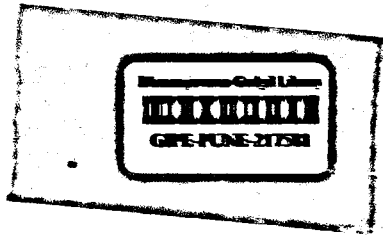


51563



COLLECTION OF PAPERS

S1563

RELATING TO THE

India

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

subject card

*Reprinted from the Supplement to the Gazette of India, dated
Calcutta, Saturday, January 18th, 1896.*

CALCUTTA:
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA,
1896:

Y:413.2.M96

C2:8

~~15763~~

CALCUTTA:
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,
8, HASTINGS STREET.

217581

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
India FINANCE AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT. (T)

REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

No. 200 S. B., dated the 15th January 1896.

ORDERED, that the papers mentioned in the following list, relating to the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium, be published for general information in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India*.

J. F. FINLAY,

Secretary to the Government of India.

LIST OF PAPERS.

1. Despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 52 (Revenue), dated the 23rd May 1895.
2. Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 305, dated the 19th October 1895, and enclosures.
3. Despatch from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 139 (Revenue), dated the 12th December 1895.

No. 52 (Revenue), dated 23rd May 1895.

From—The Secretary of State for India (RIGHT HONOURABLE H. H. FOWLER),
To—The Government of India.

Four copies of the Report* of the Royal Commission on Opium were forwarded to Your Excellency's Government by the mail of 10th May. Two copies of these volumes are sent † with the present despatch, and the remaining copies ‡ are being sent as freight, in accordance with your request for 1,500 copies.

2. I shall await the remarks of your Government upon the Report before passing any orders thereon.

No. 305, dated 19th October 1895.

From—The Government of India,
To—Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

We have the honour to acknowledge Sir H. Fowler's Despatch No. 52 (Revenue), dated 23rd May 1895, forwarding, for our consideration, copies of the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium, and to communicate in reply the following observations.

2. The Report deals fully with the important questions referred to the Royal Commission for investigation, and may be regarded as a vindication of the past action of the Government of India in regard to the production, consumption and sale of opium, and as an endorsement of the views which have guided us in our past policy. We need not say, therefore, that we agree generally with the conclusions at which the Commission have arrived, and our endeavour in all matters in which they have given indications of their opinions will be to follow the lines to which they have added the weight of their approval. In respect of two matters the Commission have made definite recommendations, *viz.*, the administration of the Bengal Opium Department and the question of opium-smoking; and with these recommendations we propose to deal before noticing the other portions of the Report which appear to require comment or expression of opinion from us.

3. As regards the Opium Department, the Commission, in paragraph 192 of the Report, observe:—

"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 Opium 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."

4. The question of direct dealing with the poppy cultivators in Behar has been long under consideration, and was again quite recently brought under review. The subject was enquired into by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during his tour in Behar in the past cold weather, and on the 18th April 1895 he submitted proposals for the assimilation of the system in Behar to that existing in the Benares Agency and for the abolition in the former Agency, at the option of the cultivators, of the practice of dealing entirely through representatives, which has hitherto obtained. The proposals submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the recommendations made by the Royal Commission, have received our careful consideration. The superiority of the Benares system to that of Behar was recognised both by the Government of Bengal and by the Government of India when the Report of the Bengal Commission of 1883 was considered in 1884—88. The system of dealing with the cultivators through representatives was, however, firmly established in Behar; the practical difficulties which stood in the way of a change were great, and the proposals of the Commission of 1883, if sanctioned, would have necessitated increased expenditure

General Remarks.

Recommendation made by the Commission in regard to the administration of the Bengal Opium Department.

Question of dealing with poppy cultivators in Behar, and measures taken by the Government of India in accordance with Commission's recommendations regarding the Bengal Opium Department.

upon establishments. Existing arrangements were therefore allowed to continue. We have decided now to take steps to introduce in the Behar Agency a system of direct dealing, and we forward with this despatch (Appendix A) a copy of the letter and enclosures, received from the Government of Bengal, and of the letter which we addressed to that Government in reply on the 30th August 1895. As will be seen, we have in this letter authorised the experimental introduction into selected subdivisions of the Behar Opium Agency of a scheme for making payment to the poppy cultivator, for opium delivered, either direct or through a representative at the cultivator's option, and have affirmed the desirability of developing, as soon as this may be practicable, throughout both Agencies, a system of direct dealing for settlements and advances as well as for payments in so far as the cultivators may themselves desire this. We have hitherto been prevented mainly by financial considerations from increasing the pay of the Kothi establishments. We shall now, however, again examine the question.

recommendations
by the Com-
on upon the
et of opium-
ing in India.

5. Upon the subject of opium-smoking paragraph 195 of the Report contains the following recommendations:—

“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 *chandus* or *madak*.”

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

“While we are not prepared to recommend measures of restrictive legislation, we are in favour of making it difficult for smokers of *chandus* 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 Punjab, 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 1·0 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.”

ion already
to discourage
-smoking in
, and the rules
is subject now
is in different
1895.

6. We entirely agree with the opinion above expressed that although opium-smoking is in India a comparatively novel habit and is regarded generally as disreputable, it is doubtful whether native public opinion would approve of severe and inquisitorial measures of repression. Opium-smoking upon licensed premises has already been prohibited throughout India by our Resolution in the Finance Department, No. 4033, dated 25th September 1891, but the Rules in force under the Opium Act in different provinces are not uniform as to the treatment of the preparations of opium used for smoking, commonly known as *madak* and *chandus*. In the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces and Bombay no shops are now licensed for the sale of these preparations, but their manufacture for private consumption is not interfered with. In Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces and Madras shops are licensed for sale of the preparations, though consumption on the premises is not permitted; and in Bengal the manufacture of the preparations by private individuals is only permitted under a license, while in Assam, the Central Provinces and Madras it is prohibited by the Rules. The sale under licenses from Government of licit opium prepared for smoking undoubtedly tends to prevent the sale and consumption in this form of illicit opium, and the policy in these provinces has been to try and check the spread of the habit of opium-smoking by raising the price of smoking preparations to the consumer and by restricting as far as possible the number of places where the preparations can be legitimately obtained. The extent to which this policy

has been given effect to in recent years will appear from the following figures:—

	Number of shops licensed for the sale of preparations of opium used for smoking:—	
	In 1884-85.	In 1893-94.
Bengal	518	388
Assam	37	15
Central Provinces	306	137
Madras	107	115
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	968	655
	<hr/>	<hr/>

7. We have, as announced in our despatch No. 289, dated 14th October 1891, accepted the policy of attempting to check opium-smoking in India by diminishing the facilities for the practice of the habit, and we recognise that it is desirable that the policy of Local Governments in this matter should, as far as possible, be uniform. We are prepared, therefore, to accept the recommendation made by the Commission that the system which now exists in the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces and Bombay should be extended to other provinces in India, and that Government should, in deference to native sentiment, cease in future to license in these provinces shops for the sale of these preparations, while not attempting to prevent their manufacture by individuals for the purpose of private consumption. Further than this we are not, however, as at present advised, prepared to proceed in the direction of restriction or repression. We have considered carefully the opinions expressed in favour of the prohibition of opium-smoking by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the late Mr. Haridas Voharidas, and Mr. Wilson, the dissentient member of the Commission, but we agree with the majority of the Commission that no sufficient necessity for so extreme a measure has been shown. The habit of opium-smoking is, as the Commission have stated, of comparatively recent introduction, and it is therefore not unnaturally regarded with disfavour and suspicion. The habit also is more common among the lower orders than among the educated and well-to-do; the conditions under which it is indulged in are often demoralising and degrading, and the evils which result from excess are easily recognisable. These facts are in themselves sufficient to account for much of the evidence given in India as to the disastrous effects of opium-smoking.

Further act which the Government of India prepared to take discourage opium smoking in India.

8. Sir W. Roberts, in his Memorandum on the general features and medical aspects of the opium habit in India, says that "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 any prejudicial effect on health." The Commission also in paragraph 238 of the Report observe, in reference to the opium habit in Burma, that "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." Opium-smoking was no doubt strongly denounced before the Commission by Indian witnesses of all classes, many of whom were not opposed to the use of crude opium in the form of pills as a stimulant or a restorative. In places, however, where opium-smoking is the usual habit, and the practice of eating crude opium in the form of pills is rare, the opinions held by many competent observers as to the effects of the two forms of the opium habit differ materially from those which are commonly entertained by the natives of India upon this subject. We append to this despatch (Appendix B) a collection of extracts from the replies received to the interrogatories, issued by the Commission, from the Straits Settlements, Hongkong and China, in which opium-smoking is pronounced by a large number of trustworthy and competent witnesses, including several medical practitioners and missionaries, to be less injurious than opium-eating. Paragraph 81 also of the Commission's Report contains some important extracts bearing upon the same subject from a despatch addressed in 1893 to Lord Ripon, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Difference between the views held in India and those held in other countries where opium-smoking is common, as to relative effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating.

posed reference
al Governments
Administrations
the possibility
disability of
ation for the
ession of opium-
ng saloons.

9. In view of the above facts, we hold that it has not been proved that opium-smoking, when practised in moderation, is in itself necessarily injurious. We admit that it is desirable to discourage the habit as practised in India and are prepared to do what we can to discountenance it, but we are not satisfied that it is necessary to restrict the personal liberty of individuals so far as to prohibit entirely the manufacture and consumption of preparations for smoking, or to treat the act of smoking as a crime. It may be possible to further diminish the facilities for opium-smoking by suppressing smoking saloons, and in accordance with the suggestion made by the Commission, we shall now take steps to ascertain the opinions of Local Governments and Administrations as to the possibility or advisability of legislation against the use of premises for this purpose either by the public generally or by so-called clubs. As explained in our despatch No. 162, dated 30th May 1893, we were at that time of opinion that the experiment of prohibiting the consumption of opium upon licensed premises, which was sanctioned by our Resolution of the 25th September 1891, should have a further trial before legislation was undertaken to impose additional restrictions upon smokers; but, in deference to the opinion expressed by the Commission, we are willing to reconsider our decision. On receipt of the replies of Local Governments the subject will once more be fully and carefully examined.

inions as to the
produced upon
abit of opium-
ing in India by
hibition of the
mption of opium
icensed pre-

10. In connection with this question we append to this despatch (Appendix C) a selection of extracts from the opinions recently expressed in the annual Excise and Opium Reports by Local Governments and by officers in charge of the excise administration, as to the effect which has been produced upon the habit of opium-smoking in India by the prohibition of the consumption of opium upon licensed premises. We share the hope expressed by the Commission that the withdrawal of all licenses for the sale of preparations of opium used for smoking will tend to prevent the spread of the habit and will lead to its ultimate extinction, but some of the extracts appended show clearly that officers who are in the best position to form an opinion are by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of the steps which have been already taken to reduce the facilities for smoking. In paragraph 82 of the Report also it is recognised that there is a difference of opinion whether the prohibition of opium-smoking upon licensed premises has tended to the decrease of the habit, and the Commission say that the measure has been in operation too short a time to enable them to arrive at any definite conclusion as to its effect.

roductory re-
s upon the other
ms of the
t.

11. We pass now to the consideration of those portions of the Report and appended Memoranda, which, either on account of the expressions of opinion which they contain or of the importance of the subject-matter, appear to require special notice. On all questions to which we do not directly refer, it may be understood that we are in general accord with the views expressed in the Report. Some suggestions made by the Maharaja of Darbhanga and by the late Mr. Haridas Veharidas, regarding the introduction of a system of local option and other matters, are not noticed in this despatch. We are unwilling to add to the length of the despatch by the discussion in detail of suggestions which the Commission have not endorsed, and which we are not prepared to accept. Our remarks on other points will also be made as brief as possible.

consumption of
in British

12. The portion of the Report which deals with the consumption of opium in British India may be first noticed. The Commission have collected much valuable information upon this subject and have given a clear and exhaustive account of the methods in which opium is consumed by the different races and in the different provinces of India, the extent of the consumption, and its effects upon the moral and physical condition of the people. We do not propose to follow them in their examination of the different uses of opium as a domestic medicine, as a stimulant after middle age, as a febrifuge, or of its supposed properties as an aphrodisiac, still less to examine in detail Sir W. Roberts' interesting and valuable analysis of the evidence regarding the general features and the medical aspects of the opium habit in India. The facts have been very fully elucidated, and the conclusions arrived at, as summarised in paragraph 71 of the Report, are, in our opinion, fully supported by the evidence. We agree entirely with the Commission that the use of opium among

the people of India in British provinces is, as a rule, a moderate use that excess is exceptional and is condemned by public opinion, that the use of opium in moderation is not attended by injurious consequences, and that no extended physical or moral degradation is caused by the habit.

13. In considering the question of the possibility of prohibiting the use of opium except for medical purposes, the Commission have laid much stress on the fact that it is impossible to distinguish between the use of opium as a domestic medicine and the *quasi*-medicinal use of the drug as a stimulant or restorative. This fact is, in our opinion, of very great importance. Large numbers also of the people of India are, as stated in the Report, unable to obtain professional medical advice, and many who are within reach of medical aid prefer in cases of illness either to treat themselves or to trust to the treatment of relatives and friends; and if the individual or the imperfectly qualified medical practitioner is to decide what constitutes a medical purpose, the question of prohibition except for such purposes ceases at once to have any practical significance. Much of the conflicting evidence which was given before the Commission as to the effects of opium may, in our opinion, be explained by the widely different purposes for which opium is consumed. That opium is used to a limited extent by a comparatively few depraved individuals in the belief that it stimulates the virile powers may be admitted, and many of the witnesses who gave evidence as to the degrading and destructive effects of the habitual use of the drug appear to have based their opinions upon a limited acquaintance with persons who had commenced the use of opium for this particular purpose. Degradation and demoralisation in such cases would no doubt be apparent, but would be due to other causes as much as, if not more than, to the use of opium. As the Commission have, in our opinion, conclusively shown, opium is ordinarily used in India as a febrifuge, as a painkiller or as a stimulant or restorative after middle age; and its use for these purposes does not incur popular disapproval. The question of administering opium to infants is one of considerable difficulty. We reported in our despatch No. 12, dated 24th January 1894, that the circumstances in which opium is in some parts of India administered to children and infants did not, in our opinion, call for any action on the part of Government, and that any attempt to check or prohibit the practice would be regarded as an unnecessary interference with the domestic arrangements of the people and would be resented accordingly. The practice is naturally repugnant to Western ideas, but the question has now been very carefully examined, and we agree with the conclusion arrived at by the Commission, as stated in paragraph 62 of the Report and at greater length in Sir W. Roberts' Memorandum. As they say, "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." The remarks made by the Commission in paragraphs 73 to 75 of the Report as to the use of opium for purpose of suicide and the extent to which the opium habit in India is responsible either for insanity or crime have also our general concurrence.

Further remarks on the subject of consumption of opium in British India

14. Agreeing, therefore, as we do, with the views taken by the Commission as to the uses of opium and the effects thereby produced, we have no difficulty in accepting their conclusion that the prohibition of the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India except for medical purposes has not been shown to be necessary or to be demanded by the people of the country. The prohibition of the production of opium in British India might, owing to the peculiar conditions under which poppy cultivation is at present carried on under the Government monopoly in Bengal, be actually possible, if there were any reasons to warrant it. It would, however, in our opinion, be a tyrannical interference with private rights and liberties; it would involve the abandonment of much revenue, both direct and indirect, which the Government of India are not in a position to forego; and it would give rise to widespread discontent among the classes to whom it brings a considerable profit. To prevent the use of opium except for medical purposes would be impossible, as the demand for the drug in British India would be supplied by smuggling from the Native States in India and from other sources.

Conclusions of Government of India on the subject of prohibition of the use of opium in British India except for medical purposes.

15. On the subject of the trade in Malwa opium and the possibility of terminating the existing arrangements with the Native States in Central India and Rajputana in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, we agree with the remarks made in paragraphs 116, 122, 123, and 161-166 of the Report. The attitude of the Government of India towards the trade is, as the Commission have observed, essentially restrictive. The climate and soil of Central India are specially well adapted for the cultivation of the poppy, and the trade is of very great antiquity. It was in existence when the Portuguese first appeared upon the shores of India, and in the words of the Report "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 agree therefore with the Commission in holding that the right of transit could not now be withdrawn with justice except by voluntary agreement with the States; and such agreement, if obtained at all, would involve payment by the Government of India of pecuniary compensation to the Chiefs and their subjects to an extent which must be regarded as absolutely prohibitive.

16. In the concluding sentence of paragraph 102 of the Report the Commission remark that the policy of the Government of India in fixing the rate of the pass duty upon Malwa opium "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." This statement appears to require some amplification. Our policy in this matter is correctly expressed in the phrase "the highest duty that the trade can legitimately bear." The price obtained for Bengal opium at the Calcutta sales is one element, but not the only one which we take into consideration in fixing the rate of duty; the circumstances of the Malwa trade, the prices realised for the opium, and the fluctuations in the exports from Bombay are also weighed and considered. We observe that the Commission say in paragraph 193 of the Report that they are not sure that the transit duty has not sometimes been imposed or maintained at rates higher than is compatible with equity. In future, when any question of altering the rate of duty arises, full weight will be given to this expression of opinion.

17. As regards the use of opium in Native States, it is unnecessary to add much to the remarks already made in paragraphs 12 and 13 of this despatch regarding the use of opium in British India. The portion of the Report which deals with this branch of the subject is particularly full and interesting, and we agree entirely with the opinions which the Commission have expressed upon the possibility of extending to the Native States in India a policy of prohibition. The consumption of opium in many States in Central India, Rajputana, Gujerat and the Punjab is, as the Commission have shown in paragraphs 103 to 112 and 118 to 121 of the Report, more prevalent than in British India, with the exception perhaps of a few isolated localities, and is often connected with social or religious observances. There is no proof that moral or physical degradation to any extent worth considering has resulted from the habit; and we are satisfied that prohibition is uncalled for, that any attempt to extend it to these States would in almost every instance be keenly resented both by the Chiefs and by their subjects, and that any measure of the kind would be absolutely impossible of enforcement. The existence of poppy cultivation and opium production on a large scale in a number of Native States situated in the heart of British India is alone sufficient to make the prohibition of the use of opium in British India except for medical purposes a physical impossibility, even if any necessity for such prohibition had been established.

18. The Commission have referred briefly to the question of substituting private enterprise and an export duty for the State monopoly, by which the cultivation, manufacture and wholesale sale of Bengal opium are controlled. Their conclusion is that the Bengal Opium Department should be maintained, but they did not consider it necessary to examine the question at length owing apparently to the change in the attitude of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Traffic towards the monopoly as explained by Mr. Alexander, the Secretary to the Society, in his evidence before the Commission at Calcutta. "It is," the Commission observe in paragraph 174 of the Report, "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." The Commission, therefore, have been content to quote some passages from the despatch No. 312, dated 19th December 1881, which was addressed to the Secretary of State by Lord Ripon's Government as an adequate pronouncement of their views upon the question. Mr. Haridas Voharidas in his Memorandum says that he is not prepared to agree altogether with the reasons for which the majority of the Commission have held that a continuance of the monopoly is desirable, though he is 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 notice. The Maharaja of Darbhanga, on the other hand, says that as far as India is concerned he is convinced that a "Government monopoly like that of opium is one of the most popular and least oppressive systems of raising revenue." Mr. Wilson, in his Minute of Dissent, recommends that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and has not discussed the question whether the monopoly is or is not superior to any system that might be substituted for it.

19. For the reasons that influenced the Commission we do not think it necessary to discuss at any length the arguments for and against the monopoly. The question of substituting private enterprise for the monopoly has, as they say, been carefully considered on more than one occasion, and always with the same result; and the arguments advanced in the despatch of the 19th December 1881 in favour of the retention of the monopoly have certainly not been adequately answered or refuted. As regards paragraph 75 of the despatch, however, we think it necessary to observe that it appears to us quite hopeless to expect that fiscal reform and the development of the country will at any time enable Government to suppress the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal and dispense with the opium revenue; and we are not prepared to admit that the objections, economic or moral, which can be urged against that revenue are so strong as to make its abolition a desirable, even if it were a possible contingency. The despatch also hardly gives sufficient prominence to the superiority of the provincial systems of excise on opium in India which are based on the monopoly, to those which are based upon any other principle of opium supply, and to the restrictions thereby imposed upon the consumption of opium by the people of India, or to the serious political and administrative difficulties which would, in our opinion, arise if private persons, or firms were allowed to embark in the trade in opium in Bengal. The relations of such persons or firms with the ryots could not fail to clash with the relations of the ryots with their landlords and with the Government, and would tend to produce difficulties of the kind of which we at one time had experience in connection with indigo cultivation.

20. We agree with the views expressed in paragraphs 189 and 191 of the Report as to the principles upon which poppy cultivation should be regulated under the monopoly in Bengal. The price paid for crude opium must necessarily vary in accordance with the state of the market, the conditions of agriculture and the prices obtained for other crops, and the area placed under poppy is also liable to fluctuate in accordance with the quantity and quality of the produce. We have no desire to raise the average standard of production and sale, and we accept the opinion, expressed in paragraph 191, that the area under poppy should be fixed from time to time with due 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." We see no necessity for the issue, as suggested by the late Mr. Haridas Voharidas, of a general notification throughout the poppy-growing districts to the effect that no one is bound to cultivate the crop unless he may wish to do so. A notification of the kind is in our opinion certainly not required, and among a population like that of India, would be liable to misinterpretation. As the Commission say in paragraph 189, poppy cultivation is on the whole decidedly popular with the class of tenants who usually engage in it. The growing competition of other crops and

Remarks by
Government
India upon the
subject of the monop

Views of the C
mission as to
principles
which poppy c
ultivation should be
regulated in Ben
and remarks by
Government of B
upon the subject.

a succession of bad poppy harvests which disheartened the cultivators recently compelled us to raise the price paid for crude opium, and, as reported in our telegram of the 24th May 1894, we sanctioned an increase from Rs. 5 to 6 a seer with effect from the season of 1894-95. This enhancement in price was immediately followed by a large increase in the area cultivated, and both the necessity for the enhancement and the result of it afford, in our opinion, a conclusive answer to the allegation that the existence and extent of the cultivation are due to pressure from the officers of the Opium Department. We are satisfied that the cultivators know perfectly well that they are under no restraint and that they may either engage to cultivate poppy or abstain as they please, and that they will carry on the cultivation in the future, as they have hitherto done in the past, only so long as they may find it profitable to themselves.

21. In regard to Burma we accept the conclusions of the Commission, as expressed in paragraphs 239, 254 and 256 of the Report, on the question of the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans, and the non-extension of the prohibition to non-Burmans. Mr. Wilson, in paragraph 41 of his Minute of Dissent, recommends that the registration of consumers should be made compulsory for foreigners or non-Burmans as well as for Burmans. We agree with the Commission that the working of the present regulations should be tested by experience before any change in them is made. The recommendations made in paragraph 195 of the report on the subject of opium-smoking do not apply to Burma. Arrangements in Upper and Lower Burma are dealt with in a separate Section of the Report, and Sections II, VI and VII, regarding the production and consumption of opium in British provinces, the question of prohibition, and the changes short of total prohibition, refer to the provinces of India proper only. In Burma, as is stated in paragraph 238 of the Report, opium-smoking is the common habit, and the sale of opium prepared for smoking to non-Burmans and to registered Burmans will therefore be continued under the regulations and restrictions now existing.

22. The question of the production of opium in India as affected by the moral and political considerations arising out of the export trade necessitates some examination of the subject of opium consumption in China. The difference in the view taken by many competent observers in China from that usually held in India as to the effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating has already been referred to. As to the effects of opium-smoking in China, there is, as the Commission have observed in paragraph 139 of the Report, a direct conflict of evidence; as a body the missionaries of every denomination in China are strongly opposed to the use of opium, and hold that opium-smoking as practised in that country is the cause of both physical and moral degradation. There are, however, some notable exceptions, and the Commission in paragraph 140 of the Report observe that the prevailing opinion in the British Consular service in China is that opium-smoking in moderation is not harmful and that moderation is the rule. Mr. Wilson, in paragraph 15 of his Minute of Dissent, says that the majority of the English officials in China who sent answers to the interrogatories issued by the Commission agree with Dr. Maxwell and other medical missionaries in their condemnation of the use of opium. We attach particular importance to the evidence of the Consuls in this matter, and have therefore made a careful analysis of the replies submitted by the members of the Consular service in China and Corea to the following questions:—

1. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers?
2. What are the proportions of those who use opium (i) without injury; (ii) with slight injury; (iii) with great injury (opium sots)?
3. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium?

The replies, for facility of reference, are attached as Appendix D to this despatch. We find that of the 26 members of the Consular service to whom the interrogatories issued by the Commission were sent, three have expressed no opinions on the subject; five regard opium-smoking as a serious evil, though of these, three admit that moderation is possible; five give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit, but not strongly so; and thirteen, while

holding that the immoderate use of the drug is deleterious, consider that moderation among Chinese opium-smokers is the rule, that the percentage of men who smoke to excess and suffer great injury in consequence is small, and that moderate opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit. Of the private medical practitioners and merchants, residing in China (more than thirty in number) who replied to the interrogatories, a large majority take a view similar to that held by the majority of the Consuls; and the twelve medical officers of Her Majesty's Consulates and the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, who have replied, are about equally divided in their opinions. The evidence from the Straits Settlements and Hong-kong is reviewed in paragraphs 133 to 138 of the Report of the Commission. Some of the witnesses are strongly opposed to the habitual use of opium, but the general tenor of the evidence is to the effect that opium-smoking, if practised in moderation, does no apparent harm to the Chinese. The evils of excess are undoubted, but in the face of such evidence as this the comparison made by the majority of the Commission of the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese with those of alcohol drinking in the United Kingdom appears to us to be amply warranted.

23. Turning from the difficult and doubtful question of the effect of opium upon the Chinese to the question of practical politics, we find that the Commission hold that a cessation of the trade in Bengal opium would have no real effect in reducing the use of the drug in China, that the British Government cannot consistently with its position as the Paramount Power in India stop the export of Malwa opium, and that if the export of Bengal opium were prohibited, its place would be taken by opium produced in Malwa or in other countries or by the opium locally produced in China. In this conclusion we concur. As the Commission have observed, the Consular reports show that the poppy is now cultivated in 16 out of the 18 provinces of China, the cultivation is increasing, and the use of Indian opium is unknown in many parts of the Empire. The cessation of export from India would therefore, in our opinion, inevitably be nullified by an increased production of opium in China itself, and probably by an increased export to China of opium from Persia and Turkey. The average number of chests of opium annually exported from Persia to China during the five years 1890-1894 was not much short of 6,000, and the price of paper-wrapped Persian opium at Hong-kong is now 800 dollars a chest as compared with 720 dollars obtained for Malwa and 688 dollars for Bengal opium.

Effect of the cessation of the export of opium from India upon the consumption of opium in China.

24. The effect upon the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium is clearly explained in paragraphs 150 to 157 of the Commission's Report. We accept as correct the views upon this subject of Sir David Barbour, late Financial Member of Council, as expressed in the following passage which is quoted from his evidence in paragraph 157 of the Report:—

Effect upon the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium.

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

Since this evidence was given the margin of possible taxation has been largely reduced; import duties have been levied upon cotton and other goods, and additional taxation amounting to three crores of rupees has thereby been imposed.

25. We have already referred to certain opinions expressed and recommendations made by Mr. H. J. Wilson, the dissentient member of the Commission. We have examined carefully his Minute of Dissent, but see nothing in it to shake our confidence in the correctness of the conclusions at which the Commission have arrived. We presume that we are not called upon to give

Minute of Dissent by Mr. H. J. Wilson.

any reply to the charges of partiality and unfairness in the production of evidence which have been brought against us in the memorandum appended to the Minute of Dissent. At an early stage of the Commission's proceedings in India, Mr. Wilson made some reflections in public upon the action of the Government in regard to the Commission. We accordingly addressed to the Commission on the 6th January 1894 the letter which is published on pages 366 and 367 of Volume V of the Commission's Proceedings, pointing out that it was at the instance of the Commission that we had undertaken to make arrangements for the course of the enquiry and for the production of evidence and requesting that we might be informed if the arrangements made appeared to the Commission to be in any respect short of what was necessary in order to elicit the material facts. Mr. Wilson, in a letter to the Chairman, dated 17th January 1894, then set forth at length the grounds on which he complained of the attitude of the Government, or, as he described it, of the authorities in India, and cited a number of instances of what he considered to be unfairness in the production of evidence. The Commission made an enquiry into the matters, and Mr. Wilson eventually withdrew definitely two of his charges, but expressed his inability to withdraw at that time the other portions of his letter. The Commission, as the result of the enquiry, informed us that they were agreed that the Government of India had "consistently pursued their declared course of endeavouring to place them in full possession of the actual facts," and that they were of opinion that Mr. Wilson had "not proved the specific charges made by him." Mr. Wilson has now in the memorandum repeated some of the charges made in his letter to the Chairman of the Commission, dated the 17th January 1894, which were declared by the Commission "not proved." We observe that he has dropped several charges which he did not definitely withdraw at the time, and has added some additional charges in regard to matters which happened subsequent to the conclusion of the enquiry made by the Commission into the facts stated in his letter above quoted. We are prepared, if Your Lordship wishes, to deal categorically with each of the charges contained in the memorandum, but this appears to us in the circumstances to be altogether unnecessary.

marks on the
tion given in
port of the
ements made
s Government
ia at the re-
of the Com-
a for the pro-
a of evidence.

26. The Commission in paragraphs 8 to 22 of the Report, in describing the character and source of the evidence on which they based their conclusions, have described the arrangements which were made by the Government of India for the production of evidence and have published in Volume V of the Proceedings the correspondence which passed between the Government of India and the Commission regarding the charges made by Mr. Wilson in India, with the Government of India Resolution No. 3910-Ex., dated 8th September 1893, regarding the appointment of the Royal Commission, and the course of the enquiry, and other letters which they apparently considered were of special importance as showing the nature of the action which was actually taken by the Government of India. Some letters, however, which appear to have a material bearing upon the questions discussed in this portion of the Report have not been published, and to make the record more complete we now forward them as Appendix E to this despatch. The description given in the Report of the arrangements made and the action taken by the Government of India at the request of the Commission is accurate and is also sufficiently complete, and unless Your Lordship wishes us to reply in detail to Mr. Wilson's charges we consider it unnecessary to recapitulate the facts.

We have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servants,

(Signed) ELGIN.

" G. S. WHITE.

" A. E. MILLER.

" J. WESTLAND.

" A. MACKENZIE.

" A. C. TREVOR.

Schedule of Papers.

Appendix A.—Correspondence on the subject of the introduction of a system of direct dealing with the poppy cultivators in Bhabar—

1. Letter from the Government of Bengal, to the Government of India, No. 17-T. R., dated 18th April 1895, and enclosures.
2. Letter from the Government of India, to the Government of Bengal, No. 4206-S. R., dated 30th August 1895.

Appendix B.—Collection of extracts from replies, received to the interrogatories issued by the Royal Opium Commission, from the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong and China, bearing upon the question of the relative effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating.

Appendix C.—Extracts from opinions recently expressed in Excoise and Opium Reports by Local Governments and by officers in charge of the Excise Administration in different Provinces as to the affect which has been produced upon the habit of opium-smoking in India by the prohibition of the consumption of opium upon licensed premises.

Appendix D.—Replies from Members of the Consular service in China and Corea to the three following questions issued by the Royal Opium Commission, and lists classifying the evidence of the Members of the Consular service, private medical practitioners and merchants resident in China and medical officers of the Consulates and Imperial Maritime customs :—

1. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers ?
2. What are the proportions of those who use opium (i) without injury ; (ii) with slight injury ; (iii) with great injury (opium sets) ?
3. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium ?

Appendix E.—Correspondence referred to in paragraph 26 of the despatch :—

1. Letter from the Chairman of the Royal Opium Commission, to the Honourable Mr. Westland, dated 8th December 1893.
2. Letter from the Honourable Mr. Westland, to the Chairman of the Royal Opium Commission, dated 8th December 1893.
3. Memorandum of an interview on the 11th December 1893 between Lord Brassey and the Honourable Mr. Westland.
4. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 5557-Ex., dated 21st December 1893.
5. Letter from the Royal Opium Commission, to the Government of India, dated 12th January 1894.
6. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 293-Ex., dated 16th January 1894.
7. Letter from the Royal Opium Commission, to the Government of India, dated 23rd January 1894.
8. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 530, dated 29th January 1894.

9. Correspondence regarding the production of evidence from Hyderabad and Berar—

- (a) Letter from the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 5023-Ex., dated 20th November 1893.
- (b) Letter from the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to the Resident at Hyderabad, No. 4063-L., dated 29th November 1893.
- (c) Letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, to the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 303, dated 4th December 1893.
- (d) Letter from the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, to the Resident at Hyderabad, No. 5425-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.
- (e) Letter from the Royal Opium Commission, to the Government of India, dated 8th December 1893.
- (f) Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 5424-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.
- (g) Letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, to the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 428, dated 28th December 1893.

10. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 354-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

11. Letter from the Government of India, to the Government of Madras, No. 355-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

Appendix A to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

Correspondence on the subject of the introduction of a system of direct dealing with the poppy cultivators in Behar.

No. 17-T. R., dated 18th April 1895.

From—C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to submit, for the consideration and orders of the Government of India,

This Government's letter to Board, No. 5423-O., a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, dated the 7th December 1894, on the subject of the substitution of the Benares or the *asamiwar* system of dealing direct with the opium cultivators in the place of the system of dealing through intermediaries, called *khatadars*, now in force in Behar.

2. It is within the recollection of the Government of India that the Opium Commission of 1883 strongly recommended the extension to Behar of the Benares system, holding that no reform was more imperatively called for and more likely to be beneficial than the general introduction of a system of *asamiwar* payment. The Government of Bengal reported on the question to the Government of India in its letter No. 980-T. R., dated the 28th June 1884, and again in paragraph 29 of its letter No. ²⁶⁰⁰/₁₃₀₀ dated the 18th December 1886. Sir Rivers Thompson, while supporting the change on principle, was of opinion that it could not be introduced without a cadastral survey of Behar, and that it would be impossible to deal with the cultivators through middlemen in regard to advances, if they were dealt with direct in regard to payments for opium brought into weighment. The increased cost of establishment was also an argument against any change. In paragraph 6 of their letter No. 5685, dated 26th October 1887, the Government of India said that, before considering the question, they would await the result of the deliberations then contemplated regarding the system of payments through middlemen, which was not in accordance with the law. The result was a recommendation in this Government's letter No. ²⁸⁰³/₁₅₁₀, dated 8th August 1888, to continue the Benares and Behar systems in the respective Agencies, but to modify the form of license given for cultivation of opium in Behar. Nothing further has been done in the direction of introducing the *asamiwar* system in Behar (though Mr. Stevens suggested its trial experimentally in one sub-division in 1892—a suggestion which was not adopted) except in the Barhi subdivision of the Hazaribagh district, where it is actually working successfully, the *khatadars* having refused to take settlements. The opium area in this subdivision is, however, small.

3. During his tour in Behar during the last cold weather the matter was prominently brought to the notice of Sir Charles Elliott. His Honour was led to doubt whether any such large increase of establishment as was feared would really be requisite in order to distribute money separately to cultivators whose produce has already been separately weighed and recorded, and he passed orders to the Board of Revenue (Government order No. 5423-O., dated 7th December 1894), directing the introduction of the Benares system experimentally in two or three subdivisions in Behar. The Board of Revenue have now submitted a report on the subject (their letter No. 147-B., dated the 19th February 1895), remonstrating against making any such experiment, and recommending that a reference should be made to the Government of India on the whole question. The Lieutenant-Governor, on further consideration, agrees with their proposal, and the Board have accordingly been desired to hold the orders of 7th December 1894 in abeyance. I am now desired to lay before the Government of India the Lieutenant-Governor's recommendation on the general question of abolishing or modifying the Behar system of dealing with opium cultivators.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the opinion quoted above from the Opium Commission's report in 1883, and has been much impressed by the argument of the injustice to the good cultivators summed up in paragraph 2 (II) of my letter dated the 7th December 1894 to the address of the Board. He thinks it very desirable, with a view to making opium cultivation more popular and more profitable, to do away with that injustice, and recommends that an inquiry should be instituted as to the best means of carrying out this purpose. It is true that it is a very troublesome matter to meddle with opium cultivation at all, on account of the large financial interests involved, but the present seems to be a favourable time for considering a change for the reasons mentioned below:—

- (1) The outcome of the Royal Opium Commission's report will set people's minds at rest as regards the permanency of the department so far as administrative interference is concerned.

(2) The price of crude opium has lately been raised.

(3) There is reason to expect a crop above the average. Should this anticipation be in any unexpected way upset, the proposed inquiry should be postponed till a good crop is realized.

5. The object of the proposed enquiry should be to decide what modifications should be made in the Bengal *khatadari* system. The argument as to the absence of cadastral field maps used by this Government in its letter No. ²⁹⁰⁰1300, dated the 18th December 1886, addressed to the Government of India, may be passed over. The Lieutenant-Governor does not understand that much (if any) use is made of these maps in the Benares Agency, and, if they can be used, they will soon be ready for the use of the officers in North Bihar. His Honour agrees with the remarks of the Board on this subject in paragraph 13 of their letter of the 19th February 1895.

6. The view which the Lieutenant-Governor desires to submit to the Government of India is that the *khatadari* system should not be abolished, but should be made optional. It is a system which is useful for those who cultivate very small patches of land and produce very small quantities of opium; it would not be worth their while to save the *khatadar's* commission and substitute personal attendance at the Opium Office for the purpose of receiving money at the time of advances and weighments, the sums to be received being so small. But the substantial and permanent cultivators, who produce a considerable quantity of opium, would undoubtedly prefer to undergo this trouble in order to receive the sums due to them, undiminished by the *khatadar's* commission. Sir Charles Elliott would therefore propose that dependence on, or independence of, the *khatadar* should be optional, and that the Opium Office should keep two lists—one showing the names of those cultivators who prefer to be dealt with direct, and the other showing the names of those who would wish to be dealt with through a *khatadar*.

7. The next point for consideration is, what terms should be offered to the *khatadars* to induce them to undertake this less remunerative business. The remuneration at present received by the *khatadars* is stated in paragraph 7 of this Government's letter to the Board of Revenue of the 7th December 1894. The rate per maund now paid by Government is Re. 1. This rate would, no doubt, have to be increased, though it is doubtful whether it need be increased to Rs. 4, as was originally recommended by the Opium Commission.

8. The variation between the amount allowed on account of scrapings (*kurchan*) in the two Agencies (the Benares rate being more than three times the Bihar rate) is remarkable. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the rate should be reduced to an equality, being taken at the average of the quantity which does actually remain in the pots after a scraping identical in severity. This would be paid by Government to the *khatadar*.

9. The question of *kharcha*, or commission proper, to be paid by the cultivators to the *khatadar* for his trouble, in representing them and distributing the advances, and making payments during the weighments to those who place themselves under his wing is the most difficult of all. Paragraphs 7 and 8 of Mr. Hopkins' letter No. 20, dated 11th January 1895 (enclosed), show how much the *kharcha* varies, and how little cause there is for such variation. It is doubtful also how much of it reaches the *khatadar* and how much is intercepted by the *amlas*. All officers whom the Lieutenant-Governor has consulted during his tour agree in the belief that a good deal, if not all, is so intercepted. The advice which His Honour has received from Mr. Tytler, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Aliganj, one of the most experienced officers of the department, is to leave it alone and refuse to recognize it. Mr. Tytler considers that the cultivators will settle it best with the *khatadar*. He mentioned that within his knowledge the rate of *kharcha* had been considerably lowered by competition in his subdivision in the parts where the cultivation is large and well established; it used to be Re. 1 and had been gradually brought down, by rival *khatadars* offering to take the work at a lower rate, to annas 8. On the other hand, the Lieutenant-Governor gathers from what he has learned from Mr. Tytler and other officers that to a great extent the rate is influenced by the greed of the *amlas*, who conspire with the *khatadar* to raise it when the officer of the subdivision is careless or ignorant.

10. The Bihar Agent, in paragraph 8 of his letter of 11th January 1895, has suggested some of the causes which lead to variation in the rate of *kharcha*, and though one of them, *vis.*, liability to supply *rasad* (supplies) to officers on tour, ought to be eliminated, such elements as distance from the office and the instability of the class of cultivators are permanent causes of variation in the expenses which a *khatadar* is liable to, and which must be considered in fixing his commission. The recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor is, therefore, that a small Committee of experienced departmental officers should be appointed in the slack season, who should inquire into the facts in each subdivision and lay down a working and reasonable rate of commission.

11. Lastly, with regard to the increased establishment which will be required by the introduction of the proposed change, I am to refer the Government of India to my letter dated 7th December 1894, which will show that in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, at the time that letter was written, the increase need not be very large; and though the

Bihar Agent's estimate is larger and the Board's much larger, Sir Charles Elliott is not satisfied that the extra work entailed by the change proposed will be by any means so great as to justify the anticipated demand for increased establishment. The accounts, both of advances and weighments, are now kept for each cultivator separately. The change is only that of making the payments separately, and that, too, not in all cases, but only in the case of those who elect to deal with Government direct. It was with a view to test this problem that the Lieutenant-Governor desired to introduce the Benares system experimentally, and he still thinks that, if the Government of India approve the changes in the system, increase of establishment should be sanctioned in a quite experimental way, and not broadcast and in permanence. No doubt the comparison drawn by the Board (paragraph 10) between the official staff of the Benares and Patna Agencies supports their view on the hypothesis that the North-Western Provinces staff is not excessive. The corollary to His Honour's view, should it be confirmed by experience, would be that that staff is excessive and might be reduced.

12. These questions are intricate and difficult, and it is impossible for the Lieutenant-Governor to do more than to state the impressions he has formed, and to suggest that if, in the opinion of the Government of India, a convenient time has come for dealing with this important question, a small Committee of enquiry should be formed to visit each opium sub-division in Bengal, and report their conclusions on the following heads :—

- (1) What number of cultivators would prefer to deal with Government direct, what number would prefer to remain under the wing of a representative, and what quantity of opium each class represents?
- (2) In the case of the class which remains under the *khataadar*, what remuneration should be offered to him to compensate him for his trouble in the form of—
 - (a) Commission per maund, to be paid by Government,
 - (b) Scrapings (average of actuals) to be paid by Government, and
 - (c) Commission or *kharcha* to be paid by the cultivators at a rate per rupee of payment for crude opium delivered?
- (3) What increase of establishment would be required in each subdivision, and what additional office buildings?

No. 5423, dated 7th December 1894.

From—C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department. 4
To—The Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P., Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

With reference to the orders contained in the concluding portion of paragraph I of this Government's Resolution No. 2208, dated the 20th April 1894, on the Board's Opium Administration Report for the year 1892-93, regarding the substitution of the Benares system of dealing direct with the opium cultivators, called the *asamiwar* system, for the *khataadari* system, or the system of dealing through intermediaries called *khataadars* now in force in Bihar, I am directed to say that, in the course of his recent tour, the Lieutenant-Governor took the opportunity of considering on the spot the relative merits of the two systems. I am now to communicate the following orders of Government.

2. The two systems may be compared in their main features as follows :—

- (I) The *khataadar* gives in a list of *raiyats* who propose to grow opium, and receives advances for them all in a lump sum. The result is that a *khataadar* frequently inserts fictitious *raiyats* in the list, draws advances for them, and uses this sum as a loan without interest till he has to repay it at weighment time. In the North-Western Provinces each *raiyat* receives his own advance separately.
- (II) At weighment time, although it appears that each *raiyat's* opium is separately weighed and recorded, and that he is given a receipt for it, nevertheless payment is made to the *khataadar* in a lump sum. If there are fictitious *raiyats* on the list, or men who cultivated badly, or whose cultivation is only nominal, or a colourable pretext for obtaining an advance, the deficit on the advances made to them is deducted from the surplus earned by good *raiyats*, whose outturn exceeds their advances. In the North-Western Provinces each man is separately paid, and the good do not suffer for the bad. The fact that they do so in Bihar is the chief argument against the *khataadari* system, and was represented to the Lieutenant-Governor as being one of the causes for the decrease in the area under opium and the outturn obtained, the best cultivators being discouraged and disgusted.

3. With regard to point I, it may be urged that the insertion in the *khataadar's* list of fictitious *raiyats*, or of *raiyats* whose cultivation is only a pretence, might be prevented if the

amla, who are bound to measure every plot of opium land, did their work thoroughly, and were efficiently supervised by the superior staff. But it was represented to His Honour that only the best and most zealous officers carry out the system thoroughly, and that in many cases the measurements made by the amla are not checked at all. I am therefore to request that an order may be issued by the Board requiring that every officer of the superior staff should enter in his annual report the number of check measurements made by him. The annual report of the Opium Agent to the Board, and the Board's Report to Government, should contain a table of the following character:—

NAME OF OFFICER.	NUMBER OF CHECK MEASUREMENTS MADE.			Number of cases in which the testing officer finds that the raiyat has not cultivated opium, or has only made a pretence of doing so.	REMARKS.
	Number of villages.	Number of raiyats.	Number of plots.		
1	2	3	4	5	6

4. As regards point II, His Honour was informed that, though the deficit due by the bad cultivators is first made good out of the surplus due to the good cultivators, the case is not as bad as it looks, as it is customary for the khatadar to help the good cultivator to recover what may be due to him from the bad cultivator out of his next crop, or out of any other property he possesses. But this depends on the good will of the khatadar, and he is not bound to give such help.

5. Sir Charles Elliott has no predilection for change for its own sake, and, though he has long been of opinion that the asamiwar system in force in the North-Western Provinces is the best, he has refrained hitherto from taking steps to introduce it in Bihar. It has now, however, been represented to him that the great and continuous decrease in the area under poppy (which the rise in price of crude opium has not arrested) is mainly due to the evils of the khatadari system, and that, if that system is changed, the area for cultivation may increase, and the cultivation of poppy may again become popular among the best class of cultivators. His Honour accordingly directs that the asamiwar system be introduced experimentally this year in two or three selected places in Bihar. The conduct of the experiments should be entrusted to officers who have a thorough knowledge of that system, and believe it to be the best. He understands that there are three such officers* now stationed at Motihari, Patna, and Hajipur.

* Mr. A. C. Bryson. | Mr. H. Blair.
Mr. W. J. F. Currie.

6. It is presumed that the introduction of the asamiwar system in Bihar will necessitate some increase of temporary establishment. The enquiries made by the Lieutenant-Governor have led him to believe that the effect will be that the superior staff should be increased by 50 per cent. while making advances, and by 100 per cent. while making weighments. Where one officer now takes two months over advances and six weeks over weighments, he would require a temporary assistant for one month for the increased work involved in making the advances separately to raiyats, and for six weeks at the weighment season for the purpose of making separate payments. It may also be necessary to increase the ministerial staff, but not to any great extent, as the accounts are already kept in separate detail, only the payments being made in the lump. An estimate should be made of the probable requirements.

7. It does not seem necessary that the name of khatadar should be changed, or that his position or remuneration should be materially altered. He now receives—

- (a) Rupee one per maund outturn from Government.
- (b) Khurchan or scrapings at a maximum rate of 4 chitaks per maund (or Re. 1-8) which is deducted from the cultivator.
- (c) Kharcha at annas 8 per bigha in some parts, though it rises to Re. 1-8 or even higher in others, paid by the cultivator.

Here (a) and (b) have a good effect as increasing the khatadar's interest in the outturn, though it is urged that the (b) payments should be borne by Government, not by the cultivators. But (c) is objectionable, as it does not depend on the outturn or on good cultivation, and seems subject to arbitrary variations. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to be furnished with a report showing what the rate of kharoba in each subdivision is, and what justification there is for the variations which may exist.

No. 147-B., dated 19th February 1895.

From—N. K. Bose, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P.,
To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government order No. 5423 (Opium), dated 7th December 1894, regarding the substitution of the *asamiwari* system for the *khatadari* system of opium cultivation now in force in Bihar, and to submit the following report.

2. I am to point out that the description given in paragraph 2 of the Government order of the main features of the systems prevailing in the Benares and the Bihar Agencies is not strictly accurate. The systems which prevailed in the Agencies prior to 1883 have been described in Chapters V and IX of the Report of the Commission of that year on the working of the Opium Department, and may be summarized as follows:—

Settlements in both Agencies were made with a sort of village foreman called a *khatadar* in Bihar and a *lambardar* in Benares. The *khatadar* or *lambardar* in both Agencies received and distributed all advances, and in the Benares Agency represented the cultivators on all occasions except at the final weighing of the opium and settlements of the year's accounts, and in Bihar on these occasions also. In return he got the scrapings (*khurkhan*) of the cultivators' opium pots at weighing time and a fee varying from 1½ annas to Rs. 2-8 per bigha of poppy cultivation, the receipt of which, though illegal, was overlooked by the Department. The agreement to cultivate was therefore made by the opium officer with the *khatadar* or *lambardar* and the advance was given to him for distribution among the cultivators whom he represented. In the Benares Agency, the *lambardar's* application to engage for so much land was tested by a system of maps and records of land fit for opium in the particular village; but in Bihar no such test was available, enquiries by the zillahdars and comparison by the gumashtas of the results of these enquiries with the records of past years, insufficiently supplying its place. When the *lambardar's* application for leave to cultivate so much land was approved in Benares, and when the *sillahdar's* lists were passed in Bihar, a license was given to the *lambardar* or *khatadar*, as the case might be, a *kabuliyat* and security-bond taken from him, and the advance given.

In Benares each cultivator was paid the sum due to him under the direct supervision of the gazetted officer in charge, while in Bihar payment was made *khatadar*, the total amount due to the raiyats on a *khata* being made over to the *khatadar* for distribution among them.

3. A question was raised by the Opium Commission as to the validity of the engagements entered into for the cultivation of the poppy under the prevailing practice in both the Agencies of granting licenses, not to the actual cultivators, but to middlemen or representative raiyats, and on the suggestion of the Board a conference was held to discuss the question of placing the existing practice on a legal footing. In their letter No. 970-B., dated 30th December 1887, the Board reported to Government the recommendations that had been made by the conference on the subject, which were briefly to continue the *lambardari* and *khatadari* system, but to adopt a form of license for each individual cultivator which would be signed by the officer in charge and made over to the cultivators concerned, and also a form of counterpart or *kabuliyat* to be executed by the cultivator individually and by all the cultivators of one *khata* jointly, as might be found convenient.

4. There have been no other changes of any importance in the systems of cultivation and payment since 1882. The systems now in practice in both Agencies were described as follows in a note prepared for the Opium Commission of 1893-94:—

"The poppy plant is cultivated under a system of licenses and advances made through a headman, known in the Bihar Agency as the *khatadar*, and in the Benares Agency as the *lambardar*, chosen by the cultivators in one or more villages. When the villages are large, two or more headmen may be employed in each; when the villages are small or the cultivation scattered, one headman may represent two or more villages. The first operation of the opium year (1st September to 31st August) is the 'settlement' or engagement with the cultivators for a certain amount of land to be sown with poppy. The *lambardar* in Benares and the *khatadar* in Bihar when coming in to engage, brings with him a list of the cultivators who have agreed with him to grow opium. Either then or at some future time when the list of actual cultivators who have received advances is complete, licenses are prepared for each individual cultivator and signed by the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent or his Assistant, filled up according to the names in the final list, for distribution to the cultivators engaging. Forms of counterpart are also issued to the *lambardar* or *khatadar*, as the case may be, in the same way, and he is held responsible for having them filled up and returned to the opium officer either personally or through the *khottas* staff. In some divisions, and generally throughout the Benares Agency, the cultivators come in themselves to engage, and in such cases the issue of the license and execution of the counterpart is effected direct. Though the cultivator's licenses are granted separately and individually, all the cultivators under one *khatadar* are allowed, for the sake of convenience, to execute jointly one counterpart or *kabuliyat*, as it is locally known, the signatures being duly attested. The advances are distributed to the cultivators in the Bihar Agency principally through the *khatadars*, but in the Benares Agency, where the system of dealing directly with the cultivators themselves is more fully in vogue, the payments are made to the cultivators direct, as far as is possible. These advances are adjusted at the time of delivery of the opium.

"As regards payment for the drug, it is *asamiwari* in the Benares and *khatadari* in the Bihar Agency."

It will be observed from the above summary that as regards settlements and advances the *lambardar* plays an important part in the Benares Agency, and even if the *asamiwari*

system of weighment and payment is introduced in Bihar, we shall have still to deal with the cultivators through the *khatadars* for settlements and advances.

5. In paragraph 674 of their report the Opium Commission of 1883 recommended that each cultivator should be paid for the opium which he delivers. No reform was, in their opinion, more imperatively called for and more likely to be beneficial than the general introduction of a system of *asamiwari* payments. The Board in paragraph 17 of their letter No. 173-B., dated 5th March 1885, showed the difficulties in the way of introducing the Benares system in Bihar. In paragraph 17 of their letter they said—

“Paragraph 17.—I am to state that the Board are of opinion that there will be considerable difficulty at first in introducing the *asamiwar* system, but when introduced it will assuredly become popular, as the evils of the *khatadari* system are patent to everybody in Bihar. The Board do not see how the payments can be made *asamiwar* and the settlements and advances for cultivation *khatadari* at the same time. If this were done the contingency of certain payments having still to be made through the *khatadar* would continue to exist, and a double system of the kind could not succeed. The proposal of the Bihar Agent for gradually introducing the Commission's proposals would not, the Board are afraid, secure the desired result. The *khatadar* and his *asamis* 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 *gumsatta*; and the *khatadar* with a personal demand on an *asami* 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.”

6. The Government of Bengal, while convinced of the desirability of the change on principle, did not consider the existing circumstances or the time opportune for introducing it. In addressing the Government of India on the question they wrote as follows in their letter No. 2600—130-O., dated 18th December 1886, paragraph 29:—

“This important question was discussed by the Lieutenant-Governor in paragraphs 36 and 37 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter of the 28th June 1881, 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 Bihar 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 *khatadari* arrangements of Bihar in a day without serious risks. The proposals of the Commission include an increase in the cost of establishment for which there would be no immediate return. There is also much force in the objection made by the Board to the tentative measure advocated by the Bihar 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 a good many other departments. If the cadastral survey of Bihar is ever resumed, it will then be advisable to make an attempt to assimilate the Bihar system to that of the Benares Agency; but till then the Lieutenant-Governor is reluctantly compelled to recommend the postponement of the scheme.”

7. The recommendations made in the Board's letter No. 970-B., dated 30th December 1887, with a view to bring the practice of granting licenses for the cultivation of poppy into conformity with the existing law, and referred to in paragraph 3 of this letter, were approved by Government and their adoption sanctioned in Government order No. 2602—150-O., dated 8th August 1888. Nothing further appears to have been done towards the introduction of the *asamiwar* system in the Bihar Agency until May 1892, when Mr. Stevens suggested that an attempt should be made to introduce the system in the Motihari Sub-Agency in the first instance, but after a careful consideration of the subject the suggestion was not acted upon. The Board in their letter No. 578-B., dated 1st August 1892, to the Government of Bengal, gave their opinion as follows regarding the question of introducing any change at that particular period,—*i.e.*, before the Opium Commission Act:—

“The Board consider that the Bihar system is worked well and economically; that the claims and liabilities of each individual cultivator are well understood by all parties concerned, and are capable of ready adjustment in any case where disputes may arise. The adoption in Bihar of the more elaborate system of payments to individual cultivators and the more prolonged and considerably more expensive system of weighments under temporary European agency and of audit under a large staff of clerks is therefore, in their opinion, unnecessary. The Government policy in Bihar should, the Board think, be to keep all the cultivators it can without causing stir and excitement.”

8. Intimately connected with the question of introduction of the *asamiwari* system of payment into the Bihar Agency is the question of *khurchan* and *kharcha* referred to in paragraph 7 of the Government order under reply. The Opium Commission in paragraph 248, page 92, and paragraphs 683-84, pages 266-67, of their report advocated the abolition of both *khurchan* and *kharcha*, and in order to compensate the *khatadars* and *lambardars* for the loss they would sustain by this measure, they recommended that the commission of Rs. 1 per maund of opium paid to them should be raised to Rs. 4, equivalent to 2 per cent. on the price of opium at Rs. 5 per seer.

The Government of Bengal, in paragraph 36 of their letter No. 2600—130-O., dated 18th December 1886, to the Government of India, reported on the subject as follows:—

“*Kharcha*, which is confined to Bihar, is a *cess* paid by the cultivators to the *khatadars*, and eventually it is shared between the *khatadars* and the *kothewallahs*. The rate varies from 12 annas to Rs. 2-8 per bigha, and the whole sum is supposed not to fall short of four lakhs of rupees. *Khurchan*, or the final scrapings of the cultivators' plates, is a recognised perquisite of the *lambardar*. The maximum rate allowed is 14 chittacks per maund of opium. In Bihar the *khatadar* who gets *kharcha* is comparatively indifferent about the *khurchan* and receives much less on this account than the *lambardar* in Benares. The latter who gets no *kharcha*, that *cess* being unknown in the Benares Agency, insists upon his scrapings, and in some divisions his main remuneration is derived from this source. In 1881-82 the *khatadars* in Bihar received about Rs. 56,000, or Rs. 2 each on account of *khurchan*, while the Benares *lambardars* received about Rs. 1,80,000, or Rs. 6 each

in this way. The *lambardars* in both Agencies receive from Government a commission of Rs. 1 a maund for all good opium delivered by their assanis, the aggregate annual amount of which averages about Rs. 1,00,000. In the Benares Agency *kurchan* appears to be regarded as a grievance by the cultivators, and the Commission received numerous complaints in regard to it, but the Bihar raiyats acquiesce in both cases, and proffered no objection before the Commission. The Opium Commission recommended that the levy of both *khurcha* and *kurchan* be forbidden, and that the commission paid by Government to the *lambardars* should be raised from Rs. 1 to Rs. 4 a maund. The amount of commission drawn annually by the *lambardars* being estimated at an average of a lakh of rupees, the adoption of this proposal would entail an additional cost of three lakhs a year on Government. The Opium Commission insists strongly on the necessity of the reform, which, they say, could be carried out without difficulty in the Benares Agency, though in Bihar the suppression of *khurcha* could only be effected by resolute determination on the part of Government and its officers. In paragraph 39 of his letter of 28th June 1884, Sir Rivers Thomson remarked that the system as described by the Commission cannot be defended, and that our efforts should be directed to its abolition. It appears, however, that the raiyats, even after the deduction of the dues of the middlemen, get a fair price for their opium, and at present at least more of the drug than is required can be got on the terms now offered. It would therefore be a mere waste of public money to give away three lakhs of rupees without receiving some equivalent.

9. The question now raised in your letter under reply is whether, in view of the decrease in the area under opium in Bihar and in the outturn obtained, the time has now come to do away with the *khattadari* system and introduce the Benares system in its stead, and orders have issued for the introduction of the system experimentally in three selected sub-agencies. The Board respectfully submit that the proposed experiment will prove nothing and lead to nothing, and that it would be unwise to risk unsettling the minds of both raiyats and *khattadars* by the introduction of what, after all, will be a mere imitation of the Benares system as a temporary measure, and without a thorough revision of the whole system.

10. The Board fully admit the advantages of the Benares system, but it can only be introduced into Bihar provided the permanent staff is largely increased.

In paragraph 676 of their report the Opium Commission stated that the introduction of the Benares system into Bihar involved the appointment of a permanent assistant to each sub-agency in Bihar. Taking the last year of report, 1892-93, there were 364,364 bighas of net cultivation in Bihar and 341,028 in Benares, or practically the same amount; and 40,338 maunds of opium were obtained from the former and 42,970 from the latter, again practically nearly the same; while to work these agencies, the staff in Bihar consisted of 21 officers, of whom 11 were Sub-Deputy Agents and 9 Assistants, and in Benares of 45 men, of whom 16 were Sub-Deputy Agents and 29 Assistants. We have, therefore, more than double the staff in the Benares Agency, but with a considerably larger proportion of Assistants; and it would be impossible to work the Benares system in Bihar with a smaller proportion of officers.

In order to introduce the system it would be necessary to increase the number of sub-agencies in Bihar by at least four. The Agent says that he would require ten more Assistants; but this number would not, in the opinion of the Board, be sufficient, and the actual increase would be 15 or 16. If the Department is increased by this number of officers, the grades would also have to be revised, so as to secure the necessary amount of promotion. At present the average number of years' service of an opium officer, on attaining the rank of Sub-Deputy, is eighteen years, and it would be unwise to take any steps which would tend to lengthen this term. It would, therefore, in the opinion of the Board, be absolutely necessary to increase not only the number of Assistants in the Department, but also the number of officers in the higher grades.

If this increase is made, a certain amount of weightments may safely be entrusted to temporary officers, as is done now in the Benares Agency; but it would be most risky to attempt to introduce the Benares system, relying only on the present staff and on such temporary men as could be engaged. The number of weightment centres would also have to be increased. There are at present 33 such centres in Benares and 25 in Bihar. Each centre would cost about Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000.

11. The Board further beg to point out that the proposal to make payments *assanivar* in Bihar involves depriving the *khattadar* of his *khurcha*, which is generally levied from the cultivators when payments for opium are made and the annual accounts of cultivators adjusted. If the payments are made direct to the cultivators, the *khattadars* will have to opportunity of keeping back their perquisites. In order, therefore, that the *khattadars* may be with us, and not against us, they must be compensated for the loss accruing to them on account of the abolition of the *khurcha*, either by an increase in the rate of *kurchan*, or in the rate of commission. In the Benares Agency *kurchan* is regarded as a grievance by the cultivators, and while we may be able to propitiate the *khattadars* by increasing the rate of *kurchan*, we run a very great risk of displeasing the raiyats. In order, therefore, that both the *khattadars* and cultivators may look with complacency on any change in the existing system that may be thought necessary, we must increase the rate of commission at least from Rs. 1 to Rs. 4 per maund of opium delivered. This will involve an increase of Rs. 1,50,000 for an outturn of 50,000 maunds in the payment of the *khattadar's* commission.

12. For the above reasons the Board would urge that the orders given should be withdrawn as regards the present season, and that before any change is attempted the Government of India should be asked whether they are willing to entertain proposals for the introduction of the Benares system or of an improved Benares system into Bihar. The Board believe that in the end the reformation would repay Government from the increased return of opium and the reduction of trade in illicit opium which would necessarily follow, but there would necessarily be a period of transition which would involve a loss, and this would have to be faced. If the Government of India will entertain such proposals, the Board would suggest that orders should issue for the preparation of detailed proposals and estimates which could be submitted within a period of three or four months, and orders could be passed on them before the next season. The Board, as at present constituted, agree fully with the opinion of the Board expressed in 1885 and quoted in paragraph 5 of this letter, and are of opinion that the change should be entire and immediate and not gradual. If introduced gradually, it will be impossible to get rid of the evils of the *khattadari* system, and the result will be the introduction of the expensive parts of the Benares system combined with the retention of much of the existing system. A full revision of the system of perquisites is absolutely necessary, and until this is done no change will be really effectual. Holding these views the details of the proposals now made by the Opium Agent are not discussed at length, as the Board are entirely opposed to a partial introduction of the change. Generally, however, it may be remarked that the proposals of the Opium Agent are on the side of economy.

13. The Board do not hold that it is necessary to wait for the completion of the cadastral survey to introduce the Benares system. If the number of officers were increased, it would be more easy to prepare cultivation maps in Bihar than it was to do so in Benares, as the cultivation in Bihar is much more compact and less scattered.

14. The Board have gone into this question at such length, because they desire to place before Government the fact that the introduction of the Benares system of weighments will not of itself cure the evils complained of by Sir Charles Elliott, but that a far more drastic and extensive reform is required. If only reform in weighments is introduced, we risk the opposition of the whole body of *khattadars* and a possible collapse of the cultivation in Bihar. This is too serious a matter to be gone into without fully counting the cost. The reform may take the form of abandoning the *khattadars* altogether, and thus going beyond the Benares system, or of retaining them on the Benares lines; but in either case the matter must be gone into fully and all risks weighed before any steps are taken. Approximately, and very roughly, the Board would estimate the expenditure on new buildings at about Rs. 84,000, including sites, and the additional expenditure on permanent staff at under a lakh a year, and on temporary staff at about Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 35,000 a year. It is more difficult to estimate the expenditure which would be necessary in doing away with perquisites, but it may be safely stated that it will not be less than one and a half lakhs a year, and probably not more than three lakhs. These sums, though in themselves large, are not a large percentage on the opium expenditure, and, as above remarked, they would probably be equalled in the course of a very few years by the increased receipts from opium.

15. As regards the inquiry made in the latter portion of paragraph 7 of the Government letter under reply, I am to say that the Opium Agent, whose letter is forwarded herewith, has been able to furnish very little reliable information. There is, the Board think, no legal justification for *khurcha*, much less for the variations in the rate which exist in the different sub-divisions.

No. 20, dated the 11th January 1895.

From—J. A. HOPKINS, Esq., C.S., Opium Agent of Bihar,
To—The Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

In reply to your No. 532-B, dated the 12th of December, forwarding No. 5423, dated the 7th December, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and requesting me to submit an estimate of the probable requirements necessary for the introduction of the assami-war system of poppy cultivation in Bihar, and also a report showing the rate of *khurcha* in each sub-division, and what justification there is for the variations which exist, I have the honour to state that I would apologise for the delay which has taken place in submitting this report; it has been unavoidable, for all my subordinates have been in camp.

2. I have consulted the officers named in paragraph 5 of His Honour's note, and I give below a brief *précis* of each of the reports.

Motihari.—Mr. A. C. Bryson has first stated what he considers necessary for the strengthening of his permanent staff.

Name of Kothi.	Present ministerial permanent staff.	Number of poppy villages.	Area in bighas under cultivation.	Proposed addition to the permanent ministerial staff.
1	2	3	4	5
Doomaria	1 Gumashta . . . 1 Muharrir . . . 4 Mutsuddes . . . 26 Zilladars . . . 4 Burkundazes . . .	572	24,503	1 Gumashta. 1 Muharrir. 4 Burkundazes.
Dacca	1 Gumashta . . . 1 Muharrir . . . 3 Mutsuddes . . . 19 Zilladars . . . 4 Burkundazes . . .	344	19,500	No addition to the ministerial staff.
Adapur	1 Gumashta . . . 1 Muharrir . . . 2 Mutsuddes . . . 15 Zilladars . . . 4 Burkundazes . . .	281	13,500	Ditto.

The Kothi Doomaria as well as Dacca are much too large for the staff employed, but as the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent is contented with the increase suggested, I have nothing to say against it. The increase will be permanent, and the following items will make up his cost, *viz.*—

	Rs.
1 Gumashta, 3rd grade, Rs. 30 per mensem	360
1 Muharrir, Rs. 8 per mensem	96
4 Burkundazes, Rs. 4 per mensem	192
TOTAL	648 per annum.

Mr. Bryson has put down as Rs. 624. He also adds he requires as a permanency an additional Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, equivalent to Rs. 3,000 per annum.

3. If weighments and settlements are conducted as they are in the North-West Provinces, he would require four temporary extra assistants at Rs. 150 per mensem for six weeks; but he adds that if the experiment is to be on a small scale, he would require one assistant only, and no additional temporary ministerial staff. His estimate is not very clear or precise; but I take it that, in order to make an experiment at next weighment on a small scale, Mr. Bryson would require an extra assistant for one month only at a cost of Rs. 150, and no more. But for the introduction of the assamiwar system into his division, he would require an additional expense of—

	Rs.
Mufassal establishment	648
1 Assistant	3,000
4 Extra assistants during weighment and settlements, 2½ months, at Rs. 150 each	1,500
TOTAL	5,148

6. *Patna.*—Mr. H. Blair reports that he would require for the experiment of next weighment one temporary assistant and one muharrir: but if it is eventually decided to introduce the assamiwar system throughout Patna, he would require one permanent gazetted assistant and one temporary assistant during weighments, but no increase in permanent ministerial or menial staff will be necessary; therefore the experiment will cost—

	Rs.
1 Assistant, two months, at Rs. 150 per mensem	300
1 Muharrir, ditto ditto 10 ditto	20
TOTAL	320

The introduction of the assamiwar system will cost—

	Rs.
1 Permanent gazetted assistant	3,000
1 Temporary assistant, two months	300
TOTAL	3,300

I am of opinion this estimate is faulty, and would add to it Rs. 250 for temporary ministerial establishment.

5. *Hajipur*.—Mr. W. Currie writes that for the introduction of the assamiwar system in his sub-agency no increase in the permanent staff will be necessary; he would require a temporary assistant during weighments for two months, and also an assistant for two months for settlements and adjustments: that is, temporary assistants for four months, four temporary muharrirs for two months for settlements and adjustments, six muharrirs for one month during measurement: also two extra assistants to write the check weighment register at the time of weighments, two months if they have to be kept up.

	Rs.
1 Assistant, four months	600
2 Extra assistants, two months, to write check register at weighment	600
4 Muharrirs for adjustment and settlement, for two months	80
6 Measurement muharrirs	60
TOTAL	1,940

It would appear from this that Mr. Currie requires no assistance for assamiwar weighments, unless the check weighment register is introduced. This register would be hardly necessary in an experiment, as there will be many difficulties in the way of writing up the preliminary entries for each assami in each khatta. He has not explained, however, how he intends to write up the acquittance of each raiyat without the check register.

6. It will thus be seen that each of the Sub-Deputy Opium Agents consulted has his own view on the subject; there can be hardly any doubt that Motihari with its *very* large kotees is not a promising field for an experiment of this sort. I believe the North-West Provinces kotees, where the assamiwar system is in vogue, seldom contain more than 8,000 bighas of poppy land. Hajipur and Patna will not be bad fields for the experiment, but I would strongly advocate that if it is decided to introduce the assamiwar system into Bihar, scales of establishment be laid down with reference to the existing state of affairs in the North-Western Provinces, for the sub-agencies in Bihar are so diverse in character and organisation that it is useless to expect that any uniform scale can be evolved from consulting the Sub-Deputy Opium Agents. There should be three scales—

- (1) 8,000 bighas and under.
- (2) Over 8,000 and under 12,000 bighas.
- (3) Over 12,000 bighas.

7. With reference to the khurchoa levied in each sub-agency, and the causes of its variation, I am sorry to be able to give little information.

Patna.—Khurchoa runs from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2 per bigha in the eastern part of the district. In the west from annas 12 to Rs. 1-8.

Hajipur.—Khurchoa is said to run from annas 12 to Rs. 1-4.

Motihari.—It is said to vary from annas 6 to annas 8 per bigha, but the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent adds that khurchoa does not include all perquisites extorted.

Chupra.—Gives no information on the subject of khurchoa.

Monghyr.—Khurchoa is said to vary from annas 12 to Rs. 2.

Shahabad.—Rate varies from annas 12 to Rs. 1-8.

Tehla.—The same.

Aliganj.—Khurchoa is said to be annas 8.

Gaya.—No return of khurchoa given except for Burhi, where it varies from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 2-8.

Bettia.—No report received.

Tirhut.—It varies from annas 8 to Re. 1 per bigha; this khurchoa appears to be levied in different ways, so that in some parts of Tirhut it rises to Rs. 2-8.

8. The causes of the variation in the rate of khurchoa is a subject which has never yet been discussed. Khurchoa is paid as a matter of course by all cultivators as if it were a legal tax, generally without murmur or complaint. Sometimes a new khattadar claims a higher rate and there is a row. Sometimes when the crop fails the raiyats claim to pay on the produce and not on the bigha. The general impression is that the rate has been mutually arranged by the cultivators and the khattadar, and has become a custom. It is found that Rajputs, Brahmans and Babbuns pay little or nothing, whilst Kurmis and Koeris pay the full rate; but whatever is paid in this shape is levied in shape of fees under the pretext of various acts of service performed by the khattadar for the cultivator, and also for payment of rused for Government officers. The rate for rused is dependent largely on the rank and number of officers who pass near the khatta. It would be better if the khattadars are continued, which they seem bound to be under some designation or other, to lay down the fees and rates payable to them by the cultivators. If we do not do this, the person who holds the strings of the purse, himself liable to pressure, is bound to squeeze the cultivator to the full extent in his power, year by year increasing his demands:

the limit of his capacity is fixed only by the patience of his clients, his own prudence and desire to stand well with his neighbours. Either khurcha should be declared illegal, and the deduction of it from the funds in the hands of the khattadars, embezzlement, or it should be recognised as a legal cess, and a scale of fees leviable by the khattadar from the cultivators should be laid down. Thus fees for settlements, that is, when the khattadar represents all the cultivators of his khatta at a settlement, six pies per bigha if the khatta is situated less than five miles from the office and three pies for every five miles more. A similar fee might be leviable at second advances, at weighments and adjustments.

9. Having consulted all the Sub-Deputy Opium Agents of this Agency on the subject of the introduction of the assamiwar system, I find that their estimates of the cost runs for each sub-agency from about Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 1,500 per annum. The chief item of cost is the permanent gazetted staff. Roughly, I should say that we should require at least ten more assistants; their average pay alone would represent about Rs. 30,000 per annum. Temporary establishment would come to another Rs. 10,000. Permanent ministerial and menial officers would cost at least Rs. 5,000. Adding Rs. 1,000 for contingencies I estimate that the total cost would be Rs. 46,000. This estimate is considerably under what I first thought would be necessary, and would probably be susceptible of reduction when the details for each district are given. I have not deemed it necessary to go into details, for in my opinion it is desirable that the experiment suggested by His Honour should be first undertaken. The cost of it, according to reports received from Patna, Motihari and Hajipur, will amount to Rs. 470 only, but this does not include contingencies, which I would put at another Rs. 100, making the total Rs. 570. With this sum sanctioned, I am prepared to undertake the experiment.

10. I would, however, point out that I would not advocate the introduction of the assamiwar system except as an optional system, for I consider the village or katta system preferable. It is less expensive, more expeditious, and, if worked fairly and honestly, preferred by the cultivators themselves. It saves them an immensity of trouble, and enables them to cultivate very small areas, which I am afraid we should lose under the assamiwar system.

I here quote what some of my Sub-Deputy Opium Agents have reported.

Mr. Tytler of Aliganj reports:—

"His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, when on tour, spoke to me on the subject of this letter, and, when asked what I thought would be the proportion of raiyata who would here prefer the assamiwar system, I suggested that half would prefer it, viz., those who had larger areas of good land, and half would dislike it owing to their lands being small in area and poorer. Since then, however, I have made enquiries in the district, and should say 90 per cent. would prefer the present system, because of the inconvenience and loss of having to go in for their advances and payments themselves, for I presume they would have to do so, and as a result all the small plot holders would cut out the lands and probably a certain number of those also who hold not very large plots, thus reducing the area under poppy *very seriously*, and when the full inconvenience began to be felt, I should say the cultivation would fall by 30 per cent. or more, and therefore in reply to question (1) the expected cultivation would be bighas 28,000.

"The principle of the North-Western Provinces system is by far the fairest; but what I wish to point out is that I fear it will not for the reasons given, be popular, and will tend to decrease the cultivation rather than to increase it in this sub-division.

Mr. Parrott of Monghyr reports:—

"In the North-Western Provinces formerly the first advances were always paid in a lump sum, and it is only recently the payments have been made to a certain extent assamiwar, and my own experience of the new system in the North-Western Provinces was that about 50 per cent. of the men did not come in at the time of settlements for assamiwar payments, and also that the lambardars were not nearly so willing to act as lambardars."

Mr. Parrott is of opinion that if it is possible, which he is inclined to think it is not, it would be far better to have only assamiwar licenses and to do away with the khattadar altogether; but he adds:—

"Our operations are too vast, I fear, for such an introduction."

Mr. Christian of Shahabad writes:—

"In order that this system may be a success, we have to deal directly with each individual assami, and this, to my mind, is the greatest difficulty we would have to overcome in inaugurating the system in Behar. The average holding and outturn of raiyat in this Agency are too small to make it worth his while travelling many miles to receive a few rupees. If this is forced on him, he would rather resign the cultivation than continue it."

From these extracts you would see that the officers quoted have something else in their minds than the assamiwar system pure and simple, and it seems to me that it would be far better if Government leaves the matter as it stands, but so alter the rules that it may be optional whether the khatta system of the assamiwar is applied to any village or tract. In the Burhi sub-division in Hazaribagh, a partial application of the assamiwar system has been introduced on the representation of the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent that the khattadars refused to settle and take licenses. The result has been successful so far, and I hope the experiment will throw some light on the subject, which will enable us to further develop it when the time for the next settlements comes round.

No. 1931-O., dated 8th April 1895.

From—N. BONHAM-CARTER, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department,

To—The Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of the Board's No. 147-B., dated the 19th February 1895, submitting a report on the subject of the substitution of the assamiwar system for the khatadari system of opium cultivation now in force in Bihar, and in reply to say that the Lieutenant-Governor agrees in the Board's conclusions summed up in paragraph 12 of their letter, and desires that the orders contained in this office letter No. 5423-O., dated the 7th December 1894, directing the introduction of the assamiwar system experimentally in some selected places in Bihar, should be held in abeyance pending a reference to the Government of India on the whole question, such as the Board recommended.

No. 4206-S.E., dated 30th August 1895.

From—R. M. DARR, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

In continuation of the letter from this Department, No. 3656-S.R., dated 31st July 1895, I am directed to communicate the orders of the Government of India upon the proposals submitted in your letter No. 17-T.E., dated 18th April 1895, for the substitution in the Bihar Agency of the assamiwar system of dealing direct with the poppy cultivators for the existing system of management through khattadars or intermediaries.

2. The general introduction of a system of assamiwar payment was strongly recommended by the Bengal Opium Commission of 1883, and the superiority of the Benares system to that of Bihar was recognised by the Government of Bengal and by the Government of India when the Report of the Commission was under their consideration. The khattadar system was, however, firmly established in Bihar. The introduction of assamiwar payments would have necessitated increased expenditure upon establishments, and the practical difficulties which stood in the way of a change were great. Existing arrangements were therefore allowed to continue, and in the Bihar Agency up to the present time all transactions with the cultivators, including payments for the opium delivered, are conducted through the agency of the khattadars.

3. The defects of the khattadari system were, it is now reported, brought prominently to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor during his tour in Bihar in the past cold weather, and Sir C. Elliott urges strongly the desirability of effecting such reforms as will be sufficient to protect the cultivators from exactions and to secure to the more industrious and capable among them a full return for their labour. The Royal Opium Commission also, in paragraph 192 of their final report, have expressed an opinion to the effect that the full development in the Benares Agency of the system of dealing direct with the cultivators and the extension of the same system to the Bihar Agency are reforms which are desirable in themselves and which are required in the interests of the poppy cultivators. In your letter it appears to be assumed that the system of direct dealing with the cultivators in all matters obtains throughout the Benares Agency, but this, as the Royal Opium Commission have recognised, is not the case. The lambardar, as stated by the Board in paragraph 4 of their letter No. 147-B., dated 19th February 1895, still plays an important part in the negotiation of settlements and distribution of advances to cultivators in that Agency. Payment for opium delivered is, it is said, made separately to each cultivator, and advances are given to the cultivators direct as far as possible, but the system of direct dealing is evidently far from complete, and in considering proposals for reform in the Bihar Agency, it is important that this fact should be borne in mind.

4. His Excellency the Governor General in Council has given careful consideration to the question, and has satisfied himself that some reform is necessary, and that its introduction should not be longer delayed. The Lieutenant-Governor suggests that the khattadari system should not be abolished, but should be made optional, and recommends that to enable Government to arrive at a decision, a Committee of Enquiry should be formed to visit each opium sub-division in the

Bihar Agency and report what number of cultivators would prefer to deal with Government direct, what number wish to remain under khattadars, and what quantity of opium each class represents, and also what remuneration should in future be allowed to khattadars, wherever they may be retained, and what increase of establishment will be required. The suggestion that the khattadari system may be made optional commends itself to the Government of India, but the formation of a Committee of Enquiry to ascertain the wishes of the cultivators appears to be unnecessary. An enquiry of the kind would take time and cost money, and would probably produce an unsettling effect upon the cultivators. The subject also has already been fully enquired into, and it is doubtful whether the decision of Government would be materially assisted by the Committee's report. An enquiry to ascertain (1) what modifications should be made in the khattadari system in so far as it may be retained and what remuneration should in future be allowed to the khattadar, and (2) what increase of establishment and what additional office buildings will be required in each opium sub-division, would not be open to the same objections: but no enquiry affecting the Agency as a whole appears at present to be necessary. The desirability of introducing as soon as this may be practicable a system of assamiwar payment at the option of the cultivator into the Bihar Agency, and of developing throughout both Agencies the system of direct dealing for settlements and advances as well as for payments, in so far as the cultivators may themselves desire this, may be regarded as established, and the possibility of working in Bihar a system of assamiwar payment can be tested most satisfactorily by experiment.

5. His Excellency the Governor General in Council accordingly authorizes the Lieutenant-Governor to introduce as an experiment in one or two selected sub-divisions, the system which he proposes of making payment for opium delivered either direct or through a representative at the option of the cultivator concerned. For purposes of the experiment sub-divisions should be selected, of which the officers in charge are acquainted with, and believe in the superiority of, the Benares system. The khattadari system, as the Lieutenant-Governor points out, is convenient for cultivators growing small patches of poppy and producing only a trifling quantity of opium; and if the system were entirely abolished, there would be a great risk of cultivators of this class giving up the cultivation on account of the time and trouble involved in personal attendance before officers of the Opium Department. There seems, however, to be no reason why the two methods of payment should not be worked together side by side, and if assamiwar payments succeed, assamiwar settlements and advances may also be attempted. The objections urged by the Board to the introduction of a partial and gradual change of system have not been overlooked, but the assamiwar system of payment was introduced gradually in Benares, and with good management it ought to be possible to introduce gradually the same principle and practice in Bihar. I am to request therefore that detailed proposals to give effect to the measure now sanctioned may be submitted for the approval of the Government of India, but this requirement need not delay the carrying out of the proposals sanctioned in this letter. Any enquiry that may be found necessary in regard to the remuneration of khattadars or increase of establishments and construction of additional buildings in the sub-divisions in which the experiment is tried, should be conducted by or under the direction of the officers in charge as an ordinary part of their departmental work.

6. The experiment will be a limited one so far as area is concerned, and it is desirable therefore that every chance should be given to it, so that the experience gained may be useful for the determination of the propriety of introducing the same system generally throughout the Agency, of its cost, its effect upon cultivation, and the amount of establishments which will be required to work it.

Appendix B to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

Collection of extracts from replies received to the interrogatories issued by the Royal Opium Commission, from the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and China, bearing upon the question of the relative effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating.

The Straits Settlements.

1. Mr. T. S. Kerr, M.B., C.M., Acting Principal Civil Medical Officer; ten years in the medical service of the Straits Settlements :—

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.

2. Dr. W. Gilmore Ellis, M.D., M.B.C.S., Medical Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum; six years resident in the Straits :—

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. On the other hand, but a comparative few opium-smokers become sots, the large majority regularly snacking a small amount which, if not beneficial, is certainly not harmful to them.

3. The Honourable H. A. O'Brien, Straits Civil Service, Acting Auditor General; resident eighteen years in the Straits Settlements :—

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 twenty 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.

4. Dr. M. J. Wright, Acting State Surgeon, Perak :—

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, etc., 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.

* * * * *

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 recooked with the addition of a little fresh opium, etc.

Hong-Kong.

5. Mr. J. H. Wodehouse, Police Magistrate:—

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.

6. Extract from Report of Mr. H. McCallum, Government Analyst, Hong-Kong, dated 6th March 1881, forwarded with evidence of Mr. Ph. B. O. Ayres, C.M.G., Colonial Surgeon:—

The morphine value of the different preparations of opium depend chiefly on the amount of extract yielded by and the percentage of morphine 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 morphine 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 morphine:—

Indian opium, average morphine value of	5 to 8 per cent.
Indian opium, quantity of smoking extracts yielded by	70 to 80 per cent.
First quality of prepared opium from Hong-Kong opium farm yielded	5.86 per cent. morphine.
Second quality of prepared opium from Hong-Kong opium farm yielded	7.30 per cent. morphine.
Cake prepared opium from a coolie smoking-house, said to have been prepared from opium dross, yielded	6.23 per cent. morphine.
Opium dross (scrapings from opium pipe) yielded	4.76 per cent. morphine.
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 morphine 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 morphine.
- 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 morphine.
- 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.

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 with 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 ~~with~~ 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 from 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 minus morphine.	When applied to the light burns like opium, but in a moment it burns quite black, and the dried leaves had 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.

7. Mr. E. N. Bellios, merchant :—

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.

8. Mr. W. Edward Crow, Government Analyst, Hong-Kong :—

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.

China.

9. Dr. B. C. Atterbury, Peking :—

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.

10. Revd. George Owen, Peking, twenty-eight years a missionary of the London Missionary Society in China :—

Poor people also, who cannot afford the pipe, eat and drink opium, the drug being more powerful thus taken than when smoked

He was not only an opium-smoker, but an opium-eater, which is worse.

11. Revd. Evan Bryant, Peking, missionary of the London Missionary Society :—

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.

12. Dr. J. Edkins, D.D., Translator in the Imperial Maritime Customs, Shanghai, engaged as a missionary for about thirty years :—

The effects of eating opium are much worse than the effects of smoking it.

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.

13. Mr. Robert Francis, a merchant of over forty years' experience, Shanghai :—

Opium is smoked in 99 cases out of 100. In this form it is least hurtful.

14. Revd. George Andrew, a member of the China Inland Mission, for some years resident in the province of Kuei Chou Chinkiang :—

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.

15. Mr. George Arthur Cox, L.R.C.P. & s., Edinburgh, China Inland Mission (at present at Chinkiang); seventh year in China :—

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.

16. Mr. C. C. De Burgh Daly, M.B., B. Ch. University, Dublin, in charge of Church Missionary Society's Hospital in Ningpo for seven years, Medical Officer, Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate and I. M. Customs, Newchang :—

Without doubt, the injection hypodermically of morphia, or the eating of opium in any form, is more injurious to health than smoking opium.

17. Mr. D. Christie, L.R.C.P., L.B.C.S., Edinburgh, Medical Missionary, United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (at present in Manchuria); thirteen years' experience in China :—

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 volatilised by the heat and do not enter the system.

18. Mr. T. Watters, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Foochow :—

According to the Chinese, smoking is the least injurious of all the ways of taking opium.

19. Dr. Etr. Von Tunzemann, M.B., London, M.R.C.S., England, Medical Officer, I. C. Customs, Chefoo, and in charge of the Anglican Mission Hospital :—

Consumers chiefly smoke opium. The effects of eating opium or of drinking a decoction of opium, themselves indistinguishable, are much more marked.

20. Dr. A. W. Douthwaite, M.D., Chefoo, 20 years engaged in the practice of medicine among the Chinese :—

The injurious effect of eating opium is far greater than that of smoking; in fact, when undertaking the cure of opium *habitus*, I always consider that one dram swallowed will require the same treatment as three drams smoked.

21. Revd. Dr. Corbett, Chefoo; thirty years' experience in the province of Shantung :—

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.

22. Dr. Thomas Gillison, M.B., C.M. (Edinburgh); resident in China for nine years (Hankow); in charge of a hospital in which he has treated some 1,500 to 2,000 opium-smokers :—

The Chinese look upon swallowing as more hurtful than smoking, and say it is more constipating.

23. Dr. John Rigg, M.B., C.M., Edinburgh, Church Missionary Society, Kien-Ning Fu, Foochow, China :—

The opium-eater is more difficult to cure of the habit than the opium-smoker, and more apt to relapse.

24. Dr. J. J. Underwood, M.B., C.M., L.E.C.S., E., Medical Attendant to Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consulate, Pagoda Island :—

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.

25. Mr. R. W. Hurst, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Tainan :—

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.

26. Dr. W. W. Myers, M.B., Medical Officer, His Imperial Chinese Majesty's Customs, Tainan, and Port Medical Officer :—

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.

* * * * *

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 DeQuincey; 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.

27. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chungking :—

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.

28. Mr. Cecil J. Davenport, F.R.C.S., E., London Mission, Chungking, West China :—

The Chinese themselves look upon eating as a worse vice than smoking, and one which produces a worse effect. They themselves say they can tell an "eater" from a "smoker" by his colour, he being more of a dirty yellow.

N.B.—Besides the above, there are passages which compare the effects of eating opium ash or morphia pills with opium-smoking. They have not been extracted.

Extracts from opinions recently expressed in Excise and Opium Reports by Local Governments and by officers in charge of the Excise Administration in different provinces as to the effect which has been produced upon the habit of opium-smoking in India by the prohibition of the consumption of opium upon licensed premises.

1891-92.

1. Mr. T. Stoker, Excise Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

It is impossible to say how far the real consumption of *chandu* was affected as it was transferred to private houses and unlicensed saloons. It seems to me quite impossible to doubt the correctness of the general anticipation that *chandu*-smoking will henceforth be carried on in private, and that the necessary facilities for it will be forthcoming as long as the present race of *chandu*-smokers exists. It is in fact stated that such places have at once sprung up in many towns. Indiscreet public utterances have probably helped to inform those concerned that the congregation of *chandu*-smokers in premises equipped for the purpose cannot be suppressed unless some contravention of the law can be proved. It is also, I fear, certain that even more than before of the opium used in the manufacture of *chandu* will be illicit. At the same time I have no doubt that the prohibition of licensed smoking saloons was an eminently right, and I believe a beneficial, measure. It might be too much to hope that any one who has already acquired the habit will now abandon it, but we may reasonably expect that the number of fresh recruits will become less, and by degrees the practice will diminish. At any rate the experiment is worth trying. The vice is one at present confined to a limited number of large towns, and if its spread can be checked it may in time become even more restricted as the present generation dies out. If this result is gained it will not be dearly purchased by the disappearance of this item from the revenue receipts.

2. Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

Mr. Stoker has no doubt that the abolition of licensed smoking saloons is an altogether beneficial measure, and that it is certainly an experiment worth trying. Those who are opposed to it feared that *chandu*-smokers, when driven to gratify their tastes at home, would corrupt the young; and some intelligent natives have declared that the new system has already been injurious to women, who are tempted now to accustom themselves to an indulgence which was previously enjoyed by their relations away from home. However this may be, there can be no question that during the last ten years the temptations to indulge in this vice have been steadily reduced.

3. Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh on the Excise Report for 1891-92.

The Commissioner considers that the prohibition was an eminently right and beneficial measure; but apprehends that for some time to come *chandu*-smoking will be carried on in private unlicensed houses under conditions which do not create an offence against the existing law.

1892-93.

4. Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner, Bengal.

Licenses for the retail sale of *madak* were taken out in 35 districts against 36 in the preceding year. The total number of licenses issued during the year was 263, and the amount of revenue realised Rs. 79,859, as compared with 302 licenses issued, and Rs. 86,343 received in 1891-92, showing a decrease of 39 in the number of licenses, and of Rs. 6,684 in revenue. This result was not unexpected, and was mainly due to the orders prohibiting consumption of the drug on the premises of the licensed shops, and reducing the limit of retail sale from five tolas to one tola. Several shops could not be settled at all, and others had to be let at reduced fees. But the liberty to manufacture at home remained, though the limit of possession was reduced, and this was calculated to lead, now that there was no opportunity to go to a public shop and meet fellow-consumers, to the establishment of private dens not open to Government supervision, and away from public view. The consequence was that the revenue suffered without any corresponding gain to the cause of temperance. To counteract this evil, a further step has recently been taken prohibiting the manufacture of *madak*, even for domestic use, without a special license on a fixed fee of Rs. 50 per annum. It is hoped that this step will tend to raise the value of the licensed shops. The effects of the measure will be watched; but the fee is felt to be prohibitive,

for the consumers do not generally belong to the well-to-do classes, and the amount is beyond the means of most of them.

5. Mr. T. Stoker, Excise Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

Another attempt is now being made to limit and restrict the habit by preventing the sale of opium-smoking preparations and the public congregation of opium-smokers on licensed premises. So far the results have been inconclusive. In all large towns where the habit prevails, private clubs and unlicensed saloons have been opened, where people are known to assemble and smoke opium. These places are kept under supervision and such measures as are possible are taken to prevent and punish infractions of the law. It is found, however, extremely difficult to obtain judicial proof of illegal practices, however strong suspicion may be, while even very heavy sentences do not seem to exercise a permanently deterrent effect on those who live by the business. There is also the further danger that the suppression of all public places of meeting may be followed by the spread of the habit in domestic life. It would be premature, without a much longer experience, to form an opinion as to the success of the present regulations. I am myself hopeful that they may lead to good results. But it would be equally premature at present to pronounce a final obituary on the licensing system.

6. Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

Madak and *chandu* shops have now been altogether abolished in the provinces, but no attempt can at present be made to estimate the results of this measure. The prevalence of smoking saloons is a natural result of the prohibition of consumption on the premises, and it is probably better that people should smoke *chandu* away from their homes.

7. Mr. T. Gordon Walker, Excise Commissioner, Punjab.

In the Government Review of the last report it was remarked (paragraph 9): "It is strange that the effect of the withdrawal of opium-smoking licenses is not mentioned in the Commissioner's report." The subject was not referred to because it appeared to me that there was nothing new to say with regard to it. It may however be useful to recapitulate here what has been done in the matter. The practice was never allowed to take root in the Punjab, being confined, even when licenses were allowed, almost entirely to downcountry people of the servant and camp-follower classes. It is not at all unlikely that it would have spread if timely measures had not been taken by the withdrawal of the licenses. In 1888-89 there were licensed shops at twelve centres, but these were all closed in that and the succeeding year; and since 1st April 1890, the licensing of premises for the purpose has ceased throughout the Punjab. The vice is not one that can be easily acquired, nor can it, on the other hand, be easily dropped. Having got rid of licensed "opium dens" it remained for us to deal with private and unauthorised gatherings in "*chandu-khanas*" for the purpose of opium-smoking. The only measure of a general character which has been (or indeed could be) taken is the reduction of the quantity of *madak* or *chandu* which can legally be manufactured or possessed by an individual. Under the rules as recently altered no person can now manufacture or possess these preparations in a quantity exceeding one tola in weight. This measure cannot but have a repressive effect. It seems likely, however, that persons who are inveterately addicted to the vice will find out a way of indulging in it, although we have done our best to make such indulgence very difficult and troublesome. The number of such persons is limited; and I believe that the practice will to all intents and purposes die out within a few years. Deputy Commissioners are asked to notice the subject specially in their reports, and a separate sheet with printed heading is provided for the purpose. The remarks made are usually to the effect: opium-smoking does not prevail in this district (Jullunder and Gurdaspur—the remarks are identical for both). The districts in which the practice did exist may be specially noticed. The Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, writes:—" *Madak* is not used in this district and the *chandu*-shops were closed on 1st April 1885, much to the discouragement of *chandu*-smoking. The practice is, however, still believed to be carried on to a certain extent in private houses, but it is not possible to obtain any reliable statistics in this connection. During the year under report three persons were sent up for trial on the charge of selling *chandu*, resulting in two acquittals and one conviction."

Amballa Report.

The *madak* and *chandu* shops in the Amballa city and cantonment were closed in 1889-90. The loss from closing these shops has not been noticed, as our income from opium increased in other ways.

The practice of opium-smoking prevails very little in the district.

Simla Report.

Madak-smoking was not known in this district. The practice of using opium in the form known as *chandu* was carried on to a considerable extent, though since the closing of such shops the practice has ceased in public. It is believed, however, that it is still carried on by its former votaries in private.

Mooltan Report.

The practice of opium-smoking is still indulged in to some extent surreptitiously under the excuse of friendly gatherings. Raids are made from time to time when information is received of the existence of a public "*chandu-khana*" as a rule with small success; and I doubt if opium-smoking in public is now practised to any great extent, though there is reason to believe that privately the consumption of *chandu* is as great as ever, men now simply smoking at home, who formerly were regular frequenters of the opium den. There were five cases of possessing more than the prescribed quantity and of illegal sale of *chandu*, and four of the offenders were convicted and fined.

Lahore Report.

The practice still prevails among domestic servants and Hindustanis in Lahore and Mian Mir. More Muhammadans than Hindus are addicted to it. *Madak* and *chandu* are prepared by secret agents of consumers. One such agent (a woman) was convicted and punished in May last, and other (a man) in February last. The recent alteration in the law as to the quantity which can be possessed without license will render the task of suppressing these agents less difficult.

Amritsar Report.

The practice of opium-smoking is largely carried on in private houses. Seven cases were reported last year of opium-smoking in public shops and houses. It is hoped that the recent reduction in the amount of *madak* and *chandu* which a person may possess without breaking the law from three tolas to one tola will have salutary effect later on in discouraging the practice of opium-smoking.

Sialkot Report.

The practice of opium-smoking still obtains to some extent amongst people of the lower classes. One case was brought to light during the year in which the prosecution was successful.

Until the smoking of opium in the company of ten persons or so is made an offence, it is feared the practice will not receive a check.

Peshawar Report.

The practice of opium-smoking still prevails in this district, but is chiefly resorted to by persons collected for the purpose in private houses in the city and cantonments. Reducing the quantity of intoxicating drugs, which may be legally in the possession of an individual, from a maximum of three tolas to one tola may check the practice of opium-smoking, which is carried on to a slight extent only in this district.

Dera Ismail Khan Report.

No perceptible change is observable as regards the practice of opium-smoking which still continues in a greater or less degree. The opium rules introduced by Punjab Government Notification No. 126, dated 28th November 1892, will probably result in further checking the practice, but as those rules were only recently introduced it is difficult to give any positive opinion as to their effect at present.

Dera Ghazi Khan Report.

The *chandu* and *madak* shops that existed in this district were closed in April 1889. As reported last year, the closure of these shops has led to no diminution in the income from the sale of opium. A few people do take to opium-smoking, but the closure of the shops has removed the temptation that lay in the way of inexperienced young men. At the same time there are grounds for believing that a number of private *chandu-khanas* do exist, but their sales cannot be large in the face of the strict supervision that is exercised by the excise officials. In fact, it may be said with some degree of accuracy, that whatever unauthorised sales of *chandu* do take place are effected with those persons who having been long accustomed to its use cannot now give it up, but who being devoid of sufficient energy to prepare it themselves perforce buy it from others.

8. Financial Commissioner, Punjab.

The Excise Commissioner has treated the subject of opium-smoking and the use of *madak* and *chandu* at length in paragraph 28 of the Report. Mr. Ogilvie thinks that the action of Government must be confined to refusing licenses for the sale of these compounds, and to the repression of their use in any public place. The private action of persons in regard to the use of these preparations, and to the practice of opium-smoking cannot be made subject to the interference of Government, but it is to be hoped that private indulgence in practices which are exposed to public repression will gradually cease.

9. Resolution of the Government of the Punjab on the Excise Report for 1892-93.

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 one tola 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.

10. Mr. H. V. Drake-Brockman, Excise Commissioner, Central Provinces.

In respect of *madak* the Deputy Commissioners, Wardha and Hoshangabad, appear to think that the effect has been good, while the others fear that the prohibition is practically evaded by the meeting of smokers in private dens where they illicitly manufacture for themselves. Mr. Cook states in the Damoh Report that a contractor in Jubbulpore city was known to have issued *madak* to prostitutes in Sadar Bazaar for consumption in their houses by those who resorted to them, and allowed a commission on the number of balls sold. My own view is that the prohibition has done and will continue to do good, inasmuch as it indicates plainly that *madak*-smoking is disapproved of by Government, and will be discouraged even at the cost of some loss in revenue. This with the steady spread of education must increase the obstacles to be overcome by a would-be beginner of the practice, and those obstacles are already considerable, for the great mass of respectable native opinion is undoubtedly condemnatory of the habit. From enquiries made in different places during the past year, I have reason to believe that youths verging on manhood are induced to start smoking *madak* because it acts—at all events till its use becomes habitual—as an aphrodisiac; the policy now followed should certainly lead to a diminution in the numbers of this class of recruit.

11. Resolution of the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, on the Excise Report for 1892-93.

In paragraph 26 of his report, Mr. Drake-Brockman has some remarks on the effect of the orders of 1890, which prohibited the consumption of intoxicating drugs on the premises of licensed vendors. As to the utility of the prohibition there is a good deal of difference of opinion among district officers, but the Officiating Chief Commissioner thinks that there is much truth in the remarks of the Commissioner of Excise on this point.

Mr. Woodburn is indeed inclined to go further than this, for he thinks that all respectable native opinion is opposed to the habit which is known to be most harmful and ultimately ruinous to those who indulge in it. It would be well, he thinks, if the obstacles in the way of "would-be beginners," of which Mr. Drake-Brockman speaks, could be made even greater than they are, and he would be glad if the Commissioner of Excise would consider whether this is practicable without inquisitorial interference with the private life of the people. A system of obliging each *madak*-smoker to provide himself with an annual license to purchase the drug has, it is believed, been found effective elsewhere, and opinion might be invited as to the expediency of the introduction of such a measure in the Central Provinces.

1893-94.

12. Board of Revenue, Bengal.

Madak is a Bengali preparation of opium for smoking, and it is largely prepared in the district of Maldah and in Cuttack and Murshidabad. There was an increase in the number of licenses from 264 to 315, but this increase was not accompanied by a rise in the revenue, which, on the contrary, declined from Rs. 79,689 to Rs. 78,379. The largest decrease occurred in Calcutta, and it is said to have been due to the prohibition of the smoking of preparations of opium on the premises of licensed shops. Considerable restrictions have lately been imposed on the consumption of this article as well as of *chandu*. In the first place, smoking in licensed premises has been prohibited absolutely, compelling habitual smokers either to resort to unlicensed places or to indulge in the habit in the presence of their family, or to eschew it altogether. The limit of retail sale and of private possession has been reduced to one tola, and no one can manufacture even this quantity without a special license, the fee for which has been fixed at Rs. 50. All these measures seem to have reduced the value of licenses on the one hand and encouraged illicit dealings on the other, without in the least decreasing the smoking of *madak*. The number of cases for unlicensed manufacture of the article rose from 11 in 1892-93 to 537 in 1893-94, and as regards the special license, only one such was taken during the year. It was in the district of Shahabad.

Chandu is a Chinese preparation of opium which is smoked mostly by the Chinese in Calcutta and in Chittagong. Though the number of licenses increased from 71 to 73, there was a further decline in revenue during the year from ₹31,032 to ₹24,476, the average fee per license being ₹437 and ₹355, respectively, in 1892-93 and 1893-94. In Calcutta alone the decrease amounted to ₹6,150. It is clear that the orders prohibiting smoking on the premises of licensed shops have injured the revenue by decreasing the value of licenses, while the measure has been extremely inconvenient to consumers and has only driven them to unlicensed premises.

13. Mr. T. Stoker, Excise Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh :—

No licenses were granted for the manufacture or sale of *chandu* or *madak* and no premises were licensed for opium-smoking during the year. It is impossible to say how far the habit of opium-smoking has been checked by the present policy of repression. There is abundant evidence that it continues in all those large towns where it was known to prevail. It is carried on in private houses or at so-called clubs or on other unlicensed premises. Such places are, so far as possible, watched by the police, and any illegal acts punished whenever they can be detected and proved. In such matters detection and proof are naturally very difficult, but a considerable number of cases have been sent up. The punishments have not in all instances been so exemplary as could be desired. The returns are watched in this office and the attention of District Magistrates has been drawn to any cases which seemed to require more severe treatment. The persons concerned are almost invariably of the lowest and poorest class who cannot pay a fine and scarcely dread imprisonment. So far as the experience of one year goes, it is at least possible to say that the measure has not yet definitely shown any bad results. As long as the present generation of opium-smokers exists the habit must survive. Pandit Premnath, Excise Officer, Pilibhit, reports that *chandu*-smoking is practised in private, but is believed to be on the wane. The prohibition of public sale and consumption seems likely, he thinks, to deter a new generation from carrying on the habit. More than this cannot be expected anywhere.

14. Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh :—

The income from this branch of the Excise Department has now ceased, though it can hardly be pretended the habit of opium-smoking *Chandu and Madak.* has been stopped,—perhaps not even reduced. As the law at present stands there is nothing illegal in the practice. All that can be done is to watch places where it is carried on, and to punish rigorously in all cases where the law is broken by the sale or possession of unlawful quantities of opium.

15. Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh on the Excise Report for 1893-94 :—

The noxious preparations known as *madak* and *chandu* finally disappear from the provincial returns, and it is hoped that in the next generation their consumption in private will be to a great extent discontinued.

16. Mr. H. V. Drake-Brockman, Excise Commissioner, Central Provinces :—

On the vexed question whether the prohibition of consumption on the premises of drug shops diminishes sales or not, the Deputy Commissioner of Mandla has some interesting remarks. There can be no doubt that *madak*-smoking goes on now in private houses, just as it used to in the licensed *madak-khauas*, but I am not inclined to believe that the existence of private assemblies induces young men to begin the *madak* habit or that under the old system consumption at any place other than the *madak-khana* was generally thought to be punishable by law. As the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur says, we shall probably have to devise some scheme for controlling private smoking clubs: it will, in my opinion, be far better to undertake this difficult task than revert to a system under which the licensing of smoking saloons serves to increase the bids for retail monopolies. I am glad to be able to record in this connection that in a recent letter the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, has assured me of a gradual decrease in the number of *madak*-smokers throughout his district.

17. Resolution of the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, on the Excise Report for 1893-94 :

The question of still further restricting the use of *madak* has received much attention during the year. The number of shops was reduced from 183 to 137; all temporary licenses

in Nagpur were withdrawn, and the whole question of temporary shops is now being dealt with by the Excise Commissioner. Though facilities for smuggling or for illicit sale may occasionally furnish sufficient grounds for the opening of temporary opium shops at fairs or other gatherings, such reasons can very rarely exist in the case of madak, and it will probably be the wisest policy to prohibit such temporary shops altogether in the case of this drug. As to the results of prohibiting the consumption of madak on the premises of licensed vendors, opinions still differ very widely. The Deputy Commissioners of Nagpur, Damoh, Seoni, Mandla and Narsingpur think that this measure has chiefly resulted in the substitution of private clubs for licensed shops, while in Wardha and Sambalpur the opinion is expressed that the measure has materially diminished consumption, and the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, has recently given the Commissioner of Excise an assurance to the same effect.

The total number of madak-smokers in the Central Provinces is reported to be between 9,000 and 10,000. In several districts their numbers are said to be diminishing, while in no case is it alleged that madak-smoking is becoming more common. After considering all that has come before him, the Chief Commissioner sees no reason for changing the opinion expressed by him last year, that the addition of the implied disapprobation of the authorities to the social stigma which already attaches to indulgence in this vice has done and must do good. The fewer the shops for the sale of this drug the less will be the temptation to indulge in it, and persistence in the policy of limiting shops, combined with activity on the part of the police in arresting cases of illegal manufacture, cannot but tend to check any extension of this pernicious habit.

18. Mr. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium and Abkari (Opium Administration Report, 1893-94) :—

The decrease (3,221 lbs.) in consumption in Bombay is due to the cessation of issue of licenses for the sale of chandul and madat, but there is reason to fear that the wants of the chandul and madat consumers are met by illegitimate means, in spite of the efforts of the officers of the department to put a stop to their practices

* * * * *

There being reason to fear that the prohibition of the sale of opium preparations for consumption on the premises might be followed by the opening of unlicensed places for the purpose, the attention of Collectors was drawn to this danger, and they were asked to issue orders to the Excise, Revenue and Police establishments to place under surveillance any such unlicensed houses. The reports received show that in some districts unlicensed houses were opened, and the offenders were prosecuted and punished. Mr. Woodburn, Collector of Hyderabad, in reporting on this subject writes: "There are a few houses in the town of Hyderabad where it is suspected the illicit consumption of chandul and madat is carried on, and though these have been kept under strict surveillance during the past year, yet it has not been found possible to detect any of the offenders. This is due to three of the owners having been prosecuted and convicted during the previous year, with the result that it is difficult to get witnesses, who are generally opium-smokers themselves, to give evidence against the owners of these opium-smoking houses." The Collector of Ahmedabad reports thus: "I beg to append a statement showing a case of illegal possession of chandul * * *. The number of such cases in the preceding year was eight, but the falling off this year must not be understood to show that the people have given up the habit of chandul-smoking. It is most probable that smuggled opium is being used for these chandul-smokers to a great extent, and this will continue unless some smoking-places can be licensed and kept under control." There is reason to think that the condition of affairs described above is common to all the districts in which the opium-smoking habit is habitual. The practice is easy, its detection most difficult.

19. Resolution of the Government of Bombay on the Opium Administration Report for 1893-94 :—

In Bombay, on the other hand, there was a decrease of 3,221 lbs., which is mainly attributable to the cessation of issue of licenses for chandul and madat shops, a measure which, in the Commissioner's opinion, while diminishing the demand for preparations of licit opium, has led consumers of chandul and madat to satisfy their wants by illegitimate means.

Answers from Members of the Consular Service in China and Corea to the three following questions issued by the Royal Commission on Opium:—

- (1) What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers?
- (2) What are the proportions of those who use opium—
 - (i) without injury;
 - (ii) with slight injury;
 - (iii) with great injury (opium sots)?
- (3) Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium?

1. Mr. N. J. Hannen, Consul-General, Shanghai.—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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. use 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.

Answer to question (3).—There certainly can be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.

2. The above represents also the views of Mr. Jamieson, Her Majesty's Consul at Shanghai.

3. Mr. H. B. Joly, Vice-Consul, Macao:—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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 by-ways and opium dens.

Answer to question (3).—There is such a thing as moderation.

4. Mr. T. Watters, Consul, Foochow:—

Answer to question (1).—The effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers vary with circumstances. An English doctor of long experience in this Province tells me that the natives "who are rich and well-to-do sometimes 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."

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—I am of opinion that it is not correct to say "there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium."

5. Mr. M. F. Fraser, Consul, Pakhoi:—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—I believe that of opium-consumers those who thus inflict injury on themselves are in the minority, as is the case with wine-drinkers. * * * * * It is impossible to state the proportions of the classes (i), (ii), (iii) with any accuracy.

Answer to question (3).—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.]

6. Mr. P. Warren, Consul, Hankow:—

Answer to question (1).—Opium when indulged in 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.

Answer to question (2).—Is a question that can only be answered by a medical man.

Answer to question (3).—It is utterly incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.

7. Mr. G. Brown, Consul, Kinkiang:—

Answer to question (1).—Excessive consumption of opium undoubtedly causes a deterioration of the individual, morally, physically, and socially, but I do not believe its habitual moderate use has any bad effect.

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—It is very incorrect to say that there cannot be moderation in opium-smoking.

8. Mr. C. M. Ford, Officiating Consul, Amoy:—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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 80 per cent. use it without any injury;
- (ii) 40 per cent. with but slight injury; and
- (iii) 80 per cent. with great injury.

Answer to question (3).—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.

9. Mr. O. Johnson, Vice-Consul, Pagoda Island:—

The Vice-Consul has forwarded a paper by Dr. Underwood, medical practitioner in the district, containing answers to the questions put by the Commission, with the remark that, generally speaking, he agrees with them.

He adds—

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.

The Doctor's answers are given below—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—It is difficult to say how many can use opium without injury but I consider that more than half the consumers do so.

Answer to question (3).—Many Chinamen use opium in moderation without harm to themselves.

10. Mr. E. H. Parker, Consul, Hoihow—

Answer to question (1).—Moral and social, no harm. Physical, deterioration in staying powers.

Answer to question (2).—50 per cent.; 40 per cent. (conjecture).

Answer to question (3).—Yes.*

11. Mr. R. W. Hurst, Consul, Tainan—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—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.

12. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Acting Consul, Tamsui—

Answer to question (1).—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.

* This should apparently be 'No' as he proceeds to give instances of consumers who have taken opium for years without harm to themselves. He adds (1) "My official servant here. (2) The late comprador Shanghai Consulate. Both steady smokers and brainy men. Never saw great injury with own eyes."

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 sensual 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.

Answer to question (2).—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 50, 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.

Answer to question (3).—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.

13. Mr. R. W. Mansfield, Consul, Wenchow—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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."

Answer to question (3).—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.

14. Mr. B. C. G. Scott, Consul, Swatow, states—

"It was my intention to have answered the questions myself, but on consideration I find that my information and opinions are for the most part 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.

15. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chungking—

Answer to question (1).—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 jazy and careless. On the other hand, I knew from 1833 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.

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—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.

16. Mr. W. R. Carles, Consul, Chinkiang :—

Answer to question (1).—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, speculation, 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.

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—Moderation in opium is very general. Men who smoke moderately are generally regarded as non-smokers.

17. Mr. T. L. Bullock, Consul, Newchang :—

Answer to question (1).—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-trackerers 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.

Answer to question (2).—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 ten 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.

Answer to question (3).—There can be moderation, but it is difficult to preserve, more so than with alcohol.

18. Mr. C. F. R. Allen, Consul, Chefoo, sums up his views as follows :—

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 * * * * 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.

19. Mr. P. F. Hausser, Acting Consul, Ningpo :—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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."

Answer to question (3).—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.

20. Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Vice-Consul, Canton :—

Answer to question (1).—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 civilized people might *a priori* be expected to be more easily enslaved by it.

Answer to question (3).—Certainly it is correct to say so.

21. Mr. C. T. Gardiner, Consul, Söul (Korea) :—

Answer to question (1).—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.

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.

22. Mr. W H. Wilkinson, Acting Vice-Consul, Chemulpo (Korea) :—

Answer to question (1).—“The effect of opium on the Koreans,” says Dr. Landis, “is more decided than on the Chinese. It ruins morally and physically at least 90 per cent. of all Koreans who use it. The ruin caused among the Chinese is not so great, but yet it is extensive.” The Korean 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.

Answer to question (2).—Dr. Landis refers in his reply to question* 3. My Chinese⁸

** Vide answer to question (2) above.* informant (a Shantung man) states; (i) 3 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.

Answer to question (3).—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’ last sentence. The Korean has not the stamina to resist, or rather to successfully practise 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.”

23. Mr. H. Cockburn, Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Majesty’s Legation, Peking :—

Answer to question (1).—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 recognizable. 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.

Answer to question (2).—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.

Answer to question (3).—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.

24. Mr. B. M. Perkins, Her Majesty's Consular service, Tainan :—

Answer to question (1).—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 humanizing one. An opium-smoker will never cause a riot.

Answer to question (2).—(i) and (ii), but chiefly (i), comprise, as far as I am concerned, all the smokers I have ever seen.

Answer to question (3).—Certainly not.

Mr. B. Brennan, Consul, Canton, and Mr. E. L. B. Allen, Acting Consul, Wuhu, sent no replies to the interrogatories and expressed no opinions upon the subject.

A.—List classifying the evidence of members of the Consular service in China, to whom the interrogatories issued by the Royal Commission on Opium were sent.

I.—Those who have expressed no opinion as to the effects of opium-smoking in China—

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.
	Page.
1. Mr. B. Brennan, Consul, Canton	216
2. " E. L. B. Allen, Acting Consul, Wuhu	382
3. " B. C. G. Scott, Consul, Swatow	212

II.—Those who regard opium-smoking as a serious evil—

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.
	Page.
1. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chungking	338
2. " W. R. Carles, Consul, Chinkiang	262
3. " T. L. Bullock, Consul, Newehang	266
4. " F. S. A. Bourne, Vice-Consul, Canton	216
5. " P. F. Hausser, Acting Consul, Ningpo	308

Of the above 1, 2, and 5 admit that moderation is possible.

III.—Those who give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit but not strongly so—

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.
	Page.
1. Mr. T. Watters, Consul, Foochow	276
2. " R. W. Hurst, Consul, Tainan	323
3. " L. C. Hopkins, Acting Consul, Tamsui	320
4. " W. H. Wilkinson, Acting Vice-Consul, Chemulpo (Korea)	313
5. " C. F. R. Allen, Consul, Chafoo	277

IV. Those who, while holding that the immoderate use of the drug is deleterious, consider that moderation among Chinese opium-smokers is the rule, that the percentage

of men who smoke to excess and suffer great injury in consequence is small, and the moderate opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit.

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V of the Proceedings of the Commission.
	Page.
1. Mr. N. J. Hannen, Consul-General, Shanghai	250
2. Mr. Jamieson, Consul, Shanghai	250
3. Mr. H. B. Joly, Vice-Consul, Macao	263
4. M. M. F. Fraser, Consul, Pakhoi	288
5. Mr. P. Warren, Consul, Hankow	290
6. Mr. G. Brown, Consul, Kinkiang	298
7. Mr. C. M. Ford, Officiating Consul, Amoy	309
8. Mr. O. Johnson, Vice-Consul, Pagoda Island	314
9. Mr. E. H. Parker, Consul, Hoibow	316
10. Mr. R. W. Mansfield, Consul, Wenchow	335
11. M. C. T. Gardiner, Consul, Söul (Korea)	336
12. Mr. H. Cockburn, Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Majesty's Legation, Peking	332
13. Mr. B. M. Perkins, Consular service, Tainan	323

B.—List classifying the evidence of private medical practitioners and merchants resident in China who replied to the interrogatories issued by the Royal Commission on Opium.

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of evidence, classed for the sake of brevity as favourable or unfavourable to the use of opium, and doubtful.
	Page.	
1. Mr. J. D. Monro, Merchant, Swatow	215	Unfavourable.
2. Dr. H. Layng, Private Medical Practitioner, Swatow	215	Do.
3. Dr. A. Rennie, Private Medical Practitioner, Canton	216	Favourable.
4. Dr. J. M. Young, Private Medical Practitioner, Peking	232	Doubtful.
5. Dr. F. J. Burge, Private Medical Practitioner, Shanghai	245	Unfavourable.
6. Mr. W. S. Wetmore, Merchant, Shanghai	246	Doubtful.
7. Mr. J. McKie, Merchant, Shanghai	252	Favourable.
8. Dr. W. J. Milles, Private Medical Practitioner, Shanghai	252	Do.
9. Mr. R. Francis, Merchant, Shanghai	253	Do.
10. Dr. C. Lalaca, Private Medical Practitioner, Shanghai	253	Do.
11. Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., Merchants, Shanghai	254	Do.
12. Messrs. David Sassoon Sons & Co., Merchants, Shanghai	255	Do.
13. Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Merchants, Shanghai	255	Do.
14. Mr. T. W. Duff, formerly a Merchant, Chinkiang	259	Do.
15. Mr. E. Starkey, Merchant, Chinkiang	261	Unfavourable.
16. Mr. T. Weatherston, Merchant, Chinkiang	262	Favourable.
17. Mr. W. Des Trois, Merchant, Newchang	268	Do.
18. Mr. P. F. Lavers, Merchant, Chefoo	281	Doubtful.
19. Dr. Charles Begg, Private Medical Practitioner, Hankow	291	Favourable.
20. Dr. T. Gillison, in charge of a Hospital, Hankow	296	Unfavourable.
21. Mr. C. Schlee, Merchant, Kinkiang	300	Favourable.
22. Mr. C. Milisch, Merchant, Macao	304	Do.
23. Mr. H. F. Mirrill, Ningpo	306	Unfavourable.
24. Mr. F. Cass, Merchant, Amoy	310	Do.
25. Mr. F. Leyburn Merchant, Amoy	311	Favourable.
26. Mr. G. W. Price, Merchant, Amoy	311	Do.
27. Mr. P. M. Sanger, Merchant, Amoy	312	Do.
28. Mr. L. Jüdel, Merchant, Hoibow	316	Do.
29. Dr. C. S. Tenill, Private Medical Practitioner, Hainan, has not answered the questions himself, but observes that the Rev. Mr. Jeremiasen, who holds strong anti-opium views, has rather underestimated than overestimated the evil effects of opium-smoking	318	Unfavourable.
30. Mr. F. Ashton, Merchant, Tamsui	322	Favourable.
31. Mr. J. Mannich, Merchant, Tainan	329	Do.
32. Dr. B. C. Atterbury, Peking	331	Unfavourable.

—List classifying the evidence of Medical Officers of Her Majesty's Consulates and the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs who replied to the interrogatories issued by the Royal Commission on Opium.

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of evidence, classed for the sake of brevity as favourable, unfavourable, and doubtful.
	Page.	
1. Dr. E. Henderson, Surgeon, Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Shanghai	244	Favourable.
2. Dr. R. A. Jamieson, Consulting Surgeon to Imperial Maritime Customs and Surgeon to St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	244	Do.
3. Dr. J. A. Lynch, Medical Officer to the Consulate and to the Imperial Maritime Customs	260	Unfavourable.
4. Mr. DeB. Daly, Medical Officer to Consulate and Imperial Maritime Customs, Newchang, and in charge of the Church Missionary Society's Hospital at Ningpo	269	Do.
5. Dr. VonTunzelmann, Medical Officer, I. C. Customs and Consulate, Chefoo, and in charge of Anglican Mission Hospital	282	Favourable.
6. Dr. S. R. Underwood, Medical Officer, Kinkiang	302	Unfavourable.
7. Dr. J. F. Molyneux, Surgeon to Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Ningpo	305	Doubtful.
8. Dr. J. J. Underwood, Medical Attendant to Vice-Consulate, Pagoda Island	315	Do.
9. Dr. W. W. Myers, Medical Officer, I. C. Customs, Tainan	324	Favourable.
10. Dr. W. Cox, Medical Officer, Imperial Maritime Customs, Wuhu	332	Doubtful.
11. Dr. J. H. Lowry, Surgeon, Imperial Maritime Customs, Wenchow	336	Do.
12. Dr. McCartney, Medical Officer, Imperial Maritime Customs, Chungking, and a member of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission	339	Unfavourable.

Appendix E to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

Correspondence referred to in paragraph 26 of the Despatch,

Letter from THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K. C. B., to THE HONOURABLE J. WESTLAND,—dated 8th December 1893.

We have been looking over the list of witnesses whose evidence has been tendered on behalf of the Government. I write to say that we shall not be able to give more than one day and a half to the hearing of the case, as you desire to present it in its special local connection with Assam.

Mr. Prescott Hewett can give full explanation of our proposed arrangements.

Letter from THE HONOURABLE J. WESTLAND, to THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.,—dated, 9th December 1893.

I am in receipt of your note of yesterday, in which you inform me that the Royal Commissioners will not be able to give more than one day and a half to the hearing of the evidence tendered on behalf of the Government in connection with Assam.

I trust Your Lordship will permit me to demur altogether to the view that Government are engaged in merely tendering evidence on their own behalf before the Royal Commission. The Government have hitherto understood in a quite different light the position which they are to occupy with reference to the labours of the Royal Commission.

In pursuance of the wishes expressed by Your Lordship in telegrams received through Her Majesty's Secretary of State, the Government of India arranged for the consideration of the Royal Commission a proposed "course of enquiry, places to be visited and witnesses." The Government of India, as they expressed in their telegram of August 15th, understood this to include non-official witnesses who would give independent evidence, and in the instructions they issued to Local Governments they have kept before them as their principal object that of enabling the Commissioners to make as full enquiry as is possible into the subjects committed to them; and they have regarded as only a small part of the question the answering of attacks upon their own system, or the producing of evidence bearing upon changes which might be proposed. These papers have been communicated to the Royal Commission.

As regards the intention of the Commission to limit to one day and a half the reception of the evidence relating to Assam, which the Government have brought together at the desire of the Commission, I can only say that the matter is one of which the decision necessarily rests with the Commission. But Assam is a far from unimportant province as regards its relations to opium. Throughout the northern parts of it opium was, till of recent years, largely cultivated, and it is still consumed in comparatively large quantities. The importance of Assam, in the view of the Government, was such that, in their letter of 1st November, to the address of the Royal Commission, they suggested a visit to that province even at the cost of a fortnight of time.

The Government have no desire to press upon the Commissioners the hearing of evidence on matters which they consider redundant or regarding which they are already sufficiently informed. But the newspapers show that the representatives of the Anti-Opium Association have been collecting evidence in Assam, and until they are heard before the Commission it is impossible to say what statements they may put forward that may require at the hands of the Government elucidation or contradiction, with a view to the ascertainment of the facts.

In any case the ground to be covered may prove more extensive than anticipated, and so far as my own opinion is concerned, therefore, I can hardly say that I think it probable that the Commission will find after a day and a half of enquiry that they have exhausted the subject.

Memorandum of an interview on the 11th December 1893, between THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY and THE HONOURABLE MR. WESTLAND.

Mr. Westland was anxious that the position of the Government in respect of the production of evidence before the Commission should be made quite clear. At the request of the Chairman the Government had arranged for the consideration of the Commission a proposed "course of inquiry, places to be visited and witnesses," including not only official witnesses, but also "non-official witnesses who would give independent evidence." The duty they undertook was that of enabling the Commissioners to make as full inquiry as possible into the subjects referred to them. They have observed, however, that it appears in some quarters to be

imagined that the inquiry is merely a hearing of an attack made by the Anti-Opium Society on the Government and of the answer of the Government to the charges of that body. Such a position the Government decline to accept. Of course the representatives of that Society are at liberty to lay before the Commission what evidence they please. The Government, however, will not answer these charges as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts.

As regards the witnesses to be examined, therefore, the number depends very little upon the evidence produced on behalf of the Anti-Opium Society. The Government have no desire to press on the Commission the hearing of evidence which the Chairman and Members consider redundant or relating to matters on which they are already sufficiently informed; and the Government accept the view that a trustworthy witness to matters fully within his own knowledge does not require confirmation by additional evidence. But there is no doubt that the evidence before the Commission will be taken as a standard of reference on the whole subject; and there is a risk that people who interest themselves in the subject may overlook the mass and weight of the evidence, and may construe the omission to state fully the facts of some unimportant part of the subject as a proof of the general unsoundness of the policy of the Government of India regarding opium.

The Government, therefore, desire that if the Commission do not wish to have further evidence on any subject, they should issue directions to that effect. Lord Brassey had alluded to the question of the Bengal monopoly as being in this category, as he understood that the Anti-Opium Society had withdrawn their opposition to that system. On this point, therefore, if the Commission so direct, the Government will not press for the hearing of evidence to show that, for opium grown in British territory, the monopoly system is to be preferred to the Malwa system; but the Government rightly or wrongly believe that, unless the Commission accept the responsibility of saying that they do not wish to hear further evidence on the matter, a large party in England will conclude, not that the Anti-Opium Society have changed their views on the subject, but that the Government have found the system indefensible.

Mr. Westland also wished to explain, as regards the witnesses brought before the Commission by the Government, in compliance with the Chairman's request above mentioned, that officials will be produced who will state fully the facts so far as they fall within their official experience, but that the Government cannot be in any way responsible for the statements of personal opinion by officials or for the statements of fact or opinion of non-official gentlemen, though these may have been named by the Government as representatives of the non-official community.

As regards Assam, the Government regarded it as in some respects an important province from the opium point of view, as the consumption of opium in some parts of it was considerable. They believed that the Commission, when the evidence was before them, would find it desirable to give somewhat more time to it than they at first estimated. The representative of the Local Government would be instructed to reduce the amount of the evidence as far as was consistent with a full explanation of the facts. But it was known that a gentleman had within the last few days been collecting evidence from Assam; and as it was impossible to tell beforehand what allegations might be made, it was also impossible for the Government to estimate beforehand what amount of evidence it might be found advisable to add on this account.

As regards Madras, Mr. Westland mentioned that he had communicated to the Local Government the direction of the Commission that the Madras evidence should be heard in Bombay, and had requested them to reduce the amount of the evidence as far as possible, especially that bearing on the medical aspect of the case which had been very fully elucidated in Calcutta.

No. 5557-Ex., dated 21st December 1893.

From—J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

To—The Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium.

I am directed to forward a copy of a letter from the Government of Bombay, No. 8990, dated the 7th December 1893, together with the list of witnesses nominated by that Government to give evidence before the Royal Opium Commission.

2. I am to explain that the Government of Bombay have prepared the list on the assumption that the Commission desired to make a very full and exhaustive inquiry into the facts regarding each province relevant to the inquiry entrusted to the Commission.

3. It is manifest, however, from the programme of tour issued by the Commission that they will not have time to enquire into the facts regarding Bombay in nearly so full a manner

as the Government of Bombay contemplate. It appears therefore to be absolutely necessary that the Government of Bombay should reduce as far as it can the number of witnesses proposed for examination, but before any intimation to this effect is made by the Government of India to the Local Government, they would be glad to receive, as a guide to the Government of Bombay, an indication from the Commission of the class of evidence of which the Commission think it is unnecessary for them to hear more, and of the subjects to which they are disposed to attach the greatest importance. The Government of India would be reluctant to take upon themselves the responsibility of ordering the Government of Bombay to reduce the number of witnesses which that Government consider desirable for a complete presentment of the facts regarding Bombay without a specific authority from the Commission to omit or reduce the evidence relating to some particular set of facts.

Dated 12th January 1894.

From—J. P. HEWITT, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

In reply to your No. 5557-Ex., dated the 21st December 1893, enclosing a list of witnesses whom the Government of Bombay propose to place before the Royal Commission on Opium, I am directed to say that the Commissioners would be obliged if copies of the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses included in this list could be forwarded direct without delay to my address. The Commissioners will, after perusing these abstracts, be prepared to indicate to the Governments of India and Bombay what witnesses they consider it desirable to examine. It will be for the Government of Bombay to suggest any additional witnesses besides those selected by the Commission.

No. 293-Ex., dated 16th January 1894.

From—J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department,
To—The Secretary to the Royal Opium Commission.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 12th instant, regarding the evidence collected for the Commission by the Government of Bombay.

The Government India have in more than one case, at the instance of the Commission, issued instructions to the Local Governments to reduce the number of witnesses which they had at first proposed to present for examination. Recent events, however, have made it obvious that unless the reduction is effected by retaining every witness who is prepared to speak against opium and the opium administration, and eliminating as many as possible of those whose evidence is in favour of opium, the action of the Local Governments is sure to be made the subject of challenge. The Government of India are, therefore, glad to learn that the Commission will in future itself undertake the responsibility of reducing the lists of witnesses drawn up by the Local Governments.

There is, however, one important reservation which the Government of India consider that they are bound to make. Neither the Government of India nor the Local Governments can accept responsibility for the lists as finally reduced by the Commission, and while fully admitting that the Commission is the sole director of its own proceedings, the Government cannot consent that the lists, when altered by the Commission, should be in any way put forward as the lists of witnesses presented on the responsibility of the Government.

The Government therefore wish it to be understood that every witness of whose evidence an abstract is delivered to the Commission by the Government under the present or under former instructions from the Commission, is a witness presented by Government for examination. The Government do not in any way challenge the right of the Commission to declare in the case of any such witness that his evidence is not required or will not be taken, but they strongly urge that if the witness is not examined, the order of the Commission that he should not be examined be brought upon the minutes of evidence.

The Government understand that the Commission have accepted and recorded the evidence of every witness, however limited his knowledge, who has been put forward by the representatives of the anti-opium party, and it is partly on this account that the Commission find it necessary to cut down the lists of witnesses selected by the Government at their instances, by reason of their experience in administration, their knowledge of the subject or their independence of position. This procedure is possibly expedient and even inevitable, and the Government do not wish to be taken as in any way impugning it. But it is obvious that the record of evidence selected on this principle will give undue prominence to one side of the case, unless the facts appear on the proceedings. Now, quite independently of any conclusions at which the Commissioners may arrive on the general question, the Government and the people of India have a strong interest, as Mr. Westland pointed out in his conference with the Chairman in December, in making the record of evidence as complete and accurate as possible. On this ground also the Government desire that the names of the witnesses put forward and not heard should be stated on the records of evidence as dismissed without hearing by the Commissioners.

The Government have directed compliance with the desire of the Commissioners expressed in your letter that the abstracts of the evidence of the Bombay witnesses should be laid before them as soon as possible.

Dated 23rd January 1894.

From—J. P. HAWERTZ, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 298-Ex., dated 16th instant, regarding the selection of witnesses from Bombay to give evidence before the Royal Commission.

2. In your letter under reply it is stated that the Government of India are glad that the Commission will in future itself undertake the responsibility of reducing the lists of witnesses drawn up by the Local Governments. The Government of India cannot, however, consent that the lists of witnesses, as altered by the Commission, shall be in any way put forward as the list of witnesses presented on the responsibility of the Government, and wish it to be understood that every witness, of whose evidence an abstract is tendered to the Commission by the Government, is a witness presented by the Government for examination. The Government of India would, therefore, strongly urge that if any such witness is not examined, the order of the Commission that he shall not be examined should be brought upon the minutes of evidence.

3. The Royal Commission, I am to say, fully recognizes the justice of the contention of the Government of India that the Government and the people of India have a strong interest in making the record of evidence as complete and accurate as possible, and has no wish to exclude from its minutes of evidence any testimony, whatever may be the point of view from which it is tendered. The time of the Commission in India is, however, necessarily limited, and unless it takes special care to hear those witnesses who appear to give evidence against the present system, the report of the Commission will not be accepted as a conclusive pronouncement upon the questions made over to them for inquiry. The work of the Commission has been carried on, especially during the period for which it has been on tour, under circumstances of great, and sometimes of extreme, difficulty, and the close and continuous attendance at the sittings, which has been required of the Commission, is not only unprecedented in the case of a Royal Commission, but also interferes with the proper study of the papers presented to them for consideration. Under these circumstances the Commission has felt bound to press for the reduction of the numbers of the witnesses presented by the Government, but it will record in the minutes of evidence in the case of each such witness, whose abstract has been, or may in future be, delivered to the Commission, and who has not been, or may not in future be, actually examined, the fact that the witness was presented and was not examined, and also, if the Government of India would prefer it, in any cases embody in the appendices to the report the abstract of the evidence which that witness proposed to give. The Commission trusts that this arrangement will satisfy the Government of India that the necessity for shortening the proceedings is its only reason for not hearing some of the witnesses presented by the Government.

No. 530, dated 29th January 1894.

From—J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept.
To—The Secretary to the Royal Opium Commission.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 23rd January 1894, regarding reduction of the lists of witnesses tendered by Government for examination by the Commission.

3. The Government of India gladly accept the proposal of the Royal Commission to bring upon the appendices of their report the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses whom they note in their minutes of evidence as presented and not examined.

No. 5023-Ex., dated 20th November 1893.

From—J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept.,

To—The Secretary to the Government of Madras.
" " " " Bombay.
" " " " N.-W. P. and Oudh.
" " " " Punjab.
" Chief Commissioner, Burma.
" " " Central Provinces.
" " " Assam.
" Agent to the Governor General, Central India.
" " " Rajputana.
" Resident at Baroda.
" " Hyderabad.

I am directed to inform you that the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium has informed the Government of India that the Commission desire to have sent to them before

each witness is examined an abstract of the evidence which the witness intends to give before them.

2. I am to request that you will procure, and forward to me, such an abstract from each of the witnesses included in the lists, which have been or are being prepared, of witnesses to be proposed by the Government for examination. The abstracts will be sent to the Commission by this Department, and three copies of each abstract should be sent to me.

3. Some Local Governments were instructed to send the lists of witnesses direct to the Secretary to the Commission. In supersession of those instructions I am now directed to request that the lists from all provinces may be sent to this Department, by which they will be forwarded to the Commission.

4. It is possible that the Commission may wish to reduce the number of the witnesses to be examined. In view of this, I am to request that you will give some indication of the relative importance of the witnesses included in the list forwarded by you, each class (medical, etc.) being taken separately for this purpose.

5. Three copies of the programme of the tour of the Commission, as at present arranged, are enclosed. Fifty copies are being sent in a separate cover.

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bengal for information, arrangements regarding the lists and abstracts of that Province having been made separately.

No. 4063-I., dated 29th November 1893.

From—A. WILLIAMS, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,
To—The Resident at Hyderabad.

In continuation of the letter from the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 5023-Ex., dated the 20th November 1893, I am directed to inform you that the Royal Commission on Opium have requested that the "abstracts" of evidence called for in paragraph 2 of that letter may be, as far as possible, accurate reproductions of the exact evidence to be given, so that printed cuttings may be used by short-hand writers for answers to questions put to witnesses by the Chairman and Members of the Commission.

2. I am to request that the abstract of Mr. Dunlop's evidence, forwarded with your letter No. 255, dated the 30th October 1893, may be altered by Mr. Dunlop so far as may be necessary, and that the other Hyderabad and Berar witnesses may be requested to prepare abstracts of their evidence in accordance with the request of the Commission as stated in this letter.

3. I am also to request that it may be ascertained whether Dr. Lawrie is willing to give evidence before the Royal Commission.

No. 303, dated 4th December 1893.

From—T. CHICHELE PLOWDEN, Esq., C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Finlay's letter No. 5023-Ex., dated the 20th November 1893, regarding the Royal Commission on Opium, and with reference to paragraph 2 to say that abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses selected by His Highness' Government to give evidence before the Commission have already been furnished to the Foreign Department of the Government of India under cover of the Resident's letters Nos. 255, dated the 30th October 1893, and 287, dated the 21st November 1893.

2. A list showing the names of these witnesses is attached.

3. Mr. Dunlop will give evidence in a dual capacity, *i.e.*, on behalf of both the British and His Highness the Nizam's Governments.

4. The following witnesses have been added to the list, and abstracts of their evidence will be submitted on receipt:—

(1) Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel E. Lawrie, Residency Surgeon, Hyderabad.

(2) Nawab Mahabub Yar Jung, Bahadur, A.-D.-C., to His Highness the Nizam.

(3) Nawab Jellal-ud-Doula, Bahadur, Superintendent of His Highness' Fill Khana.

5. The evidence of Mr. Dunlop and Dr. Lawrie may be classed as important: that of the other witnesses being less so.

List of official and non-official witnesses selected by His Highness the Nizam's Government to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Opium.

Officials.

1. A. J. Dunlop, Esq., Inspector-General of Revenue.
2. Nawab Imad Nawaz Jung, Bahadur, Abkari Commissioner.
3. Dorabji Dosabhai, Customs Commissioner.

Non-officials.

1. Sett Shewlal Motilal.
2. Sett Bhagwan Dass.

No. 5425-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.

From—J. F. FIRLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept.,
To—The Resident at Hyderabad.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 303, dated the 4th December 1893, I am directed to enclose a copy of letter, dated 8th December, from the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium, and of the reply sent thereto.

2. You will observe that the Commission desire to take in Bombay all evidence regarding His Highness the Nizam's Dominions and the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, and that the Government of India have requested them, if possible, to arrange to hear in Hyderabad the evidence of the witnesses named by His Highness the Nizam, but have informed them that witnesses giving evidence relating to the Assigned District will be sent to Bombay.

3. The Commission desire that only such witnesses as are considered to be specially important should be deputed to Bombay. I am therefore to request that you will obtain and forward the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses named in the list forwarded with Mr. Tucker's letter No. 387, dated 1st December 1893, and state which of them are in your opinion of special importance. The abstracts should be prepared as requested in Foreign Department's letter No. 4063-L., dated the 29th November 1893.

4. As the Commission will probably comply with the request of the Government of India to take in Hyderabad the evidence of the witnesses named by His Highness the Nizam, the list forwarded with your letter No. 303, dated 4th December, and added to in paragraph 4 of that letter, need not be reduced. I am to request that the abstracts of the evidence of those witnesses may be forwarded when ready.

Dated 8th December 1893.

From—J. P. HAWTET, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium,
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to say that, owing to the large amount of evidence which still remains to be taken in Calcutta, it has been found impossible to carry out the projected visit of a section of the Royal Commission on Opium to Madras and Hyderabad. His Excellency the Governor of Madras has concurred in this decision, and Lord Brassey understands that the Local Government does not consider it necessary that the Commission should visit the Madras Presidency for local inquiry. Arrangements can be made (probably during the stay of the Commission at Bombay in February) for the examination of any witnesses whom it is considered essential to put forward from Madras and Hyderabad, and any statistical or other statements which the Government of Madras or the Hyderabad State may wish to place before the Commission could be forwarded officially by letter without requiring the attendance before the Commission of the officer charged with the duty of presenting such statements. The Chairman would, however, if this is necessary, be prepared to go to Hyderabad from Bombay.

I am directed to inquire how many witnesses (1) the Madras Government and (2) the Hyderabad State consider it essential, subject to the understanding stated above, to bring before the Commission for examination. It is understood that the Anti-Opium Society will tender three witnesses from the Madras Presidency, and it is proposed to examine them in Calcutta on 21st instant.

No. 5424-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.

From—J. F. FIRLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept.,
To—The Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, regarding the evidence to be placed before the Royal Commission on Opium relating to Madras and Hyderabad.

2. In reply, I am directed to say that the Government of Madras and the Resident at Hyderabad have been requested to arrange for the appearance before the Commission of the Madras and Berar witnesses in Bombay in February. They have been informed of the wish of the Commission indicated in your letter, that they should send to Bombay, for the purpose of giving evidence, only those witnesses whose evidence will be specially important, and they have been requested to inform the Government of India what names should be struck out of the lists already prepared by them in order to reduce the number of witnesses. Copy of a telegram and a letter to the Government of Madras and a letter to the Resident, Hyderabad, are enclosed for your information. On receipt of their replies a further communication will be addressed to you on the subject.

3. With reference to the witnesses selected by His Highness the Nizam to give evidence before the Commission, I am to say that, in view of the status of the Hyderabad State and the willingness of His Highness the Nizam's Government to further the inquiry of the Commission, the Government of India strongly urge that arrangements may be made to hear their evidence, which is not voluminous, at Hyderabad. The list includes three noblemen and two bankers, who may be unwilling to proceed to Bombay.

No. 423, dated 23rd December 1893.

From—A. L. P. TUCKER, Esq., Secretary for Berar to the Resident at Hyderabad, 1
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 5425-Ex. of the 13th instant, regarding the Royal Commission on Opium. It has been noted that the evidence of Berar witnesses will be taken at Bombay in February next, and the Commissioner has been desired to instruct the witnesses * to be in attendance there on February 8th. If any further modification of these arrangements is probable, I am to ask that intimation may be sent by telegram.

* Names given below.

2. With regard to paragraph 3 of your letter under reply, I am to say that as the date for the examination of Berar witnesses has now been put forward to February, the two non-official gentlemen named in the margin, who were unable to attend in December, will now be available. Their evidence is regarded as important. On the other hand, the evidence of Mr. Nizam Khan of Akola (see list forwarded with my No. 387 of December 1st, 1893) is less important than that of other witnesses and he need not be summoned to Bombay. The list of witnesses finally selected for Berar will be as follows:—

- (1) Mr. Rambilas, of Amraoti.
- (2) Nawab Salamulla Khan, of Buldana.
- (3) Rao Sahab Deo Rao Vinayak, of Akola.
- (4) Mr. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde, of Amraoti.

All these four gentlemen are non-official and are good representative men.

3. Printed copies (3) of the abstract of the evidence of these four witnesses are enclosed. It has not been found possible to give entire effect to the wishes of the Commission as indicated in paragraph 1 of Foreign Department letter No. 4063-I, of the 29th November last. Some of the witnesses do not know English sufficiently well to be able to abstract their evidence, and others have left Berar for a time. The abstracts now sent, prepared by the Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, from the written statements of the witnesses, give the gist of what each witness will say.

No. 354-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

From—J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept.,
To—The Secretary to the Royal Opium Commission.

In continuation of my letter No. 5424, dated the 13th December 1893, I am directed to enclose list of the witnesses tendered by the Government from Madras to give evidence before the Royal Opium Commission, also a printed statement of the nature of the evidence these witnesses will give. Mr. C. S. Crole, whose evidence is not sketched in the statement, will put in an account of the opium excise arrangements in the Presidency, with an account of their growth and necessary statistical information, and answer any questions that may be asked regarding the arrangements.

2. I am to say that, for the reasons explained in my letter No. 293-Ex., dated the 16th instant, regarding the evidence offered by the Government from Bombay, the Government of India consider it desirable that the selection of the Madras witnesses also should be made by the Commission, and to request that you will be so good as to inform me which of the witnesses named in the list enclosed the Commission wish to examine and which they do not desire to hear.

3. As the time is short, it would also be convenient if you would, when you reply, also telegraph direct to the Government of Madras the names of the witnesses whom the Commission wish to examine in Bombay. The Government of Madras have been requested to warn *all* the witnesses to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Bombay about the 12th February.

No. 355-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

From—J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept.,
To—The Secretary to the Government of Madras, Revenue Department.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 4883, dated the 23rd December 1893, and in continuation of my telegram No. 353-Ex., dated 18th January 1894, I am directed to forward a copy of a letter sent to-day to the Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, with a copy of its enclosure.

2. I am to request that you will now, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, obtain from the witnesses named in the list forwarded to the Royal Opium Commission statements of the evidence they propose to give. These statements should be the composition of the witnesses themselves and should contain the evidence to be given written out in full—not merely a sketch or abstract of such evidence. Endeavours should be made to obtain the statements without delay as there is no time to lose and it is possible that the Commission will wish to see them before complying with the request in my letter of this day's date. Three copies of the statements should be sent to this Department as soon as they are ready and 30 copies to Mr. R. M. Dana, addressing him "With Royal Commission on Opium."

* To Secretary, Royal Opium Commission,
No. 557-Ex., dated 21st December 1893.
From Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, dated
12th January 1894.

To Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, No. 269,
dated 18th January 1894.
To Government of Bombay, No. 320., dated 17th
January 1894.

3. The enclosed copy of correspondence * with the Commission regarding the evidence collected by the Government of Bombay will explain the reason of the orders now issued.

4. According to the present programme of the Commission, they will begin to take evidence in Bombay on the 12th February; and I am to suggest that pending the reply and final selection of witnesses by the Commission, all the witnesses in the list should be warned to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Bombay about that date.

No. 139 (Revenue), dated 12th December 1895.

From—The Secretary of State for India, (RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON),
To—The Government of India.

I have considered in Council Your Excellency's letter No. 305, dated the 19th October 1895, conveying the views of your Government upon the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium.

2. You regard the majority report, from which one out of the eight members dissented, as a vindication of the past action of the Government of India on the opium question. You agree generally in the conclusions of the Royal Commission, and you record your special concurrence in what the Report says with regard to—

- (1) the generally moderate use of opium in India and the effects thereof;
- (2) the impolicy of any general prohibition of opium for any purpose other than medicinal;
- (3) the position of the Indian Government in relation to Malwa opium, and the States and people who produce it;
- (4) the practical impossibility of prohibiting the use of opium in Native States;
- (5) the advantages of the Bengal monopoly system of managing the opium revenue;
- (6) the principles by which and the restrictions under which the cultivation of opium in the Ganges Valley should be regulated;
- (7) the desirability of leaving the recent arrangements in Burma for restricting opium consumption to be tested by actual practice.

3. You confirm the view taken in Sir. D. Barbour's evidence before the Commission, that the Indian Treasury cannot, in the present circumstances, forego the opium revenue, which during recent years has averaged about sixty millions of rupees *net* yearly; that India could not supply a similar sum from any new source of revenue; and that the people of India would be altogether unwilling to endure additional taxation to make good a deficit caused by the abolition of the opium revenue.

4. You report that, in accordance with the advice of the Commission, you are arranging that the Behar Opium Agency shall, as the Benares Agency already does, deal direct with the cultivators of opium, instead of dealing through middlemen. The Commission consider that no licenses should be granted for the sale of opium prepared for smoking; this recommendation has been anticipated by action taken during recent years in the Punjab and some other provinces, and you are taking steps to secure that the same course shall be followed in all provinces. The Commission further suggest that special measures might be taken against the use of rooms as smoking saloons by the public or by so-called clubs. At present there is no law under which such prohibition could be enforced, but you are consulting the Local Governments as to the expediency of conferring such power by special legislation.

5. The whole subject has now been most exhaustively treated, and the report of the Commission has been carefully and impartially reviewed by Your Excellency's Government. I agree in the conclusions which you hold to be established by the labours of the Royal Commission, and I approve the action you are taking on the three points mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. I desire to be informed hereafter of the results of the measures that have been or may be adopted on these points.

Y:413.2.M9t

^ C2:9
217581