-smoking has apparently decreased; it is confined to a very few, generally a disreputable, debauched, and depraved lot.” 15,945.

Numerous native witnesses, some holding important official positions, gave similar evidence, particularly Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner of Bengal, who said:—

“The effects of chandu and madak smoking are, however, distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, specially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food. Opium eating is not looked down upon, nor does it cause loss of respectability. But smoking chandu or madak is regarded as a degrading habit. . . . the chandu or madak smoker is usually known by his appearance, and he is also generally believed to have deteriorated in many respects.” 407
“I think the effects of madak or chandu smoking in this country cannot well be concealed.” 4076, 4077.

NOTE X. to par. 48.—OPIUM REVENUE.

According to the figures in App. VIII. the average of the net opium revenue for the four years ending 1892-3 was Rx. 7,299,249. Vol. II., p. 343.

The Budget Estimate for 1893-4 was Rx. 5,967,104. According to the “Financial Statement,” the Budget Estimate for 1894-5 is Rx. 4,138,200, Vol. II., p. 343.

to which must be added the net revenue from excise, which for the average of the five years ending 1893-4 was Rx. 985,129 p. 67, Blue Br. 92 of 18

making a total of Rx. 5,123,329 Vol. II. p. 343.

which taking the rupee at 1s. 1d. gives 2,775,136l.

NOTE Y. to par. 32.—MEDICAL EVIDENCE AGAINST THE NEW THEORY THAT OPIUM IS A PROPHYLACTIC AGAINST FEVER.

A new theory—never heard of,—
4317; 4710; 8824-36; 10,617; 10,684; 11,851-69; 15,868; 16,163; 16,665; 19,378-80; 24,173.
Not used or recommended,—
3619; 4070; 4174-6; 8828; 12,476; 12,585; 12,633-4; 12,695; 13,337; 16,876; 17,275-7; 17,508; 24,777.

Not prescribed, even by pro-opiumists,—
3574; 11,895-6; 16,879-81; 19,258; 19,407; 21,459-60; 24,675; 25,383.

Prophylactic properties denied,—
4710; 5837; 16,167; 16,558; 16,902; 17,152; 17,772-6; 19,203; 25,308.

Not known or used by the natives as a preventive,—
4277-80; 5836; 17,173; 19,406; 24,177-8
25,361; 25,727; 25,861; 25,957; 26,041.

NOTE Z. to par. 50.

Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield,
DEAR LORD BRASSEY, January 21, 1895.

I HAVE carefully considered your letters of the 2nd and 7th instant, the latter enclosing a copy of your letter to Sir James Lyall of the same date.

In the former of these letters you point out that if I am unable to agree with you and the majority, it will be "unprofitable to enter into a prolonged discussion," and that it will become my duty to state my own views in a dissentient report. You add that in the report which you will submit you "do not suppose that there will be "found much room for amendment," and that "taking this view" you "do not anticipate that our further deliberations round the table need occupy many days."

In your letter to Sir James Lyall you "strongly insist that the completion of our work has become "of extreme urgency," and you say that "having received two communications from the Secretary of "State within the last few days, I feel that my duty calls for some decided course of action. I do not believe that long discussion round the table will be "necessary or desirable." * * * "I shall in any case relieve the Commission from further collective "work on the 26th."

Believing that full examination and consideration was the usual course, I was prepared to give all the time needful for the purpose. But as the majority of the Commission will probably be guided by your wishes in the matter, that course appears to be precluded.

Under these circumstances, it would not be right for me to attempt to discuss a few statements or

arguments here and there in the Majority Report; for were I to do so, it would convey the impression that I was satisfied with whatever I did not challenge, and might be open to other objections. I must therefore confine myself, as you suggest, to a statement of my own views, some of which, I believe, are in accordance with those of Mr. Pease.

Entirely apart, however, from the considerations already referred to, I think it right to point out that in your letter to Sir James Lyall, you advise "personal revision of the draft as now being circulated on the "part of each member of the Commission," adding that you would go "carefully through each revise and "endeavour to incorporate all suggestions which do "not conflict with the main conclusions."

Four new portions or chapters, apparently intended to form part of the report, have been circulated within the last few days; a further chapter has come to hand this morning, and at least three or four portions or chapters have yet to be supplied.

As we are to meet the day after to-morrow, it is impossible that your wish as to revision by each member, and the incorporation of suggestions, can now be carried out; and it cannot be right or proper that the Commission should adopt, as its own, any chapters or documents which its members have not had adequate means and opportunity to consider and approve.

I remain,

Dear Lord Brassey,
Yours faithfully,
HENRY J. WILSON.

The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B.,
Chairman Royal Commission on Opium.

C.—APPENDIX TO MR. H. J. WILSON'S DISSENT.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES IN INDIA.

1. While in India I was obliged to express disapproval of the action of the Government of India, and of various officials, in relation to the Commission. As the after proceedings did not remove but strengthened this objection, it is due to the Commission and myself to place the main grounds of this objection on record.

In doing so I readily acknowledge the difficult position of the Indian authorities. Rightly or wrongly, they appeared to hold in the main that the good government of India is bound up with the Opium Revenue. The difficulties arose from assuming an impartiality on the part of the Indian authorities which could not be, and was not, continuously enforced.

2. Some of the circumstances to which I am about to refer were stated in a letter addressed by me to Lord Brassey while we were in India, but the consideration given to them appeared to me inadequate. I have here omitted some and added others.

3. On the 18th November 1893 it transpired that a telegram had been sent from the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the 15th August, containing the following passage:—"We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses, who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society." As anti-opium evidence was easily available, without any special search, this official statement seemed to show that the authorities were taking up a partisan attitude.

4. Two days later a letter from Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, to Lord Brassey, Chairman of the Commission, was passed round to the members for perusal. It contained a statement in favour of the existing opium system, and against interference with that system as likely to lead to serious trouble. This appeared to me a departure from the judicial attitude which might have been expected from Her Majesty's Representative.

5. The Government of Madras was not allowed to present its own case to the Commission, but was instructed by the Government of India (13th December 1893) to send to Calcutta abstracts of evidence of proposed witnesses. A letter of similar purport was addressed on the same day to the Resident at Hyderabad with regard to the evidence of other witnesses. Similar instructions were given to the Government of the North-West Provinces. I submit that this requirement was distinctly detrimental to the free expression of opinion and unprecedented in the history of Royal Commissions.

6. An official letter was sent [30th December 1893] from the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, to all Commissioners of Divisions, and other officials in these provinces, calling attention to the fact that some officials had "communicated direct with the Secretary of the Commission, submitting to that officer abstracts of the evidence," and pointing out "that there is no authority for this procedure, and that all communications should be addressed to this Government." Here, again, the authorities seemed determined that no evidence should be submitted to the Commission which had not been subjected to official scrutiny in high quarters. Moreover, this circular was not communicated to officials alone, but even to non-official persons who were intending, and were considered qualified, to give evidence on the subject of the inquiry.

7. At Benares, Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., stated that he had been officially invited to be a witness and to furnish an abstract of his intended evidence. After he forwarded his statement, he was informed by official letter, in which no reason was assigned, that his evidence was not required. The fact that he entertained anti-opium opinions was subsequently proved by his volunteered evidence before the Commission. Other proposed witnesses at Benares were similarly treated.

8. At Bankipur, a list of witnesses intended to be called on the 3rd January was supplied to me. It included the name of Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E., Dewan of Dumraon. This gentleman represents a large estate in which poppy is extensively cultivated. He was not called. Information

from two sources led me to believe that his evidence would not have been altogether favourable to the Government. The official version of this circumstance will be found in Vol. V., p. 355, paragraphs 4 to 10, and as I have commented on it in the Appendix to my dissent from the Report of the majority of the Commission, I will only add a strong expression of my opinion that as the Dewan was not called on the 3rd January, the Commission ought to have been informed that he was present on the 6th January. The withholding of that information was not creditable to those concerned.

9. At Lucknow, 24 witnesses were called at the instance of the Government, 23 of whom gave evidence generally favourable to the Government case. Thinking that a different kind of evidence might have been omitted, Mr. R. M. Dana, who accompanied the Commission to manage the case on behalf of the Government of India, was, at my request, asked by Lord Brassey to put in the list of persons who had been asked by the authorities to give evidence at Lucknow, together with such abstracts of their evidence as had not already been produced. I thought the Commission was entitled to know the method that had been followed in making the selection of witnesses, and that the original list of witnesses, with the marks and notes upon it, would throw light on the subject. The list was not produced. It was stated that the names of Lucknow witnesses were included in the general list of all the witnesses for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, but that circumstance seems quite irrelevant, and an altogether insufficient reason. However, the names of 17 rejected witnesses extracted from the list were supplied, together with the abstracts of evidence of 16—four of whom seem to entertain anti-opium views, and four others make some strong observations against the use of opium. I would draw particular attention to the fact that two of these gentlemen, namely, Mr. P. Wyndham, C.S., Assistant Commissioner and Excise Officer, Sultanpur, and Mirza Muhammad Beg, Deputy Collector of Basti, make the important statement that in their opinion revenue and rents derived from land would not be sensibly affected by the prohibition of poppy cultivation.

10. At Bombay another instance of the anxiety of the authorities to prevent the free communication of information on the opium question was brought to light by the Rev. A. W. Prantch. An official circular had been issued desiring that information applied for by Mr. Ernest Hart, Chairman of the British Medical Association, should not be replied to, on the ground that "to reply to such applications might prove embarrassing."

11. I learned at Bankipur, that the police at Gya had been searching out the movements of two of my friends and myself for the purpose of ascertaining with what persons we had had communication. As this matter formed the subject of protest on my part before the Commission, I need only refer to the Minutes of Evidence. I do not know whether on any other occasion we were similarly tracked.

12. Perhaps the most notable instance of the Government method of preparing for the fair and honest inquiry expected in England will be found in the correspondence relating to the Native States of Rajputana. On the 9th September 1893, the Government of India directed the agent of the Governor-General in Rajputana to invite the durbars of the Native States to appoint witnesses to give evidence before the Commission, and also to nominate a British officer to give evidence as to those States. An abstract of his evidence was, as in other cases, to be forwarded to the Government of India. Accordingly, on the 22nd September, the agent, Colonel G. H. Trevor, sent out a circular "to all political officers in Rajputana," desiring that the durbars [courts] of the Native States should be invited to nominate witnesses, and requesting the British officers addressed to furnish information and statistics. On the 5th October, Lieut.-Colonel Abbott was appointed to give evidence himself, as well as to produce the witnesses, and arrange the evidence from the Native States—the request for a draft of his evidence being again repeated by the Government of India. Colonel Abbott then prepared a note on opium, which will repay careful perusal. He indicated the principal heads of evidence, and, among other things, suggested "that some stalwart Sondhia, Mewati, and Rajput lumber-dars and patels should be among the witnesses selected." He made numerous other suggestions as to

ol. V.,
365.

ol. V.,
362.

Vol. V.,
368 and
371.

Vol. V.,
372.

Vol. V.,
370.

III., 13, 168.

Vol. IV.,
p. 373.

Vol. III.,
pp. 10, 24, 25.

Vol. IV.,
p. 384.

Vol. IV.,
p. 385.

Vol. IV.,
p. 336.

Vol. IV.,
p. 387.

matters of detail entirely in favour of the existing state of things, and without any provision for ascertaining and proving any matters of an adverse character, either of fact or of opinion. He advised that the witnesses "should reach Ajmere a week in advance" of the Commission, and supplied the reason, namely, "that I may become acquainted with all, and see if each one understands on what points he is required to give evidence." He also made careful suggestions for preparing ample claims for compensation. On the 29th November "all political officers" were again addressed on the subject as follows:—"Mr. R. M. Dane, C.S., the officer selected by the Government of India to advise local administrations in the matter of preparing for the inquiry to be held by the Opium Commission, has had an opportunity of seeing the previous correspondence on that subject in this office, and has pointed out that the great importance of the inquiry . . . has apparently not been fully appreciated . . . that Rajputana is vitally interested in the inquiry," and that "there should be no lack of evidence, both official and non-official, to prove before the Commission the full extent of their rights and interests in opium." The suggestion was repeated that witnesses were, if practicable, to be "ready in Ajmere about a week in advance of the Commission's arrival there." Taken altogether, this correspondence, is, in my opinion, as one-sided as the instructions in a brief in a partisan cause, and the evidence, which in accordance with these suggestions, was prepared and put before the Commission at Ajmere, was of an unusually partial and one-sided character.

13. The instances I have given as to the action of the authorities appear to me inconsistent with any real desire on their part that the whole of the facts should come in a perfectly unbiassed manner before the world. Whatever the Government of India intended by their determination not to seek for evidence of an anti-opium

character, its action was likely to be understood, and was undoubtedly understood, to mean that pro-opium evidence was to be sought for, and anti-opium evidence was not.

14. Lord Brassey himself had early recognised the true position of the Government, as is clear from his statement to Mr. Alexander, the secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, at the close of his evidence before the Commission:—"We all appreciate that in the encounter in which you are engaged with the Government of India upon its own ground you are placed in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty."

15. My contention on this subject is, that having regard to the nature of British authority in India and to the moral timidity of many residents in India, both Native and European, it was the duty of the Government, in the presentation of evidence to be adduced before the Commission, to have publicly assured the people generally that no harm would come to them by giving free expression to their views, however opposed such views might be to the interests of the Revenue, or the known predilection of English officials. In fact it should have given practical effect to Mr. Westland's message read by the Chairman at the commencement of the proceedings on the 27th December:—"The Government, however, will not reply to such evidence [that is anti-opium evidence] as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

16. In view of the various incidents which came to my knowledge, and some of which are here set forth, I am driven to the conclusion that the authorities in India have not pursued their declared "course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

HENRY J. WILSON.

MEMORANDUM V.

TELEGRAM.*

Private.]

From HEWETT to BAINES.
(Simla) (London)

MAHARAJA DARBHANGA telegraphs eighth:—

"Kindly telegraph Lord Brassey following summary of my Note:—

"First, the opium trade with China should not be suppressed unless China specially asks for suppression. Otherwise it only means sacrifice of a large revenue, fresh taxation, and probably great discontent, without any benefit to any class of people. The Chinese Government, and not we, are the best judges of the evils and benefits of opium in China.

"Second, non-medical use of opium has not been proved an unmixed evil. It is largely used as a harmless stimulant, and people should not in such case be deprived of its use. Local Governments and local bodies like the district boards should, however, be empowered to put on necessary restrictions in localities where opium-smoking and opium-eating becomes an abuse.

"Third, the Benares system of direct dealing with ryots should be introduced in Behar, and the price paid to the ryots should be raised in proportion to rise in wages and price of food.

"Fourth, any sudden interference with opium policy of Native States, like Indore, is injudicious, and likely to interfere with their financial equilibrium."

* Received at 4.45 p.m. on 9th April.

MEMORANDUM VI.

ON THE COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AGAINST THE OPIUM TRADE, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ACTION TAKEN IN CONNEXION WITH IT IN PARLIAMENT

BY THE SECRETARY.

For many years before the movement against the opium trade between India and China assumed a definite shape, objections had been raised by individuals to the traffic on the grounds of the injury caused by the use of the drug to the population of the latter country. The question was made the subject of special inquiry by the Select Committees of the Houses of Parliament which reported between 1830 and 1832 on the general trade relations of China with both India and the United Kingdom. In arriving at a decision, the House of Commons was apparently influenced by two main considerations; first, that the trade, though contraband in name, was conducted with the full connivance and aid of the Chinese authorities, and, secondly, that in the financial circumstances of India, the revenue derived from this branch of exports could not be abandoned without seriously impeding the development of the country.

Hansard, 18,
p. 709-10,
770.

2. When the events of 1839-40 came before Parliament in the latter year, the opium question, though mentioned in the Resolution moved in the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, was not placed in the van of the attack, nor was it more than casually mentioned by most of the leading members who took part in the discussion, and who were, presumably, acquainted with the circumstances in which the trade had come under the consideration of the House seven years before. A Motion specifically condemnatory of the traffic in the drug had apparently been contemplated by Lord Sandon and Sir George Staunton, but it was not brought forward, as it seems from the speech of Sir Robert Peel on the occasion, that it was considered desirable to conduct the attack on the Government on other lines. The Resolution, as moved, ran as follows:—

Hansard, 53,
pp. 670-950.

Do. p. 689.

Do. p. 740.

Do. p. 901.

"It appears to this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this House by command of Her Majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of Her Majesty's present advisers in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the Superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the Superintendent was placed."

Hansard, 53,
p. 704.

The wording of the Resolution and the course of the Debate which followed shows clearly that the point of attack was not the cause or conduct of the war, but the attitude of the Government, or, more correctly, of an individual Minister, in connexion with the transactions at Canton which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. In the division which took place on the Motion, the Government of the day vindicated the reputation of Lord Palmerston by the narrow majority of nine, in a House of 533 members.

3. About a month afterwards Lord Stanhope presented a petition from a meeting recently held in London, denouncing the opium trade and deprecating the war with China. The Earl of Rosebery drew attention to the language used, and to the fact that it has been resolved that the terms of the petition should be translated into Chinese and presented to the Emperor of China through Commissioner Lin, the leader of the hostilities against the British in Canton. Lord Stanhope thereupon announced his intention of bringing the question of the continuation of the opium trade between India and China directly before the House of Lords; and a few days later moved—

Hansard, 53
p. 1158.

"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, to express to Her Majesty the deep concern of this House in learning that an interruption has occurred in the friendly relations and commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted with the Chinese Empire; and to represent to Her Majesty that these calamities have, in the opinion of this House, been occasioned by British subjects having persevered in taking opium to China in direct and known violation of the laws of that Empire; and to request that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take immediate measures for the prevention of such proceedings, which are so dishonourable to the character and so detrimental to the interests of Her subjects, and to assure Her Majesty that if any additional powers should be found requisite for the purpose, this House will readily concur in granting them to Her Majesty."

Hansard, 54
p. 26.

The Motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne as the Head of the Government. The Duke of Wellington, as Leader of the Opposition, moved the previous Question, which was carried without a Division.

4. In 1843 the opium question was brought directly before the House of Commons by Lord Shaftesbury, who, as Lord Ashley, laid on the table petitions from the

London, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies in China on the subject, and moved the following Resolution :—

“That it is the opinion of this House that the continuance of the trade in opium and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India is destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of Government and individuals, to abolish the evil.”

The Head of the Government, Sir R. Peel, pointed out that the adoption of such a Resolution would have material effect upon negotiations then in progress between the two countries, and on this consideration the Mover withdrew his proposition.

Hansard,
Vol. 144,
pp. 1391-
1846.

5. The question, though occasionally the subject of questions to Ministers, was not again formally debated in Parliament till 1870. It was casually brought into the debate of 1857, regarding the second war with China, but as it was recognised that opium had nothing to do with the rupture on that occasion, the issue was narrowed, at least professedly, to the conduct of the British Agent at Canton in precipitating a conflict which, as in the case of 1839-40, could not be avoided in the circumstances created by the attitude assumed by the Chinese authorities relative to their Treaty engagements.

Hansard, 1870.
Vol. 201, p. 516.
Mr. Gladstone,
1875,
Vol. 225,
p. 575
Sir M. Stewart,
1880,
Vol. 252,
p. 1232.
Sir J. Pease,
Mr. Gladstone,
p. 1252.
Vol. 335,
p. 1146.
Mr. S. Smith.

6. It is obvious from the line taken by most of the speakers, as well as from the political history of the time, that, just as in 1840, the particular subject of debate was little more than a convenient cover for a parliamentary attack upon the general foreign policy of the Government of the day or, rather, of its chief representative. As it appears that the war of 1856-58 has been on several occasions quoted as the “second opium war” by a responsible statesman as well as by some of the leaders of the movement against the opium traffic, it is well to give the Resolution moved by Mr. Cobden on this occasion :—

“That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the English and Chinese authorities in the Canton River; and, without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*.”

“That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China.”

Hansard, 1857,
Vol. 144, p.
1421.
Hansard,
144, p. 1846.

This was carried by a majority of 16 in a House of 510 Members. Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, which responded by returning him to power with an increased majority.

II., p. 371.

7. Shortly after the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, suggestions were made by Sir R. Hamilton and Sir W. Muir for replacing the Bengal, or monopoly system, by that of Malwa, so that the revenue from opium might be levied by a duty on export. A few years later the same proposal was brought forward by Sir C. Trevelyan, Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council, and it was renewed by Sir W. Muir when he occupied that office in 1868. In an Appendix to the Proceedings of this Commission is given a general abstract of these propositions, with the correspondence to which they gave rise.

8. It may be noted that throughout, the fiscal side of the question is ever in the van, and, whatever might be the change suggested, it was always assumed that the financial results would be at least as favourable as those under the system it was proposed to displace, and in some instances it was anticipated that they would be even more lucrative than the latter. Sir C. Trevelyan considered that an expansion of trade would follow the substitution of sound commercial interests for a State monopoly. Sir R. Hamilton held that the revenue was likely to rise in consequence of throwing open the cultivation of the poppy freely and without restriction to any landholder who chose to engage in it. Sir W. Muir proposed to retain the system of licensing cultivation and manufacture, but he thought that the private manufacturer would be able to obtain from the cultivator the whole of the produce, instead of the portion, which, under the monopoly he considered, alone reached the State storehouse. It appears to have been assumed, too, by all who advocated the change, that China must have opium, and could not grow it at home; so that, as Sir W. Muir put it, by the adoption of a uniform system and rate of taxation, the Government of India would have the China market far more under its control than before, because “the pass duty for all India would regulate the prices which the Chinese will always be prepared to give for a commodity they cannot do without, and which, practically, India alone can supply.”

This assumption, so far as the position of India in the opium market is concerned, has long since proved untenable. On the moral side of the question, where it is brought forward, both Sir R. Hamilton and Sir W. Muir confined themselves to the advantage of removing the stigma which they mention as being attached by some, to the direct connexion of the State with the production and sale of opium, and which would disappear under the plans they respectively suggested. To the trade itself no objection seems to have been raised. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the schemes, as the latter, though in accordance with the earlier views on the subject, are connected with a phase of the general question which has now almost, though not entirely, passed away. The Society now engaged in promoting the movement against opium has informed the Commission, through its Secretary, that Sir W. Muir's scheme has been repudiated by it. So far as their efficacy as a substitute for the Bengal system is concerned, reference should be made to the despatch of Lord Ripon's Government of the 19th of December 1881 in which the subject is exhaustively treated.

Hansard, Vol. 68, p. 386.
Vol. 225, pp. 584, 596.
Vol. 252, pp. 1245, 1280.
Vol. 305, p. 288.
Debates, XIV., p. 603.
Friend of China, xi. p. 290.

9. In 1869 the subject was brought to notice in the House of Commons during the discussion on the Indian accounts, and those who advocated the abandonment of the revenue from opium were challenged by a private member (Mr. Denison) to bring the question fairly before the House on a definite issue. Next year, accordingly, Sir Wilfred Lawson moved—

I., 475.
II., p. 378, and Return, C. 3378 of 1862.

“That this House condemns the system by which a large portion of the Indian revenue is raised from opium.”

Hansard, 198, p. 1352.

The Motion was opposed by the Government of the day, Mr. Gladstone observing that the question was one that should be dealt with, not by abstract Resolution, but by Bill, in order that the Mover might show that he had thought the matter out, and give the House some means of judging whether the measures he proposed were adapted and well proportioned to his ends.

Hansard, 201, p. 480.

On a Division in a House of 196, the Motion was lost by a majority of 104.

10. The autumn of 1874 saw the foundation of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, which has been mentioned more than once in the course of our Report. Its first President was the late Earl of Shaftesbury, who was succeeded by Sir Joseph Pease. According to the evidence given before the Commission by Mr. J. G. Alexander, its present Secretary, the Society, has at various times advocated or supported different measures in furtherance of the object for which it was established. In its early years its action appears to have been directed mainly against the military and diplomatic influence under which it considered that the admission of Indian opium into China was maintained. Whilst, therefore, the Chefoo Convention was under consideration, the Society was strenuous in its endeavour to secure the ratification of that Agreement. Regarding the general question, the following shades of opinion have been from time to time countenanced by the Society:—

1874.
I., 468.
II., 247-8.
I., 2, 112, 461.

(a.) The abandonment of the monopoly in Bengal, in order that the trade might pass from the hands of the Government into those of private traders, leaving the former free to regulate and repress the operations.

I., 147.
Hansard, 225, p. 617;
260, p. 764
335, p. 1143

(b.) Gradual suppression of the trade, with the co-operation, if obtainable, of the Chinese Government.

(c.) Immediate and total suppression of the production and sale of opium in India except for medical purposes.

345, p. 278.

11. In the middle of the year following the organisation of the above Society Sir Mark Stewart called the attention of the House of Commons to certain evidence given before the Indian Finance Committee of the preceding year, and moved:—

June 1875.

“That this House is of opinion that the Imperial policy regulating the opium traffic between England and China should be carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the gradual withdrawal of the Government of India from the cultivation and manufacture of opium.”

Hansard, 225, p. 571.

A House of 151 Members divided on the Motion, which was negatived by a majority of 37.

12. In June 1880, Sir Joseph Pease re-introduced the subject on the question of the House going into Committee of Supply.

Hansard, 252, p. 1227

The Motion proposed was as follows:—

“That this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government, whilst asking admission into China for all exports from Great Britain, India, and British Possessions on the terms granted to the most favoured nation,

should not, in carrying out existing, or negotiating new, Treaties, insist upon terms facilitating the introduction of opium, which the Government of China is unwilling to grant; and this House is also of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should encourage the Government of India to take steps for their gradual withdrawal from participation in the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium, and dependence upon a revenue derived from its cultivation and transit."

As an Amendment to the Question had already been moved and negatived, no further Amendment could be proposed. Sir Charles Cameron, therefore, moved the adjournment of the Debate, but after some further discussion, the Motion was withdrawn.

April 1881.
Hansard,
260, p. 764.

13. In 1881, too, a lengthy exposition of the main views of the Society was given by Sir Joseph Pease, though, for the same reason as in the preceding year, no Division on the Amendment could be taken.

It was apparently this discussion which gave rise to the despatch on the subject of opium by the Secretary of State, answered by the Government of India in the following December, as was mentioned above.

October,
1881.

14. In the autumn of the same year a meeting was convened at the Mansion House on the invitation of the Lord Mayor of London, who was one of the leading members of the Anti-Opium Society, at which the following Resolutions were adopted.

"That in the opinion of this meeting:—

(1.) The opium trade as now carried on between India and China is opposed alike to Christian and International morality and to the commercial interests of this country.

(2.) It is the duty of this country not only to put an end to the opium trade as now conducted, but to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India except for strictly medical purposes, and to support the Chinese Government in its efforts to suppress the traffic.

(3.) It will be the duty of this country to give such aid to the Government of India as may be found reasonable, in order to lessen the inconvenience resulting to its finances from the adoption of the policy advocated in the previous resolutions.

(4.) The results of the sale of opium in British Burma are a disgrace to our Government of India, and demand the most thorough and immediate remedy."

It was also resolved that a deputation from the meeting should be appointed to lay the above resolutions before the head of Her Majesty's Government, and press upon him the duty of adopting the policy therein approved. An influentially signed memorial on the lines above laid down was presented to Mr. Gladstone, the purport of which it is worth while to mention here, as it is declaratory of the then views and objects of the Society under whose auspices the meeting in question was held.

I., Q. 479.

15. It is superfluous to refer to the views set forth in the memorial in respect to the Chinese trade, since they were based, as Mr. Alexander has stated, on the anxiety of the Society to secure the ratification of the Chefoo Convention, and dealt, accordingly, with a phase of the question which passed away in 1885. As to Burma, the memorialists gave their grounds for considering as inadequate the measures taken in respect to the sale of opium. Referring to the taxation of opium by the Government of India, they contradicted the statement sometimes made that under the present system of administration the consumption of opium is held in check, and asserted that it was in the power of the Government to put an immediate stop to the cultivation of the poppy within British territory, if not in the Protected States also. They altogether repudiated the suggestion that had been made that the Government might continue to raise revenue from opium whilst ceasing itself to manufacture and deal in the drug, because, so long as the trade was allowed to continue, whether the Government were directly or only indirectly concerned, the Chinese Government would consider themselves debarred by external pressure from taking effective means to put an end to the consumption of opium in that country. For these reasons the memorialists were not prepared to accept any half measures, but demanded the extinction of the trade as a whole, and the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy, except in so far as its produce was necessary for medicinal use.

Hansard,
277, p. 1633.

16. Sir Joseph Pease in April 1883 moved in the House of Commons:—

"That an address be presented to Her Majesty praying that in all the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and China, having reference to the duties levied on opium under the Treaty of Tien-tsin, Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to intimate to the Chinese Government that in any revision of that Treaty, or in any other negotiations on the subject of opium, the Government of China would be met as that of an independent State, having full right to arrange its own import duties."

In a House of 192 members, the Motion was opposed by 126, and was therefore lost.

17. On the conclusion, in July 1885, of the Chefoo Convention between England and China, the dissolution of the Society was discussed, but it was decided to continue its

work on a revised basis, which was explained in a "Statement of facts and principles," issued early in 1886. Whilst admitting that the conclusion of the above Convention terminated what it considered to have been a system of coercion, the Society pointed out that the question could not be allowed to rest. In the altered position of affairs it was considered necessary to adopt a different policy in opposing the opium trade. The attack, accordingly, was no longer directed against the British Government for encouraging importation into China, but against the Government patronage and promotion of production and sale at the sources of the trade in India. The Society, it stated, saw an opportunity, of which advantage was to be taken, to remind the Government of China of the responsibility now resting upon it in respect of the adoption and enforcement of measures to stop the spread of the consumption of opium, whilst the British Government was being urged to restrict and ultimately to suppress the exportation of the drug from India. As regards the production and the export sales of opium in the latter country, the Society protested against the direct connexion of the State with both classes of transactions, whilst strenuously opposing the transfer of the trade to private hands. The measure suggested was to discontinue the issue of licences for growing poppy, leaving for further consideration the arrangements for stopping the cultivation of that plant in Protected States and for discontinuing the duty on opium exported from those States after the production had ceased in British territory. It was recognised that the former step would tend to stop the use of opium in British India, a result, which though only mentioned casually and not as one of the main objects in view, would be welcomed, it was stated, by the Society.

January
1886.
I, 478.
"Friend of
China,"
VIII., p. 161
-2.
Do. IX.,
p. 4.

Do. do. p. 9.

18. In pursuance of the policy above described, Sir Joseph Pease moved in the House of Commons on May 4th, 1886:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the Indian Government should take measures to terminate gradually its direct connexion with the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and trade in opium, and that it should use the power it possesses to prohibit in British India the cultivation of the poppy, except to supply the legitimate demand of opium for medical purposes."

Hansard,
305, p. 278.

The discussion ended in a count out.

19. No further action was taken in Parliament in this matter till May 1889, when, on the Motion being made "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," Mr. Samuel Smith called the attention of the House of Commons to the opium trade between India and China, and moved, in the form usual on such occasions, to substitute the following words:—

Hansard,
335, pp. 1133
-1148.

"This House views with deep regret the history of our opium policy towards China, and regards the traffic in that drug as repugnant to the true interests of that country. It calls upon the Government of India to take steps looking to the final extinction of the trade, and urges upon Her Majesty's Government to intimate to the Chinese Government that in the next revision of the Treaty of Tien-tsin full power will be given to extinguish the trade in opium if it thinks fit."

A Division was taken on the question "That the words proposed to be left out "stand part of the question"; the result being that of 253 members voting, 165 were in favour and 88 against. The Motion was therefore lost by a majority of 77.

20. In the beginning of the following year, the first opportunity occurred for the Chinese Government to terminate the arrangements regarding imported opium which had been made in 1885. No step in this direction, however, was taken by them, nor was any indication given of any intention of moving in the matter.* The attention of the Society for the suppression of the trade was therefore transferred to the use of opium in India. It was stated that the Government of India was recouping its loss of opium revenue, due to Chinese home competition, by extending the sale of the drug in India, and in pursuance of resolutions passed at the annual meeting of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, a memorial was presented to Viscount Cross, then Secretary of State for India, to the effect that the Society had received during the past two years information tending to show that in various parts of India the habit of smoking opium and preparations from it was on the increase, and that houses licensed in some towns by the Government for smoking such drugs on the premises were causes of great demoralization. The memorialists pressed for the imposition in India of restrictions on the sale of opium such as are placed in the United Kingdom, under the Pharmacy Act of 1868, and for the prohibition of all shops for the sale of opium and preparations from it to be consumed on the premises. They also urged the authorities to prohibit the licensing of opium shops in Upper Burma, and to reduce and ultimately extinguish such shops in the lower division of that Province.

July 1890.

"Friend of
China," XI.,
pp. 89, 107.
Do. do. p. 153.
Do. do. p. 292.

* Hansard, Vol. 335, pp. 1152-3, 1158, 1174.

Opium in
India,
C. 6562 of
1892.

21. The memorial, with the voluminous correspondence and statistical tables to which it gave rise, was presented to Parliament in 1892. In connexion with the present subject it is sufficient to mention that the inquiries made by the Government of India resulted in proving that the consumption of the drug was comparatively small; certain minor changes in the regulations then in force had however been found advisable. The licences for opium-smoking saloons, for instance, were not to be renewed on expiration of the current term. The amount of the various preparations of opium for smoking which it was lawful to sell to unlicensed individuals, or which such individuals are allowed to possess at a time, was closely restricted, and the Government of Bombay was requested to put a stop to a practice introduced into that Province, in order to check smuggling, of requiring licensed vendors to sell yearly a guaranteed minimum quantity of taxed opium. As regards Lower Burma, the Government of India expressed their willingness to put aside considerations of loss of revenue from the measure, and to support the proposal of the Chief Commissioner to prohibit the sale of opium and the possession of it by those of Burman race, provided that the necessity and practicability of so stringent a measure were established, and it was made clear that the remedy would not involve evils as great as those that were found to prevail under the existing system.

Despatch
No. 94, 17th
December
1891.
C. 6562 p.
108.

The Secretary of State for India communicated his approval of these steps and of the policy of the Government of India in checking and limiting the habit amongst the people of consuming licensed opium, as far as is possible without driving them to smuggling, or to the use of more harmful narcotics.

Hansard,
352, p. 285.

22. On the 10th of April 1891, before the reply to the above-mentioned memorial had been received, Sir Joseph Pease, on the motion "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," moved to leave out from the word "that" to the end of the question in order to add the words:—

"This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory."

After considerable discussion, a Division was taken in a House of 290 members upon the question "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," which was lost by a majority of 30. The main question was then proposed, and the late Sir Robert Fowler moved an amendment that at the end of the question the words be added:—

"And this House, feeling the pressure of taxation on the people of India, will take steps to reimburse the deficiency so caused to the Indian Government."

The Debate on this Amendment not having been concluded by one o'clock in the morning, the House adjourned without a Division.

Hansard,
352, p. 900.

23. Sir Joseph Pease subsequently explained that, apart from the inconvenience of placing his proposition as a substantive Motion before the House at that time of the Session, even if he were so minded, he would not ballot for the opportunity of so doing, because Sir Robert Fowler's amendment involved the question of handing over money to the Indian Government without a vote of the Crown, and would possibly be ruled out of order. The Question, therefore, was never put, and the Speaker explained that the House had passed no definite decision either on the first Amendment as a substantive Question, or upon the Amendment which was moved as an addition to the substantive Question.

Do. pp. 383-
4.

24. In March 1892 the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade presented a second memorial to the Secretary of State, condemning, in the first place, the opium policy of the Government of India in Burma, and, whilst acknowledging the beneficial tendency of the action taken by that Government since the previous memorial had been presented, urged still further measures to check consumption, pointing out that in the opinion of the Society no sufficient reason had been shown for the difference between the law of India and that of the United Kingdom in respect of the sale of opium.

Vol. I.,
p. 162.
I. Q. 492.

25. A third memorial was presented to the Secretary of State in November of the same year, after the change of Government. This is appended to the first volume of the Commission's Proceedings, as constituting the latest official exposition of the views of the Society. The demand for the stringent restriction of production to the amount required for medicinal use, and for that of the sale to the limits prescribed under the Pharmacy

Act of the United Kingdom, was once more pressed. Instructions to the Government of India were called for to immediately suspend the official sales of opium in Calcutta, the hope was expressed that the system of licensing poppy cultivation in the Punjab would be immediately abolished, and that the measures suggested by Sir A. Mackenzie for controlling the consumption of opium in Burma would be at once brought into operation. The Society also expressed its belief that the people of England would be ready to make up any deficiency which, in the judgment of the responsible Government of the day, might be properly attributed to the withdrawal of the Indian Government from the export trade in opium. At the same time it suggested that in several directions retrenchment should be effected, which would go far towards filling the deficiency in question, whilst it was alleged that the stoppage of the opium exports would probably have the effect of stimulating the export of other produce from India to China, and of steadying exchange by putting an end to the drain of silver from the latter country, besides enabling the Chinese to displace their copper coinage in favour of the more valuable metal.

26. In reply, Lord Kimberley pointed out that, dealing with the question as a practical one, whilst the declaration of Sir J. Fergusson, in the House of Commons in April 1891, made it clear that the British Government would never resort to compulsion to enforce the importation, it was by no means certain that the Government of China were anxious to stop the consumption of opium. Not only was a considerable revenue derived from the drug, but the production of opium in China was reported to have largely increased, and owing to improved methods of preparation, the home-grown article had secured a wider market. Then again, whilst the Government of India had recognised that it was their duty to restrict and regulate the consumption of opium in a manner in which they would not regulate that of a perfectly harmless drug, opinion as to the results of the use of this drug was divided. The strong views of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade were not shared by a very large number of persons, and while the tendency of the policy of the Government of India was towards restriction, they were not prepared to go as far in that direction as the Society no doubt desired. From the financial point of view, those responsible for Indian affairs in England did not see their way to dispense with such a revenue as that derived from opium, nor had the Secretary of State for India the slightest reason to suppose that there would be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom for the purpose of supplying the deficiency in the resources of India caused by the loss of that revenue. Any proposition to that effect would not be likely to meet with a favourable response. On the subject of the consumption of opium in Burma, authorities seemed to be unanimous that the Burman race was affected by the drug in a manner very different from that in which the Indian population was affected, and, whilst it had been found practicable to restrict the use of the drug to Chinese, Shans, and hill tribes in the Upper division of the Province, it had not then been decided whether the necessary machinery was available in the Lower division to enable the authorities to enforce the same system there, and the inquiries on this point alone delayed the introduction of uniformity in practice throughout. The Secretary of State concluded his reply with a few remarks upon the comparison that might reasonably be drawn between the treatment proposed for opium in India and that adopted in the case of alcoholic drink in the United Kingdom, observing that there are in use in India certain drugs more pernicious in their effects than opium, the consumption of which it was impracticable to stop, and which, if the use of opium were to be effectually prohibited, would probably spread widely through the population.

27. The last Parliamentary discussion of the opium question took place in the House of Commons on the 30th of June, 1893, when Mr. Webb, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, moved to substitute the following words:—

Debates
XIV., p. 591.

Having regard to the opinion expressed by the Vote of this House on the 10th of April, 1891, that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and which urged the Indian Government to give practical effect to that opinion by ceasing to grant licences, and by taking measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory; and recognising that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost involved in this change of policy, and that oppressive taxation, and the stoppage of expenditure necessary for the welfare and progress of the Indian people must be avoided, this House is of opinion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire both in India and in this country, and to report as to:—

- (1.) What retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the civil and military expenditure of India;

- (2.) By what means Indian resources can be best developed ;
 (3.) And what, if any, temporary assistance from the British Exchequer would be required in order to meet any deficit of revenue which would be occasioned by the suppression of the opium traffic.

28. On the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone as Head of the Government, the Motion for going into Supply was negatived without a Division, and the following, which stood in the name of Mr. G. W. Russell, Under Secretary of State for India, was moved by Mr. Gladstone as an Amendment to that above quoted :—

Debates
XIV., p. 626.

To leave out from the words "having regard to the" to the end of the proposed Amendment, in order to add the words "strong objections urged on moral grounds to the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission" [*the remainder of the Amendment has been already quoted in full at the beginning of the Report*].

p. 634.

On the Question being put "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment," a House of 284 members voted, of whom 105 were in favour of the retention, which was lost, therefore, by 179 votes. The main Question as amended was then put and agreed to, resulting in the appointment of this Commission.

Friend of
China,
XIV. pp.
109 and 146.

This decision, it may be added, was characterised by the Anti-Opium Society as "the greatest and most solid forward step that the movement for the suppression of the opium trade had yet made," whilst the Commission as constituted was "as fair-minded and impartial a tribunal as the Society could have desired to hear its case."

This Memorandum may be appropriately closed by quoting statistics bearing on the question of the varying interest taken by the House of Commons in the Opium Debates :—

Year.	Mover.	Per-centage	
		Of Members voting on the full House.	Of Supporters of the Resolutions on Members voting.
1870	Sir Wilfrid Lawson	29	23
1875	Sir M. Stewart	23	37
1883	Sir J. Pease	29	34
1886	Sir J. Pease	—	—*
1889	Mr. S. Smith	38	36
1891	Sir J. Pease	43	55
1893	Mr. Webb	42	37†

* House counted out.

† This per-centage represents the number voting against Mr. Gladstone's Amendment to Mr. Webb's Motion.

29. *Summary.*—The above sketch serves to show that the object aimed at by those interested in the suppression of the trade has, throughout been the stoppage of the introduction of Indian opium into China. In the early days of the movement, the general assumption was that the whole of the opium which entered that country was directly provided by the Government of India, under the Bengal monopoly, and it was against that system, therefore, that the objections were directed. The place occupied by the Malwa system in the trade was gradually realised, and it was considered that the moral aspect of the situation would be somewhat improved if the identification of the State with the operations were to be abrogated, and the Government were to altogether restrict its connexion with the trade to taxing the opium produced by others, whether in British India or Malwa. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, the movement took the form of protesting against the admission of opium into China, even on payment of a specially high rate of duty. This concession, it was alleged, had only been made by China under pressure and intimidation exercised by Great Britain in virtue of her position, for the time being, of the dominant Power. The conclusion, in 1885, of the revision of the arrangements under the Treaty of 1858, left China entirely master of the situation after the expiration of four years from that date. As the time of potential emancipation from the obligations imposed by the Convention drew nigh, it appeared from the speeches of the leaders of the anti-opium movement in England, introducing the Resolution of 1889, that there were grounds for supposing that the Chinese, for some reason or other, would not avail themselves of the opportunity opened to them. The efforts of the Society for the Suppression of the Trade were

accordingly directed towards the prohibition by the British Government of the production of the drug in India, independently of, and without regard to, the possible inaction of the Court of Peking in the matter. Parliament having declined to support the course of action suggested, and several opportunities for revision having been let pass by the Chinese without the manifestation on their part of any desire to denounce the opium arrangements, the direction of the movement was again changed, and the question was next brought before the House of Commons from the standpoint of the great evil that was being caused by the consumption of the drug, not only in China, but in India itself, a matter which up till then, though sometimes casually referred to in the discussions on the general question, had not become the subject of special reprobation or inquiry. This remark does not apply to Burma, because shortly after the Chief Commissioner of that Province had communicated to the Government of India in 1880 the strong views held by himself and local officials of experience as to the injurious effects of the opium habit on the Burman race; those views were adopted by the Anti-Opium Society in England, and were pressed upon the attention of the Secretary of State for India in the memorial presented to him in 1881. The movement entered its present phase in 1890. Though the consumption in India has ever since been placed in the foreground of the case, the course of the Debates of 1891 and 1893, still more the memorials and other representations on the part of the Society for the Suppression of the Trade indicate that the habit as it is alleged to exist in India and the direct connexion of the Government of that country with the production are regarded mainly in connexion with efforts to secure the discontinuance of the exportation of opium from India to China.

July, 1894.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary to the Commission.

MEMORANDUM VI.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY IN REGARD TO THE SUPPLY OF BENGAL OPIUM;

BY THE SECRETARY.

1. In the discussion of the opium question considerable prominence has been given to the policy of the Government of India in regard to the cultivation of the poppy in the tracts under the monopoly system. The subject is not one of the issues immediately before the Commission, but a short description has been thought advisable of the course of procedure in respect to this branch of agriculture and the considerations on which it has been regulated by the Government during the last 10 years. By adopting this plan it is possible to explain the discrepancy between the statements made in Parliament and before the Commission, respectively, on this matter.

2. The opium year, from the point of view of the producer, begins in September, when the cultivator enters into the engagement with the departmental official as to the area to be placed under poppy. The seed is sown almost immediately afterwards. The crude opium is collected during the winter and spring, so that by the end of May, or shortly before, the amount of the season's outturn is known to the local agents, and most of it has been delivered at the central factories for manufacture. The crop, it must be mentioned, is unusually precarious. Excessive or deficient rain, just at the time of sowing, spoils the whole prospect of the season, and even at the last moment before ripening a most promising field is not unfrequently utterly wasted by hail, frost, insects, or blight. The disposition of the cultivator, therefore, is a factor in the situation of peculiar importance. After a few unlucky seasons he is discouraged, and holds back for a while from undertaking to grow poppy. On the other hand, a couple of years of good returns creates such an anxiety to obtain a license that the refusal of permission is elevated into a grievance of sufficient moment to be carried before the Supreme Government and even higher authority.

II. 2975.

3. This tendency, unfortunately, is apt to run contrary to the policy of the Government in respect to this cultivation. Up to 1875 it was the practice to sell each year the whole, or nearly the whole, of the stock of opium available. Since then the policy has prevailed of selling, as far as possible, the same quantity every year, keeping up a reserve to supplement the deficiency caused by a bad outturn. The market as well as the revenue is thus steadied. The reserve is fixed, as a rule, at one half the amount required for the year's sales, but as the opium is kept a year before issue, the stock of one season fixes the reserve at the end of the calendar year following. A series of good years accordingly, which stimulates the cultivator to extend his operations in poppy, puts the Government beyond the necessity of yielding to his desire, since not only is a larger sum sunk in the advance and payments for the crude drug, but the latter loses in weight, and consequently in value, by remaining more than one season in stock.

4. If, then, we omit the competition of Chinese and Persian opium, and assume that a certain amount of consideration is given to the condition of the Malwa supply, the factors in the case are reduced to three, the amount of opium available for sale from the current season's crop, the state of the reserve, and the area under poppy. The policy above described keeps the first constant. The second bears a fixed proportion to the first, so that the third is left as the only variable. A brief review of the circumstances of the last few years will suffice to show how this policy has been carried out and in what particulars it has been abandoned.

5. The figures given at page 325 of Vol. II. of the Commission's Proceedings indicate that a bad outturn in 1882-83 was followed by a run of good luck almost unprecedented. To save the trouble of reference, the figures for the years in question,

together with those of the sales and reserve stocks from page 346 of the same volume are here reproduced:—

Opium Year (September to August).				Calendar Year.		
Year.	Number of Licenses.	Area cultivated.	Outturn of Crude Opium.	Year.	Amount sold.	Reserve.
		Aces.	Cwts.		Chests.*	Chests.*
1882-3 - -	1,288,922	495,740	52,979	1883 - -	54,400	11,625
1883-4 - -	1,345,915	505,843	96,801	1884 - -	46,698	2,265
1884-5 - -	1,379,326	565,246	102,312	1885 - -	50,994	18,274
1885-6 - -	1,483,863	594,921	92,903	1886 - -	54,750	29,205
1886-7 - -	1,448,508	562,052	82,253	1887 - -	57,000	36,705
1887-8 - -	1,408,519	536,607	94,082	1888 - -	57,000	37,205
1888-9 - -	1,195,767	459,864	51,792	1889 - -	57,000	49,705
1889-90 - -	1,274,587	482,557	73,305	1890 - -	57,000	31,010
1890-1 - -	1,306,741	501,719	63,540	1891 - -	56,250	18,770
1891-2 - -	1,241,211	463,664	53,849	1892 - -	48,852	9,292
1892-3 - -	1,195,871	454,156	63,702	1893 - -	43,704	104†

* Of about 140 lbs. each.

† Approximately.

6. The success of 1883-4 resulted in a large increase of cultivation in the succeeding year, when the Benares agent reported that disappointment had been caused amongst the cultivators owing to his inability to comply in full with all applications for extension of area to be licensed. In 1885-6 the same good fortune was experienced, causing still more pressing demands for extension. It is stated, however, both in the report and in the Government review of it, that in consequence of the stock in hand from the previous good seasons, the Lieutenant-Governor had directed that the area should not be increased.

Departmental Reports.

7. Orders to the same effect were issued as regards the operations in the Benares agency for the season of 1886-7, when it was considered that the existing area might be maintained, as the reserve had not reached the limit at which cultivation might safely be reduced. In the season of 1886-7, the Benares agency showed a smaller outturn owing to the loss of the early sowing. But the popularity of the cultivation enabled the departmental officials to exercise their discretion in selecting men and localities, so that by process of weeding, the operations were concentrated in the most profitable tracts and amongst the best agriculturists.

Bengal lett. No. 925 T.R., dated 5th July 1886.

8. The next year, 1887-8, was remarkable for the success in fulfilling the object of Government, namely, to obtain an increased outturn from a curtailed area. In reviewing the work of the year, the Lieutenant-Governor remarked:—

“The department is to be congratulated on its success in extending the system to which special attention was drawn in last year’s resolution, of limiting the area of cultivation and affecting settlements to the greatest advantage by insisting on the judicious selection of the best and most conveniently situated lands, as well as of experienced and successful cultivators only. The extension of cultivation was formerly the object of Government, but a departure was made in the year 1885-6 in consequence of the large stock of opium in hand at the commencement of that season, and orders were then passed with a view to prevent any further increase in production. The change of policy thus initiated has recently been given a still more pronounced turn by the issue of instructions directing a specific reduction of cultivation, a step necessitated by the further accumulation of an excessive reserve both at Calcutta and in the factories. Unremunerative tracts were abandoned, advances refused to unsatisfactory cultivators and bad villages, inferior cultivation in the neighbourhood of large towns closed, and by these means the . . . area was reduced to 427,569 bighas.”

9. The instructions mentioned in the above passage are probably those contained in one of the letters from the Government of India to which reference was made before the Commission by the present Secretary in the Financial Department. In their letter No. 4035 of the 23rd July 1888, that Government informed the Government of Bengal that they accepted the proposal that the area under poppy should be reduced to an extent sufficient to provide for an out turn of only 30,000 chests of opium, instead of 57,000. They requested, however, that in giving effect to this policy the following principles should be borne in mind: first, that it was undesirable that any risk should be run of having, for want of stock, to reduce the sales materially below 57,000 chests; and secondly, that in the event of the stock being depleted by a bad year of production, it should not be out of the power of the Government to expand cultivation. The normal quantity of opium to be annually sold under the above policy was fixed at 57,000 chests, with a reserve of 30,000.

11. 5160.

10. The area licensed in 1888-89 was materially reduced in accordance with these instructions. In the Behar Agency the reductions were effected merely by the process

of weeding out the less profitable cultivators and by the elimination, as far as possible, of the men who engaged for poor land with the object of securing the advance without sowing more than a fraction of the land specified in the agreement. In the Benares agency the reductions were far more extensive. In the outlying districts to the west, where supervision was difficult and the outturn comparatively small, the cultivation was altogether stopped, and licenses were refused freely in other parts of the agency where the cultivation was not satisfactory. The operations were thus restricted to the best tracts, yielding the most profitable results. On the whole, the reduction amounted to nearly 20 per cent. of the area sown in the preceding year. This, however, was somewhat below the extent prescribed by the Local Government; but the main object in view, namely, the prevention of a still greater accumulation of stock, was attained, since the outturn of the season was very short, rendering unnecessary the continuance of the policy of reduction.

11. The final results of the year's operations were, in fact, so much below the average, that for the next season, 1889-90, the Government of India, in their letter No. 4093 of the 8th August 1889, sanctioned such an extension of area as would, in an average season, provide the equivalent of 57,000 chests. As it turned out, the Behar cultivator, disheartened by the failure of the preceding season, applied for a somewhat less area than before. In Benares the increase was in nearly the same proportion as the decrease in the area of 1888-9 as compared with that in 1887-8. The outturn, however, was again unsatisfactory in both agencies, though worse in Behar than further west.

Bengal letter
205, T.R., of
14th June
1890.
Bengal
Resolution
1870, of
23rd March
1891.

12. It was considered that with an average season the outturn in the Benares agency would be enough to obviate the need of material extension of area, so for the ensuing year, 1890-1, special extension was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal in Behar only. At the same time, a discretionary power was given to the Benares agent to accept applications for what might be considered the normal expansion of poppy cultivation in the tracts already specified as those best suited to this crop, in order that the cultivation might gradually resume its former limits and bring the reserve up to the prescribed amount. Hail and untimely rain, however, brought the outturn still lower than in the preceding season, so that the question arose whether the amount offered for sale should be reduced or the area licensed be extended.

13. The former alternative was adopted by the Government of India in their letter to the Government of Bengal, No. 2953 of the 13th July 1891, on the grounds that—
“it is not considered safe to assume that the average annual production will be sufficient to provide more than 54,000 chests for sale annually, without taking measures for the extension of cultivation which are not deemed expedient.”

It was pointed out, however, as in the preceding year, that there was no objection to allowing the normal expansion to continue, as the cultivator should be left free to decide for himself whether it is or is not profitable for him to cultivate the poppy on his land in preference to other crops, and where his interests harmonize with those of the Government, no impediment need be placed on his liberty of action.

Bengal
Resolution
940, of 8th
March 1892.

14. The results of the season of 1891-92 were the worst on the 20 years' record. The sudden contraction of the area at a time when the cultivators, at all events in the Benares agency, were most in favour of poppy, together with the failure of the crop four times in succession, disheartened those who were formerly eager to obtain licenses, and the rumour that the Government was likely to prohibit the cultivation altogether, which was current in parts of Behar, helped to keep back applications. The Government of India was obliged to curtail its sales during the last quarter of 1892, and to notify for the following year a lower number of chests than had been sold since 1874, exhausting, even with this reduction, the whole reserve.

Letter
2802A of 6th
July 1892.

15. In order to re-establish the operations on their former basis, the Local Government proposed to license cultivation in 1892-93 up to the previous limit. On this the Government of India sanctioned any increase directly applied for by cultivators, on the understanding that there should be no permanent excess over the average of past years. In Behar the increase was but slight, whilst in the Benares agency the downward course was not stayed. In both, however, the outturn was somewhat better than in 1891-92.

16. It is clear, from the above account of what has taken place during the last ten years, that the object at which the Government of India have consistently aimed is the sale of as nearly as possible the same quantity of opium every year. For several

years in succession the season was so favourable that the stock of opium considerably exceeded the requirements for the above purpose. The attention of the departmental officers was accordingly directed towards the restriction of the supply, a result that could be best obtained by the contraction of the area licensed for the growth of the poppy. The glut was followed, however, by a still longer period of depression, during the first years of which it was the object of the Government to maintain the area at its existing figure in the hope of a full outturn, or else to increase it up to its previous extent, so that, in case of continued bad luck, the requisite outturn could be obtained from a wider surface.

17. This system of regulating the supply placed on the market came however to an end, as has been shown in paragraph 13, at the opening of the season of 1891-92. In spite of the depletion of the reserve and the proposals of the Local Government to adopt the steps that had been customary in previous years, the Government of India then determined to adapt their sales to the changed conditions, and to abandon the attempt to replenish their stock by extending the area licensed for poppy. The reserve was drawn upon to its utmost capacity, so that for the supply in the immediate future the Government were at the mercy of the season.

18. The explanation of this change of system has been given before the Commission by Sir David Barbour, who stated that the fluctuations in area were not due to any definite policy, adding— II. 2,098.

"But it is a fact that in very recent years we have rather avoided any appearance of increase, because we were liable to be attacked on account of the increase. We were liable to have it said of us that more opium was being grown, and that we were stimulating production and consumption, and therefore during the last few years we have rather avoided any increase of the cultivation."

19. On referring to the historical review of the Anti-Opium Movement given in the preceding Note, it will be seen that since 1886 the agitation against the opium trade had been diverted from the consumption of the drug in China to its production in India. The questions raised in the memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India in 1890 were under the consideration of the Government of India when the truncated discussion of April 1891 took place in the House of Commons, three months before the Government of India communicated to the Government of Bengal its view that an extension of cultivation was not expedient. It appears, therefore, that up to the latter date the policy of the Government was to contract the poppy area only when the stock of opium in hand was large, and to extend it when that reserve was getting low. Since July 1891, so far from reducing the area thus licensed, the Government has directed its efforts towards maintaining it, with the intention of increasing it up to the average of past years, though not permanently beyond that limit. It is this last policy that finds expression in the information given by Sir David Barbour, as above cited.

20. But the action of the Government, both up to and after 1891, has been differently interpreted in the House of Commons, where it has been taken to signify a policy of gradual extinction of the system of direct production of opium. In the Debate of the 10th of April 1891, for instance, Sir James Fergusson said:—

"I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it. They have diminished the number of licenses, and they diminished the area on which the poppy is grown. One million acres less are now under poppy in Bengal than 10 years ago."*

Hansard,
352, p. 323

Mr. W. H. Smith said on the same occasion:—

"The course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years, . . . has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India to an extent, in the last five years at any rate, of 20 per cent. The production and sale of opium has been decreased considerably in each year, and that must be taken as an indication of the policy of the Government."

Hansard,
352, p. 343

21. These statements carried some weight, for amongst other reasons given by the Mover of the proposition under discussion for not balloting for an opportunity of bringing the Motion regarding the opium trade again before the House, Sir J. Pease expressed himself quite content, for the time being, with the declaration made by the First Lord of the Treasury, that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been in the past a steady reduction of the quantity of land in India placed under poppy cultivation, and that this policy would be persevered with in the future. Hansard, 352, p. 901

22. This announcement was made on the 20th of April. On the 23rd of that month a correction was given by Sir John Gorst, Under Secretary of State for India, who had

* Or, more correctly, 100,000 acres less than five years ago.

been absent when the subject was first brought forward. The following question was asked by Mr. J. M. Maclean, then Member for Oldham:—

Hansard
352, p. 1152.

“Whether the India Office has any evidence to show that the recent reduction in the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is due to the intention of the Government of India to do away with the opium revenue little by little, and not to the commercial necessity for reducing production in order to keep up the price in face of the increasing competition of opium grown in China; and whether the policy of the Government of India with regard to this source of revenue is correctly expressed by Sir David Barbour, the Indian Finance Minister, who, in introducing his Budget for the year 1891–92, said:—

“The opium revenue has, no doubt, fallen largely, and at this moment there are no indications of a recovery. On the other hand, the fall up to date has been discounted, and provision made to meet the consequent loss of revenue. As the fall has been so great, we may fairly hope that, for the present, we have seen the worst.”

In answer, Sir J. Gorst said:—

“The reason given for the reduction of the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is that the reserve stock of opium had become unduly large. The statements of Sir David Barbour, no doubt, do express correctly the policy of the Government of India.”

Debates I.,
p. 139.
Debates
XIV., p.
604.
Debates I.,
p. 1207.

Debates
XIV., p.
634.

23. It may be noted that whilst Sir James Fergusson had ascribed the policy he set forth to the Government of India only, Mr. W. H. Smith, then the Leader of the House, used words identifying with it Her Majesty's Government. It was, perhaps, for this reason that the explanation of Sir John Gorst passed unheeded. For example, in the Debate on the Address in February 1892, Sir J. Pease observed that the late Leader took credit for Her Majesty's Government that they had during the last five years decreased the area under poppy. The same Member reverted to this declaration of policy in the course of the discussion of June 1893, pointing out that it had been strengthened by the announcement made in February 1892, by Mr. Curzon, then Under Secretary of State for India, to the effect that in order to restrict the area of cultivation, the Government of India reduced the number of chests to be sold that year by 3,000. Finally, the first substantial portion of the Resolution of the House of Commons in consequence of which the present inquiry has taken place “presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy.”

24. The fact has been sufficiently insisted on above that, down to the year 1891, the policy of the Government was not one of reduction, but of regulation, according to the demands of the market and the revenue. Since that date, again, the tendency (for the policy may be said to be in abeyance) has been to reduce the sales, not with the object of restricting cultivation, as Mr. Curzon expressed it, but of obviating the necessity for allowing it to resume its former extent. Having regard to the importance that has been given to this misapprehension in the discussion which ended in the appointment of this Commission, it is hardly enough to merely call attention to it, but it is advisable to also account for its origin on the part of those responsible for the statements which first gave it currency. It appears most probable that the misunderstanding is based on certain passages in the Moral and Material Progress Report published annually by the Secretary of State for India, which may therefore be quoted in elucidation of this question.

1886–87,
(349) pp.
8 & 70.

25. The Reports for the years to which reference is necessary contain a summary as well as a more detailed sketch of the year's operations. In that for 1886–87, presented in August 1888, the summary merely quotes the area under poppy for the last and penultimate years respectively. In the body of the work it is stated that:—

“With a considerable stock of opium in hand at the beginning of the year, there was no necessity for increasing the area under cultivation in Bengal, and the agents were accordingly instructed to refrain from doing so.”

26. In the Report for 1887–88, presented in August 1889, the summary contains the following words:—

1887–88,
(327) pp.
8 & 72.

“The area of opium cultivation in Bengal was 536,610 acres; steps are being taken to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years have yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve.”

In the body of the Report it is stated that:—

“The instructions issued in 1885–86 to reduce the area of cultivation and to confine it as far as possible to the best lands and the most experienced cultivators are still in force, in consequence of the large accumulation of manufactured opium at Calcutta and in the factories.”

It will be noticed that the acreage mentioned is not identical with that entered in the return presented to the Commission. The policy is set forth in almost the same words in both passages.

In the Report for 1888-89, presented in August 1890, the areas again differs from the Indian return. As to the policy, the statement in the summary is:—

1888-89
(384) p
8 & 71.

"Steps have now been taken for two years to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years have yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

In the Report itself, however, the statement runs:—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with opium in the Ganges Valley was reduced to 518,930 acres, or 3 per cent. below the area of 1887-88, and 7½ per cent. below the opium area of 1886-87. The contraction of the opium area caused some dissatisfaction among the ryots, among whom the opium cultivation, with its accompanying cash advances at a critical season of the year, is popular."

The reason for the reduction is here omitted.

28. In the Report for 1889-90, presented in May 1891, only the area for the preceding year is quoted. In the summary occur the words:—

1889-90
(250) p
9 & 86.

"Steps have now for four years been taken to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years had yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

In the body of the Report the sentence, except for the figures, is that of the preceding year:—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with opium in the Ganges Valley was further reduced to 459,860 acres, as compared with 518,930 acres in the previous year, and 556,527 acres in 1885."

It was apparently on these figures that the statements in the House of Commons were based.

29. In the Report for 1890-91, presented in May 1892, the summary merely mentions the area, which nearly corresponds with that in the opium departmental tables for that year. In the body of the Report the following remarks occur:—

1890-91
(220) p
9 & 89.

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with the poppy in the Ganges Valley had been reduced in 1888-89 to 459,860 acres, as compared with 556,527 in 1885. The yield of opium had been very short in 1888-89, and the total quantity manufactured was 38,305 chests, as compared with 69,500 chests in 1887-88. *Some extension of the cultivation then occurred*, and the area rose in 1889-90 to 482,560 acres. In 1889-90 the opium crop was again short, especially in Behar; . . . and the total quantity manufactured was 44,760 chests. In 1890-91 *the poppy area increased* to 500,683 acres; but the yield was again short, and the outturn of opium was 44,522 chests. . . . It is reported that cultivators of opium have lost heart, after experiencing three bad opium seasons in succession. . . . In 1891 the Government of India decided not to arrange for any extension of the opium area, and to reduce the quantity of opium advertised for sale during 1892 to 54,000 chests, as against 57,000, the number that had been sold annually for several years past."

30. On the above quotations it may be remarked that after the Report for 1887-88 there is no mention of the reason for the reduction of area in that portion of the work to which a reader would naturally turn for information. Nor, again, in the Report for 1890-91, is the connexion shown between the extension that took place in 1889-90 and the policy of the Government with regard to it. Finally, in respect to the orders of the Government of India in 1891, the statement in the Report is incomplete without mention of the acquiescence of that Government in any increase that might arise from what has been called above the "normal" expansion of the cultivation of the poppy.

31. It must be borne in mind that Mr. W. H. Smith had no personal or immediate official connexion with Indian administrative detail, and Sir James Fergusson was only called upon to address himself to this branch of the opium question by reason of the temporary absence of the Under Secretary of State for India. It is highly probable, therefore, that they both referred for their information to the official reports presented to Parliament, in which the elasticity of the policy of the Government of India is nowhere distinctly set forth. An early opportunity was taken by the responsible Minister, on his return, to place the matter before the House in its true light, but a statement made in answer to a question by a private Member may fairly be assumed to be less widely known and to carry less weight than a declaration made in formal debate.

32. The only evidence that appears to give colour to the notion that the Government of India has abandoned its former policy consists of the two statements that have been already quoted in the course of this Note; first, that any more than normal expansion was inexpedient, and, again, a year afterwards, that the average area of past years was to constitute the limit of further permanent increase. Both these declarations were made after the discussion of April 1891, and, as Sir David Barbour has assured the Commission, out of deference to what then took place in the House of Commons.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary to the Commission.

September 1894.

MEMORANDUM VIII.

TABLES SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION, BY DISTRICTS, OF THE
OPIUM HABIT IN BRITISH INDIA ;

PREPARED BY THE SECRETARY.

In the Second Section of the Report the average annual consumption of licit opium per head, is shown by Provinces or large divisions of Provinces. In the tables accompanying the Excise Memoranda included in Vols. II., IV., and V., of the Proceedings of the Commission, corresponding figures are given by administrative districts. The averages are not, however, calculated in uniform weights, so that comparison is impracticable without further computation. It has been found, also, that in several instances the figures have been incorrectly printed, and in the case of Bengal that some of the calculations are wrong.

It has been thought advisable, therefore, to reduce the whole of the tables on a uniform basis in a form which will render them available for detailed comparison as well as for the exhibition, if necessary, of the facts they represent in the more useful and popular shape of a shaded or coloured map.

There is a slight difference between the census returns and the figures of area and population now presented. In the first place, it has not been considered worth while to include figures for the small Province of Coorg or the British territory in Balochistan. The consumption of opium in the former is very limited ; and in the case of the latter the population over which the consumption is distributable is not on record. Ajmer-Merwara, again, has been excluded, as no complete statistics are there collected. In the Punjab, about 6,000 Baloch wanderers, encamped at the time of census in the Dera Ghazi Khan district, have been excluded from the settled population.

The first table gives the total population of each district, grouped by Provinces, with the average yearly consumption of licit opium per head. In the second table, the districts are brought together according to their average consumption, the provincial order falling into a subordinate place. The third table is merely a proportional reduction of the second ; showing, first, the general geographical distribution of each degree of prevalence, and, second, the variety of prevalence found within the individual Province :—

TABLE I.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
I. ASSAM	5,433,199*	Grains. 141·4	5. Rajshahye	1,313,336	13·3
1. Sylhet	2,154,593	6·5	6. Dinajpur	1,555,835	14·4
2. Kachar	367,542	41·8	7. Rangpur	2,065,464	20·6
3. Goalpara	452,304	16·9	8. Pabna	1,362,392	6·6
4. North Kachar	18,941	170·3	9. Bogra	817,494	11·9
5. Naga Hills	122,867	60·5	10. Bardwan	1,391,880	22·8
6. Khasia "	197,904	19·8	11. Bankura	1,069,668	8·2
7. Garo "	121,570	5·6	12. Birbhum	797,833	15·9
8. Kamrup	634,249	136·6	13. Santhal Pargannahs	1,754,196	3·3
9. Darrang	307,761	374·9	14. Hughli	1,076,710	41·4
10. Nowgong	344,141	353·7	15. Nadia	1,644,108	10·9
11. Sibsagar	457,274	442·2	16. Murshidabad	1,250,946	23·5
12. Lakhimpur	254,053	747·4	17. Midnapur	2,631,516	25·0
II. BENGAL	71,069,643*	15·0	18. Howrah (<i>rural</i>)	587,905	30·5
1. Darjiling	223,314	15·7	19. The 24 Pargannahs	1,832,449	32·7
2. Jalpaigori	681,352	6·0	20. Calcutta & suburbs	874,450	276·1
3. Purneah	1,944,658	13·8	21. Khulna	1,177,652	10·1
4. Maldah	814,919	33·9	22. Jessore	1,888,827	7·3
			23. Bakarganj	2,153,965	7·7
			24. Faridpur	1,797,320	2·2
			25. Noakhali	1,009,693	1·1
			26. Tipperah	1,782,935	0·8
			27. Dacca	2,420,656	5·1

* Omitting the hill tracts in North Lushai, Chittagong, and Angul.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-98.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-98.
		Grains.			Grains.
28. Maimansingh -	3,472,186	5·8	8. Nimar -	253,486	42·2
29. Chittagong† -	1,290,167	31·8	9. Hoshangab -	527,702	36·9
30. Cuttack† -	1,937,671	37·5	10. Narsinghpur -	367,026	35·2
31. Puri -	944,998	27·5	11. Jabalpur -	748,146	27·4
32. Balasore -	994,625	86·3	12. Saugor -	591,743	19·7
33. Hazaribagh‡ -	1,164,321	3·7	13. Damoh -	325,613	12·0
34. Lohardaga -	1,128,885	9·2	14. Balaghat -	383,331	68·2
35. Palamau -	596,770	3·0	15. Mandla -	339,373	29·3
36. Singhbhum -	545,488	11·3	16. Chindwara -	339,443	41·7
37. Manbhum -	1,193,328	4·8	17. Seoni -	370,767	56·8
38. Champaran* -	1,859,465	0·8	18. Betul -	323,196	27·8
39. Saran* -	2,467,477	0·9	MADRAS -	35,630,440	14·0
40. Muzaffarpur† -	2,711,445	2·6	1. Ganjam -	1,896,803	12·8
41. Darbhanga† -	2,801,955	3·0	2. Vizagapatam -	2,802,992	40·7
42. Patna* -	1,769,004	14·8	3. Godavari -	2,078,782	130·6
43. Gaya* -	2,138,331	5·2	4. Kistna -	1,855,582	18·6
44. Shahabad* -	2,063,337	2·0	5. Nellore -	1,463,736	1·9
45. Monghyr‡ -	2,036,021	2·4	6. Karnul -	817,811	6·9
46. Bhagalpur -	2,032,696	6·2	7. Cuddapah -	1,272,072	3·5
BERAR -	2,897,491	91·0	8. Anantapur -	708,549	1·9
1. Buldana -	481,021	90·6	9. Bellary -	900,126	3·6
2. Basim -	398,181	34·7	10. North Arcot -	2,180,487	3·5
3. Wan -	471,613	48·5	11. Chenglepat -	1,136,928	1·0
4. Akola -	574,782	127·3	12. Madras City -	452,518	26·5
5. Amruti -	655,645	95·7	13. South Arcot -	2,162,851	0·8
6. Elichpur -	315,798	154·4	14. Tanjore -	2,228,114	1·8
BOMBAY -	15,985,270	47·0	15. Trichinopoly -	1,372,717	2·3
1. Ahmedabad -	921,712	114·7	16. Madura -	2,608,404	1·5
2. Kaira -	871,589	81·2	17. Tinnevely -	1,916,095	0·6
3. Panch Mahals -	313,417	74·6	18. Salem -	1,962,591	2·3
4. Broach -	341,490	179·6	19. Coimbatore -	2,004,839	2·7
5. Surat -	649,989	33·4	20. South Kanara -	1,056,081	1·0
6. Thana -	904,868	8·2	21. Malabar -	2,652,565	5·4
7. Kolaba -	509,584	10·0	22. Nilgiris -	99,797	27·1
8. Bombay Island -	821,764	155·2	NORTH-WEST		
9. Ratnagiri -	1,105,926	1·7	PROVINCES AND OUDH	46,905,085	18·0
10. Kanara -	446,351	2·1	1. Dehra Dun -	168,135	65·4
11. Khandesh -	1,460,851	62·6	2. Tarai (<i>Naini Tal</i>) -	210,568	38·0
12. Nasik -	843,582	44·1	3. Pilibhit -	485,366	20·7
13. Ahmednagar -	888,755	73·9	4. Gorakhpur* -	2,994,057	6·6
14. Poona -	1,067,800	58·9	5. Basti* -	1,785,844	3·1
15. Sholapur -	750,689	60·3	6. <i>Gonda</i> * -	1,459,229	4·4
16. Satara -	1,225,989	18·4	7. <i>Bahraich</i> * -	1,000,432	8·0
17. Belgaum -	1,013,261	3·9	8. Almora (<i>Kumaun</i>) -	563,181	4·6
18. Dharwar -	1,051,314	3·9	9. Garhwal -	407,818	3·4
19. Bijapur -	796,339	4·3	10. Saharanpur -	1,001,280	32·2
SINDH -	2,871,774	44·0	11. Muzaffarnagar -	772,874	29·2
Karachi -	564,880	54·8	12. Meerut -	1,391,458	36·6
Hydrabad and Thar. -	1,216,849	57·9	13. Aligarh -	1,043,172	39·6
Shikarpur and Jacobabad. -	1,090,045	22·7	14. Bulandshahr -	949,914	31·4
CENTRAL PROVINCES -	10,046,546	34·0	15. Agra -	1,003,796	39·5
1. Nagpur -	757,862	55·7	16. Mathura -	713,421	29·9
2. Bhandara -	742,850	32·0	17. Etawah† -	727,629	21·8
3. Wardha -	400,854	71·1	18. Cawnpore‡ -	1,209,695	69·1
4. Chanda -	697,610	19·0	19. Farakhabad‡ -	858,687	12·7
5. Raipur -	1,255,698	40·3	20. Etah‡ -	702,063	23·4
6. Bilaspur -	827,433	32·9	21. Mainpuri‡ -	762,163	7·7
7. Sambalpur -	796,413	28·5	22. Allahabad‡ -	1,548,737	36·5
			23. Fatehpur§ -	699,157	30·7
			24. Jalaun -	396,361	44·1
			25. Jhansi -	683,619	34·3
			26. Banda -	705,832	19·9
			27. Hamirpur -	513,720	42·7

† Omitting the hill tracts in Chittagong and Angul.

* Extensive poppy cultivation.
 ‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.
 § Small poppy cultivation.

* Extensive poppy cultivation.

† Considerable poppy cultivation.

§ Small poppy cultivation.

N.B.—Oudh districts are given in italics.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
		Grains.			Grains.
28. Mirzapur -	1,161,508	22·9	5. Amritsar -	992,697	81·2
29. Benares§ -	921,943	87·7	6. Lahore -	1,075,379	75·5
30. Bareilī -	1,040,691	22·1	7. Jalandhar -	907,583	59·5
31. Budaun† -	925,598	7·3	8. Ferozpur -	886,676	144·5
32. Shahjahanpur†	918,551	19·2	9. Gurdaspur -	943,922	44·5
33. Moradabad -	1,179,398	33·3	10. Sialkot§ -	1,119,847	21·5
34. Bijnor -	794,070	21·8	11. Gujrat§ -	760,875	6·3
35. Sitapur†	1,075,413	10·7	12. Hoshiarpur -	1,011,659	33·4
36. Kherī† -	903,615	18·5	13. Gujranwala -	690,169	29·7
37. Hardoi† -	1,113,211	7·3	14. Jhilmam -	609,056	16·3
38. Lucknow†	774,163	106·8	15. Rawal Pindi -	887,194	24·4
39. Bara-Bankī†	1,130,906	5·4	16. Hazara§ -	516,288	12·2
40. Unao† -	953,636	15·2	17. Peshawar -	703,768	19·6
41. Faizabad*	1,216,959	13·1	18. Kohat -	203,175	18·4
42. Ghazipur†	1,077,909	8·1	19. Bannu -	372,276	6·8
43. Balia† -	942,465	1·6	20. Dera Ismail Khan	486,201	9·1
44. Jaunpur -	1,264,949	17·7	21. Dera Ghazi Khan§	404,031†	16·3
45. Azamgarh*	1,728,625	4·6	22. Muzaffargarh -	381,095	14·5
46. Pratapgarh*	910,895	6·0	23. Multan -	631,434	17·3
47. Rai Bareli*	1,036,521	8·5	24. Jhang -	436,841	6·3
48. Sultanpur*	1,075,851	6·3	25. Montgomery -	499,521	23·7
PANJAB§ -	20,860,913†	42·0	26. Shahpur†	493,588	8·2
1. Simla§ -	44,642	136·8	27. Delhi -	638,689	35·8
2. Kangra§ -	763,030	9·9	28. Gurgaon -	668,929	9·2
3. Ambala*	1,033,427	74·8	29. Karnal -	683,718	41·2
4. Ludhiana -	648,722	176·8	30. Hissar -	776,006	20·1
			31. Rohtak -	590,475	14·7

N.B.—Oudh districts are given in italics.
* Extensive poppy cultivation.
† Excluding 5,934 Baloch.
‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.
§ Small poppy cultivation.

‡ Considerable poppy cultivation (for opium).
§ Small poppy cultivation (for opium).
† Excluding 5,934 Baloch.

TABLE II.

SHOWING the DISTRICTS of BRITISH PROVINCES arranged according to their AVERAGE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of LICIT OPIUM per Head.

TABLE II.

SHOWING the DISTRICTS of BRITISH PROVINCES arranged according to their AVERAGE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of LICIT OPIUM per Head.

Six Grains and under.		From 7 to 12 Grains.		From 13 to 24 Grains.		From 25 to 49 Grains.		From 40 to 96 Grains.		From 97 to 144 Grains.		145 Grains and upwards.	
District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.	District.	Popu- lation.
TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	83,046,959	TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	24,940,925	TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	36,103,918	TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	39,796,947	TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	17,611,113	TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	5,915,006	TOTAL BRITISH PROVINCES.	4,384,394
ASSAM	3,276,163	BENGAL	10,426,087	ASSAM	650,208	ASSAM	367,548	ASSAM	122,867	ASSAM	634,249	ASSAM	1,362,170
1. Sylhet.		1. Bogra.		1. Goalpara.		1. Kachar.		1. Naga Hills.		1. Kamrup.		1. North Kachar.	
2. Garo Hills.		2. Bankurah.		2. Khaai Hills.								2. Darang.	
BENGAL	35,345,876	3. Nadea.		BENGAL	12,312,270	BENGAL	11,116,333	BENGAL	994,625	BENGAL	674,782	3. Nowgong.	
1. Jalpaigori.		4. Khulna.		1. Darjiling.		1. Maldah.		1. Balasore.		1. Akola.		4. Sibsagar.	
2. Pabna.		5. Jessore.		2. Purneah.		2. Hughli.						5. Lakhimpur.	
3. Santhal Parganahs.		6. Bakarganj.		3. Rajshahye.		3. Midnapur.		BHAR	1,187,117	BOMBAY	921,712		
4. Faridpur.		7. Lohardaga.		4. Dinajpur.		4. Howrah.		1. Buldana.		1. Ahmedabad.		BENGAL	874,460
5. Noakhali.		8. Singhbhum.		5. Rangpur.		5. The 24 Parganahs.		2. Amraoti.			2,078,782	1. Calcutta and suburbs.	
6. Tipperah.		BOMBAY	1,414,462	6. Bardwan.		6. Chittagong.		BOMBAY	5,363,101	1. Godavari.			816,798
7. Dacca.		1. Thana.		7. Birbhum.		7. Cuttack.		1. Kaira.		OUDEH	774,168	1. Elichpur.	
8. Maimansingh.		2. Kolaba.		8. Murshidabad.		8. Puri.		2. Panch Mahals.		1. Lucknow.		BOMBAY	1,163,254
9. Hasaribagh.		CENTRAL PROVINCE	325,618	9. Patna.		BHAR	869,794	3. Khandesh.		PANJAB	981,318	1. Broach.	
10. Palamau.		1. Damoh.		BOMBAY	1,225,989	1. Basim.		4. Ahmednagar.		1. Simla.		2. Bombay City.	
11. Manbhurn.		MADRAS	1,896,803	1. Satara.		2. Wan.		5. Poona.		2. Ferozpur.		PANJAB	648,723
12. Champaran.		1. Ganjam.		SINDEH	1,090,045	BOMBAY	1,463,571	6. Sholapur.				1. Ludhiana.	
13. Seran.		NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	3,624,357	2. Shikarpur and Jacobabad.		1. Surat.		SINDEH	1,781,729	1. Karachi.			
14. Muzaffarpur.		1. Farakhabad.		CENTRAL PROVINCES	1,289,353	2. Nasik.		2 and 3. Hydrabad and Thar and Parkar.		2 and 3. Hydrabad and Thar and Parkar.			
15. Darbhanga.		2. Mainpuri.		1. Saugor.		CENTRAL PROVINCES	6,518,768	CENTRAL PROVINCES	1,912,314	1. Nagpur.			
16. Gaya.		3. Budaun.		2. Chanda.		1. Bhandara.		2. Wardha.		2. Wardha.			
17. Shahabad.		4. Ghazipur.		MADRAS	1,855,582	3. Bilaspur.		3. Balaghat.		3. Balaghat.			
18. Monghyr.		OUDEH	4,225,577	1. Kistna.		4. Sambalpur.		4. Seoni.		4. Seoni.			
19. Bhagalpur.		5. Rai Barell.		NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	7,800,659	5. Nimar.		NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.	2,299,773	1. Dehra Dun.			
BOMBAY	4,413,191	6. Sitapur.		1. Pilibhit.		6. Hoshangabad.		2. Cawnpore.		2. Cawnpore.			
1. Ratnagiri.		7. Hardoi.		2. Etawah.		7. Narsinghpur.							
2. Kanara.		PANJAB	2,928,036	3. Etah.		8. Jabalpur.							
3. Belgaum.						9. Mandla.							
4. Dharwar.													
5. Bijapur.													

MADRAS - - -	28,443,966	1. Kangra.	4. Banda.	10. Chindwara.	3. Benares.	
1. Nellore.		2. Hazara.	5. Mirzapur.	11. Betul	PANJAB - - -	4,000,086
2. Karnul.		3. Dera Ismail Khan.	6. Bareilly.	MADRAS - - -	1. Ambala.	
3. Cuddapah.		4. Shahpur.	7. Shahjahanpur.	3,355,307	2. Amritsar.	
4. Anantapur.		5. Gurgaon.	8. Bijnor.	1. Vizagapatam.	3. Lahore.	
5. Bellary.			9. Jaunpur.	2. Madras City.	4. Jalandhar.	
6. North Arcot.				3. Nilgiris.		
7. South Arcot.		OUDEH - - -	3,074,810	NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.		
8. Chenglepat.		1. Kheri.		1. Tarai.		
9. Tanjore.		2. Unao.		2. Saharanpur.		
10. Trichinopoly.		3. Faizabad.		3. Muzaffarnagar.		
11. Madura.		PANJAB - - -	6,805,002	4. Meerut.		
12. Tinnevely.		1. Sialkot.		5. Aligarh.		
13. Salem.		2. Jhilm.		6. Agra.		
14. Coimbatore.		3. Rawal Pindi.		7. Mathura.		
15. South Kanara.		4. Peshawar.		8. Allahabad.		
16. Malabar.		5. Kohat.		9. Fatehpur.		
NORTH-WEST PROVINCES	8,421,990	6. Dera Ghazi Khan.		10. Jalaun.		
1. Gorakhpur.		7. Muzaffargarh.		11. Jhansi.		
2. Basti.		8. Multan.		12. Hamirpur.		
3. Almora.		9. Montgomery.		13. Moredabad.		
4. Garhwal.		10. Hissar.		PANJAB - - -	3,968,167	
5. Balia.		11. Rohtak.		1. Gurdaspur.		
6. Azamgarh.				2. Hoshiarpur.		
OUDEH - - -	4,576,881			3. Gujranwala.		
7. Gonda.				4. Dehli.		
8. Bara-Banki.				5. Karnal.		
9. Pratapgarh.						
10. Sultanpur.						
PANJAB - - -	1,560,992					
1. Gujrat.						
2. Bannu.						
3. Jhang.						

TABLE III.

SHOWING the POPULATION under each GROUP of AVERAGE CONSUMPTION by PROVINCES, in relation to the TOTAL POPULATION of the GROUPS and the PROVINCES respectively.

Province.	A.—Per-centage of Provincial Population in each Group on the Group Total.							B.—Per-centage of Provincial Totals on the Total of British Provinces.		C.—Per-centage of Provincial Population in each Group on the Provincial Total.							
	Average Annual Consumption of Licit Opium per Head.							Consumption of Opium in 1892-93.	Population (1891).	Average Annual Consumption of Licit Opium per Head.							
	Under 7 Grains.	7-12 Grains.	13-24 Grains.	25-48 Grains.	49-96 Grains.	97-144 Grains.	145 Grains and over.			Under 7 Grains.	7-12 Grains.	13-24 Grains.	25-48 Grains.	49-96 Grains.	97-144 Grains.	145 Grains and over.	Total Population.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.
Assam	2·8	—	1·8	0·9	0·7	10·7	81·5	13·2	2·6	41·9	—	11·9	6·8	2·3	11·7	25·4	100·0
Bengal	42·6	42·0	34·1	27·9	5·6	—	19·9	19·1	33·6	40·7	14·8	17·3	15·6	1·4	—	1·2	100·0
Berar	—	—	—	2·3	6·4	9·7	7·2	4·6	1·4	—	—	—	30·0	39·3	19·8	10·9	100·0
Bombay	5·3	5·7	3·4	3·8	30·4	15·6	26·6	13·1	7·5	27·5	8·9	7·7	9·3	33·5	5·8	7·3	100·0
Sindh	—	—	3·0	—	10·1	—	—	2·2	1·4	—	—	38·0	—	62·0	—	—	100·0
Central Provinces	—	1·3	3·6	16·4	10·9	—	—	6·2	4·7	—	3·2	12·8	64·9	19·1	—	—	100·0
Madras	31·8	7·6	5·1	8·4	—	35·2	—	9·0	16·8	74·3	5·3	5·2	9·4	—	5·8	—	100·0
North-West Provinces	10·1	14·6	21·6	30·4	13·1	—	—	14·3	16·2	24·6	10·6	22·8	35·3	6·7	—	—	100·0
Oudh	5·5	17·0	8·5	—	—	13·1	—	3·3	5·9	36·2	33·4	24·3	—	—	6·1	—	100·0
Panjab	1·9	12·8	18·9	9·9	22·8	15·7	14·8	15·0	9·9	7·5	14·0	32·6	19·0	19·3	4·5	3·1	100·0
Total, British Provinces	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	39·2	11·7	17·1	18·8	8·3	2·8	2·1	100·0

N.B.—Parts A. and B. should be read vertically. Part C. horizontally.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

