



MR. HENRY J. WILSON, M.P.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Minute of Dissent, by Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P.

1. As I am unable to concur in the report prepared by my colleagues, it is necessary that I should submit a statement of my own views upon the principal subjects of the inquiry. I desire to do so as briefly as possible.

2. The resolution of the House of Commons in pursuance of which the Commission was appointed was proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and carried by 184 to 105. The minority, consisting mainly of those who may be described, for brevity's sake, as the Anti-opium Party, desired the appointment of a Commission for a very different and more useful purpose than that which was finally recommended by the resolution of the House. NOTE A.

3. The 722 witnesses who appeared before us may be roughly divided into three classes, 191 who disapprove of the general use of opium, or are opposed for various reasons to the present opium system, or anti-opiumists; 487 more or less approving that system, or pro-opiumists; and 44 neutral or unclassified, including those who appeared purely for statistical or other evidence of a restricted character.

4. The anti-opiumist witnesses who were Natives of India were, generally speaking, not equal to the pro-opiumists in wealth and social position, but were not on that account less able to represent the habits and opinions of the great mass of their fellow-countrymen. This class includes a majority of the native journalists, lawyers, teachers, and professors. Of qualified non-official native medical practitioners, a considerable majority were either anti-opiumists or somewhat undecided in their views. An enormous majority of the medical and other Christian missionaries who appeared before the Commission also gave anti-opium evidence.

The pro-opiumists, on the other hand, represented the great majority of the official classes, both European and Native, including military medical officers, together with many titled personages, landowners, and persons who considered that their financial interests were at stake.

5. A change appears to have come over official statements in reference to opium within the last few years. These were, until very recently, almost invariably condemnatory of the drug.

NOTE B.

Illustrations of this are given in the Notes, and it will suffice to make here one quotation only. On the 24th October, 1817, the Directors of the East India Company, writing to the Governor-General, referred to their desire "to restrain the use of this pernicious drug," and went on to say, "were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind."

It will be seen from the evidence, some of which is hereafter referred to, that a very considerable body of officials now adopt a decidedly altered tone. No definite cause has been assigned for this change, but it is impossible to dissociate it from the financial difficulties of India, and from the pressure of the anti-opium movement in England having been increasingly associated with the discussion on the reduction of Indian expenditure.

PRODUCTION OF OPIUM.

6. The production of opium in British India is not specially mentioned in the reference to the Commission, but it seems desirable to make some allusion to it.

So far as British India is concerned, the interest may be said to be almost confined to what is commonly known as the "Bengal Monopoly System,"* under which the cultivation of poppy is (for the convenience of surveillance) concentrated in two areas, known as the Behar Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Patna, and the Benares Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Ghazipur. The cultivation is by Act XIII. of 1857 restricted to cultivators who have received license to grow poppy.

On the average of the last three years (1890-1 to 1892-3), as to which returns were supplied, 243,605 acres of poppy were grown in the Behar Agency, and 229,574 acres in the Benares Agency, making together 473,179 acres.

Taking the average of the same three years, the licensed cultivators, numbering 1,247,941, delivered to the officials 78,944 maunds of opium, or about 57,995 cwts., for which they received Rs. 15,774,607, say, £854,457,† including certain advances made before sowing or delivery.

From these figures it will be found that the average cultivator delivered about 5·20 lbs. and received Rs. 12·64, say 13s. 8½d.† It is claimed that the cultivator is greatly benefited by getting an advance "without interest," but this advance is under 6s. and

* The "Bengal Monopoly System" provides 98 per cent. of the opium produced in British India. The remaining 2 per cent. is produced in the Punjab and Ajmere-Merwara. As to opium produced in the Native States, see pars. 42-47.

† Here and elsewhere the value of the rupee has been taken at 1s. 1d. English.

for only part of the year, so that at 5 per cent. per annum the interest would amount to less than 2½d. per cultivator.

See Note C.

7. It is said that there was a time when the poppy was a generally remunerative, and, therefore, popular crop. But it is certain from the correspondence which took place in 1881 between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, that it was not then by any means universally popular.

In 1883 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department, and from official correspondence which arose out of the report of that Commission it is perfectly clear that in some districts many of the ryots were reluctant to undertake the cultivation of the poppy.

The Commission of 1883 made numerous recommendations for improving the position of the poppy cultivator, but most of their recommendations have been neglected by the authorities.

There is still difficulty in obtaining the quantity of ground desired by the Government, and methods, which in India are called "persuasion" and in England compulsion, have to be resorted to.

The evidence showed that this compulsion is greater in the Behar than in the Benares Agency; it is natural, also, that it should be greater in the places where the poppy is least productive.

It is the duty of the zilladars, the lower officials of the Opium Department, who are distributed all over the opium districts, to induce the people to apply for licenses and advances and to bring them to the weighment places. Mr. Gregory called this "coolie driving" (a), and although he afterwards said it meant only to collect them (b), I fail to reconcile this kind of driving or collecting with anxiety on the part of the people to obtain the alleged privilege of cultivating (c).

The most conclusive evidence on this subject is furnished by what has happened since the Commission left India. The Indian Revenue Department's Resolution No. 2208, 20th April, 1894, comments on the decrease in the area of cultivation, giving among other reasons the competition of other crops, and states "that the price of opium paid to cultivators will have to be increased in order to keep pace with the rise of prices of other produce." In accordance with this, the price paid to the cultivators has been raised 20 per cent., viz., from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per seer. This proceeding in the present condition of Indian finance is in curious and suggestive contrast with the official evidence presented to the Commission as to the profitable, and therefore popular, character of poppy cultivation.

8. The official witnesses denied that compulsion was practised (d). Mr. Forbes, who holds the important position of Commissioner of Patna, stated (d) "as far as I know the cultivators grow it entirely

NOTE C.

Return, C. 3378, "Opium negotiations with China," 1882. Vol. II., 5300 to 5304.

Vol. V., App. I.

NOTE D.

13,521 to 13,534.

2767, 6282, 10,909, 13,397, 11,362-3, 19,093.

NOTE E.

(a) 13,457.

(b) 13,579.

(c) 2927, 3249, 19,343-4, 19,535-7, 10,795-6, 14,942, 19,126.

(1) 2920, 19,131, 19,537.

(d) 10,829.

of their own free will." He also said that the charge of compulsion had taken the officials by surprise (e). "The charge, in my opinion, arises entirely from the ignorance of the gentlemen, who, no doubt in good faith have conceived an entirely mistaken idea of the relations between ourselves and the inhabitants generally of the country" (f).

Yet at the same time he informed the Commission that, in consequence of a rumour from Calcutta only a week before, he had been making special inquiries into the allegations, and that in that short time he had heard of three cases, as to which he undertook to make further and strict inquiry (g).

It appears from Lord Brassey's remark (Q. 12,081) that Mr. Forbes had already spoken to him on the subject, and it was dismissed at the time by Lord Brassey's statement to Mr. Forbes:—

"You have assured me that you will not allow the matter to be neglected, and that if there is anything wrong the man shall be punished."

The result of these inquiries has been communicated by Mr. Forbes since our return to England, and will be found in Appendix XXXII., Vol. V., a perusal of which, and of Note F., will show that a zilladar, or inferior officer of the Opium Department, was seriously implicated in one case, that Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, was compromised in two cases, and Mr. Skrine, who holds the important office of Collector of Bhagalpur, was guilty of direct interference and pressure for the purpose of promoting opium cultivation.

There is no evidence that any official has been subjected to any censure or discipline.

9. Exactions of every kind are practised by the zilladars and other subordinate officials on the ryots. The Commission of 1883 reported, "Every seer of opium which a cultivator delivers pays toll to the amlah (subordinate official), and from every rupee which a cultivator receives a per-centage is deducted for their benefit." It was admitted by official witnesses that illegal exactions have continued (c), that little attempt is made to detect them (d), and it is too plain from Mr. Wace's cautious answers, that even some European officials (e) are not altogether free from suspicion.

10. Cases were reported to us (f) showing that the officials of the Opium Department, not content with the severe law providing ample punishment for offences, take upon themselves to summarily destroy the crops of cultivators who have, or who are supposed to have, neglected to grow the full quantity of poppy for which they have taken advances. One very interesting and suggestive case

* The petition, which is not printed, alleges that part of a wheat-field was "unsowed" by officials of the Opium Department.

of this kind, of which full particulars are given in the Notes, was proved beyond all doubt, and no attempt was made to disprove the others. NOTE G.

Resolution of Revenue Department, No. 2208, of 20th April, 1894, states that in nearly 70 per cent. of the cases of alleged infraction of the opium laws in the Aliganj Sub-Division in the year 1892-3, "departmental punishment was inflicted on the offenders, who were all opium cultivators, instead of sending them up to the criminal court." If this means that cultivators have been summarily punished as in one of the cases above referred to, it is much to be regretted that the Government of Bengal should, since the Commission left India, have expressed its approval of "the course adopted in the Aliganj Sub-Agency of punishing opium cultivators departmentally."

COMPENSATION ON TERMINATION OF POPPY CULTIVATION.

11. Some of the Government witnesses (a) as well as persons financially interested (b) suggested that if the Bengal monopoly system should be terminated, compensation ought to be paid to the zemindars and ryots. It has become common to speak of "prohibition" in connexion with this matter, but it must be remembered that prohibition has already been enacted by the Opium Acts of 1857 and 1878 (c), and cultivation is punishable except in the case of persons duly provided with annual licenses under stringent conditions. (a) 2080, 5254, 14,398, 26,832.
(b) 14,441, 13,943-60.
(c) Vol. II., pp. 527 and 531.
2943.

Cultivation has been terminated through the greater part of British India by general prohibitory enactment. It has also been terminated frequently and extensively simply by the non-issue of licenses. This course has sometimes been adopted, wholesale, in a given locality for the purpose of "facilitating excise" (c), or, because it is "unremunerative to the Department" (d). This termination by the non-issue of licenses has also been continually practised when the accumulation of reserve stock, the falling off of the export trade, or other reasons, rendered such a course desirable in the interests of Government (e). (c) 19,117, 14,932.
(d) 19,109.

In none of these different cases has any compensation whatever been made by Government either to the zemindars or to the ryots (f). (e) 2943 and 3019.

12. It was also contended by some witnesses that termination of poppy cultivation must needs be accompanied by reduction both of land revenue (g) and of rents payable by the ryots (h). But repeated questions failed to elicit evidence of a single case of reduction of rent, (j) and only one instance was laid before us (so far as I know) in which a reduction of land revenue (k) was said to be consequent on termination of poppy cultivation. In this solitary case the reduction was not made till after the lapse of (f) 3020, 2122, 13,754, 19,153, 14,938, 5775.
(g) 13,694, 17,369.
(h) 5333, 10,821, 6095.
(j) 5306-9, 6130, 5569, 6172, 8514-5, 14,371.
(k) Vol. IV., p. 512, par. 12.

(c) 12,079, 5399.

(f) 12,156.

(g) 12,079.

NOTE F.

Report, 1883, par. 638.

(c) 10,851, 12,336, 12,149.

(d) 12,325.

(e) 10,899, 10,901.

(f) 11,355-89, 12,396-454, 20,444.

was whether, if the Indian opium supply was stopped, the people would take to alcohol. The replies, in the proportion of about 40 to 6, are that it would not have this effect.

It would occupy too much space to refer at length to the consular, missionary, and other evidence from China, which will be found in Vol. V., App. XXVI., but it is abundantly manifest that opium in China is a gigantic national evil.

16. It is, therefore, impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such widespread misery and disaster. It is known that the cultivation of opium is now largely carried on in China, with the connivance, if not the express permission of the authorities, and without throwing any doubt on the sincerity of the desire of Chinese statesmen to rid their country of the blight of opium, it is impossible to say, especially in the present condition of the Chinese Empire, whether the cessation of importation of Indian opium would be accompanied or followed by any serious attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to exclude opium from other sources, and to prohibit its cultivation within the limits of their own empire. But however that may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that, if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples.

17. The effects of the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements and other places in the east are substantially the same as already described in the case of China. A similar objection, therefore, exists to its production and sale for these other localities and nationalities.

18. The result of careful consideration of this part of the subject is that in my opinion the opium trade with China and the far East should be prohibited.

19. Sir James Fergusson, speaking as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government, declared on the 10th April, 1891, in the House of Commons, that—

“The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving ‘12 months’ notice, and to protect themselves they may increase ‘the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it ‘altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese ‘Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive ‘extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not ‘expend one pound in powder and shot or lose the life of a ‘soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese.’”

Exception was taken to the accuracy of the first part of this statement by some of the witnesses opposed to the trade. A memorandum from the Foreign Office shows that Sir James Fergusson was mistaken in saying that China could free herself

Q. 11.

Hansard, Vol. 352, p. 316.

Vol. I., App. IV.

from all treaty obligations in the matter by giving 12 months’ notice. The remainder of Sir James Fergusson’s statement is sufficiently explicit as regards the policy of Her Majesty’s Ministers at the time, but it is very important that the British Government should make a definite declaration in that sense to the Chinese Government.

THE CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH INDIA.

20. Opium is consumed in three ways (a):—I. By eating (b) in the form of small portions, or pills; II. By drinking decoctions of the crude drug, known as *kasumba* (c) and *amal pani*; or an infusion of poppy heads, or capsules, called *post* (d); III. By smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu* (e) (the Chinese form) and *madat*, or *madak* (f), or *gooli* (g). The first method (eating, or more correctly, swallowing) is that by which far the greatest quantity of opium is consumed.

The evidence laid before us as to the prevalence of the opium habit was very contradictory. Many witnesses, including some of the most important officials, gave evidence which tended to show that the habitual use of opium is widely prevalent amongst the various populations. This view was urged upon us by repeated statements that the consumption is so necessary to the happiness, well being, and even life of the people that it would be impossible to contemplate prohibition, or even any serious increase of restriction of the supply, because the result would not improbably be such general discontent as would amount to serious political danger. (See Note L.)

Evidence of a directly contradictory character was given by many other witnesses, including a considerable proportion of natives of India, who may reasonably be supposed to be better acquainted with the habits of their relations, friends, and neighbours than officials, and especially highly placed officials, can possibly be. In order to arrive at some conclusion upon this conflicting testimony, it will be convenient to form some opinion as to what may be considered an average consumer’s daily dose, and then to examine the actual statistics of consumption.

21. The particulars given in the Notes show that the average quantity taken daily by each adult male consumer is about 20 grains. Taking this in conjunction with the evidence of many Government witnesses as to the very wide prevalence of the habit, the impression conveyed to the mind must be that there is a consumption far in excess of anything that is shown by the actual statistics.

An examination of the statistics for each province shows that in Assam, where the consumption is largest, the quantity of opium issued is only sufficient to supply 20 grains daily to one person out of 52 of the entire population, while in the province of Madras, at

(a) 26,040, 21,116, 25,903.
(b) 26,060, 20,323.
(c) 26,040, 26,802.
(d) 20,212, 20,323.
(e) 13,480-4, 26,040, 27,389.
(f) 26,060.
(g) 4512.

NOTE L.

NOTE M.

NOTE N.

NOTE O.

the other end of the scale, the supply is only sufficient for one person out of 521 of the population.

But greatly as the provinces differ from each other, various localities in these provinces differ still more widely, for while in Calcutta the consumption is equal to 20 grains daily for one person out of 26, in Tippera it will only provide the same quantity for one person out of 8,588.

It is clear from the Notes above referred to, and from the evidence on which they are founded, that the popular ideas which seem to prevail among Europeans in India are entirely irreconcilable with the actual facts.

Even if it could be shown that the average consumption of individuals is less than 20 grains, the argument is not materially affected. Moreover in these calculations no allowance is made for legitimate medical use, nor for the practice which is said to prevail of giving opium to animals.

USE OF OPIUM BY THE TROOPS.

22. A general impression has prevailed, and important witnesses (a) gave evidence as to the general use of opium by the native troops, and especially by the Sikhs. The evidence taken in India shows this to be a delusion. Major-General Sir Robert Low, K.C.B., in command of the Oudh District, stated (b) that the highest number of opium-eaters reported in any one regiment under his command was 20; in the Ghoorka regiment only two consumers; and in another, none. Evidence was given by other military witnesses as to the consumption of Opium by Sikhs in 12 corps. As to two of these (c) it was stated that opium was consumed by all. In two cases (d) the proportion appears to average about 33 per cent. In eight cases (e) the proportion varied from 1·3 per cent. to 6·5 per cent., or an average of 3·1 per cent. Colonel Jamieson, although a decided pro-opiumist, admitted (f) that the Rajputs in his regiment, as a rule, do not take opium. Official information (g) shows that while 23 regiments, including two Sikh regiments, made no arrangements for the supply of opium while on service, 3 lbs. were taken by the 23rd Bengal Infantry as sufficient for two years, and small quantities taken by the 32nd Bengal Infantry and the 3rd Sikh Infantry were brought back untouched.

NO ANALOGY BETWEEN ALCOHOL IN ENGLAND AND OPIUM IN INDIA.

23. In whatever way the statistics are looked at, they show that there are in India vast tracts where a mere fraction of the population are consumers of opium. In England, on the other hand, the great majority of the people are more or less consumers of alcohol. Any attempt therefore to treat the case as analogous

is entirely fallacious; in the one case we have a nation of consumers, in the other a nation of abstainers

PURPOSES FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

24. It may be plainly stated at the outset that there is a general consensus of native opinion (a) in almost all parts of India against the habitual use of opium by the healthy and able-bodied.

25. The importance of opium, as a remedy in certain diseases, has never been disputed. It is daily used in many parts of India, not only for specific ailments, for which it would be prescribed by European practitioners, but in many other cases, with the object of relieving pain, although it may have no permanent effect on the cause of the pain. The theory was advanced by some witnesses (b) that the habitual use of opium for non-medical purposes must have originated in the case of each consumer for the purpose of repressing some positive ailment, or to avoid disease which climatic or other conditions render probable. In accordance with this theory evidence was given before us (c) as to the belief of the natives, in many malarious districts, that opium is a prophylactic against fever, and that such belief was shared by many Europeans, (d) principally military medical officers. On the other hand, this view was strongly controverted by other witnesses, (e) including medical practitioners, both European and Native, who disputed the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever, or as a remedy in the disease, and as regards many parts of India there was no such belief amongst the natives (f). It was clearly established by the evidence that the habit of consuming opium is practised by a certain portion of the inhabitants in many parts of India for purposes which have no relation to the actual presence or even fear of disease. Many men begin the consumption of opium at about the age of 40, (g) under the impression that the system is stimulated and the declining bodily powers preserved by its use. Under these circumstances, it does not appear to incur popular disapproval.

26. There is a special and licentious purpose for which opium is taken, and when it is habitually used by young and healthy men it is usually for this purpose, which is universally reprobated as vicious and degrading. (See Note P.)

27. Opium is in some districts frequently taken by persons requiring to make special or unusual exertion (h) in enterprises involving fatigue and exposure, while others entirely deny that any advantage is derived from such use, (i) and on the contrary maintain that the stimulation which it affords is merely temporary and delusive. This idea as to the benefit of opium under such conditions is similar to the belief which formerly prevailed in England as to the use of alcohol in the like circumstances, but

(a) 13,336, 17,513-4, 18,836, 20,133, 24,937, 28,061, and many others.

(b) 13,089, 17,283, 28,107, 21,878, 2147, 4992, and many others.

(c) 3657, 19,528, 25,583, 27,574.

(d) 2188, 3404, 3606, 21,001-2, 28,141, 9516-7. (e) 4710-5, 13,116, 5837, 16,558, 16,902, 19,203, and many others.

(f) 8642, 4280, 9132, 9852, 13,382-3, 18,195, and many others.

(g) 3943, 12,576, 4060, 26,061, and many others.

NOTE P.

(h) 10,038, 15,762, 19,192, 20,990.

(i) 8596-9, 8612, 9848, 18,253, 19,029, 23,457, and many others.

Vol. V., p. 127.
20,323.

(a) 872, 1559.

(b) 14,110-2.

(c) 14,117, 18,641.

(d) 18,688, 17,017.

(e) 18,704, 14,147, 15,751, 19,893, 17,059, 16,943, 7,108, 17,017.

(f) 14,163.

(g) Vol. II., p. 453.

which the experience obtained in Arctic and other arduous enterprises has now proved to be delusive.

28. The drug is also used in some provinces and castes as a mark of friendship and hospitality in connexion with family and social ceremonies.

29. To infants from the time of birth until they are three or four years of age opium in minute doses is habitually given in many parts of India, (*k*) partly with the impression that it protects them against disease, but chiefly in order to keep them quiet, and prevent them from crying in the absence of the mothers when engaged in household or field work.

This practice is defended (*a*) in general terms by several witnesses, and strongly condemned (*b*) by many who are specific in their enumeration of the evils which follow. The best excuses offered are the poverty and the ignorance of the parents.

In Bombay there is an extensive use of Bala Gooli, (*l*) that is, pills made of opium mixed with other drugs and spices for the use of children. This is at present carried on under the sanction of the authorities, which in my opinion should be withheld.

30. The practice of drinking the decoctions or infusions of opium, already alluded to, is somewhat restricted. It appears to be mainly confined to Rajputana and the Punjab, and to be chiefly associated with social and ceremonial observances (*m*). There is some evidence that this use is declining (*n*).

SMOKING OPIUM.

31. The smoking of chandu and madak is usually a social (*a*), as distinguished from a personal, habit, and appears to be principally confined to the cities and large towns (*b*). It is almost universally admitted to be injurious and demoralising, is practised by the vicious and degraded (*c*), and is generally reprobated (*d*).

In view of the evils attending the habit, smoking on licensed premises was forbidden throughout British India (*e*) on the 25th September, 1891.

Evidence was given that smoking clubs, so-called (though without any pretence of paid membership), existed before the issue of this prohibition, and have multiplied since. Very little effort had apparently been made to suppress them. There appears to be no reason why the authorities should not have taken steps to acquire any further powers which were needed for this purpose as they were invited to do by the Home Government.

Three missionaries and a newspaper editor at Bombay having exposed certain incidents connected with the sale of opium were proceeded against for defamation by the manager of the opium farmer in that city. At one of the trials which took place after we left India, Mr. Cooper, the presiding magistrate, stated in his

20,982, 21,577, 23,656,
24,659.

(*k*) 23,104, 25,867, 13,994,
15,672, 11,808, 3502, and
many others.

(*a*) 16,266, 21,577, 23,261,
25,876.

(*b*) 16,902, 21,298, 23,491a,
26,619, 25,894.

(*l*) 24,671, 25,865, 26,674.

Vol. IV., p. 498.

(*m*) 16,231, 20,990, 21,987.

(*n*) 22,776, 23,750, 26,429.

(*a*) 3510, 16,546.

(*b*) 16,766-7, 28,082, 18,564,
27,065.

(*c*) 27,388, 3843, 15,608,
19,527, 16,012, 17,705.

(*d*) 27,467, 20,698, 11,858,
21,870, 21,812.

(*e*) Vol. II., p. 396.

5008, 15,170-72, 16,684-709,
26,948.

Secretary of State's letter,
Vol. II., p. 396.

judgment, "it is admitted that during the last Mahim fair, "there were five or six of these clubs opened at Mahim, "and the statement in the article regarding the mismanagement of these clubs appears to be true." In the course of these proceedings, the following remarkable evidence was given by the chief opium inspector at Bombay:—"There are about 150 "clubs at Bombay. . . . I do not think the opium-smoking "clubs at Bombay and at Mahim are undesirable. . . . I "do not think the opium-smoking establishments should be shut "up, therefore we have not tried to shut them up." It is noticeable that since the imprisonment of the missionaries the opium officials at Bombay have instituted proceedings against several of these so-called clubs, and have obtained convictions against them.

The question of dealing with unlicensed opium-smoking clubs in India has been compared to that of preventing illegal sales of alcohol in clubs in England. There is this important difference, that the question in England is how to prevent the consumption in unlicensed places of beverages which are not disapproved by public opinion generally. In India it is a question of stopping a practice under all circumstances which incurs almost universal reprobation.

26,218, 26,948.

PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

32. A large body of evidence of a conflicting character was given on this subject. Many medical and other witnesses stated that the habitual use of opium in any form for other than medical purposes is decidedly deleterious. NOTE Q.

Other witnesses, including a majority of the official doctors, deny that there are any evil consequences from opium-eating in moderation, some maintaining that it produces no evil effects and others alleging that it is actually beneficial.

Allusion has already been made (paragraph 25) to the controversy as to the value of Opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever. Copious references to important medical evidence will be found in the Notes, showing that this prophylactic theory is an entirely new one; not taught in the medical schools; never heard of by many practitioners; that opium is not used or recommended by many of those who have heard of the theory; that many practitioners who profess to believe in it prefer other remedies; that other practitioners, both pro-opiumists and anti-opiumists, deny altogether that opium does possess any such prophylactic properties; and that vast numbers of the people have no knowledge of or belief in opium as a preventive of fever.

It is incredible that if the highest medical and other authorities in India seriously believed in this prophylactic use of opium that they should have allowed so many members of the medical service to remain in ignorance of it. The opinion of the Govern-

NOTE Y.

"Consumption of Opium in India," C. — 6562, 1892, p. 52. 4

(e) 2173-6, 12,902, 20,331, 23,606, 27,916, and many others.

ment of Madras was indicated when a complaint was made that they were teaching the people of certain tracts to rely on opium as a febrifuge, for they replied that so far from that "we are doing all we can to gradually wean them from their hereditary habit of using it on all occasions."

It is admitted on both sides that habitual consumers, who are unable to get the usual dose at the usual hour (e), besides suffering pain and inconvenience, are for a time incapacitated wholly or partly for the discharge of their ordinary duties.

MORAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

33. As to the moral effects there is the same diversity in the evidence, for while a large number of witnesses declare that the use of the drug is detrimental morally, leading to idleness, inactivity, weakening of control over the will, and bad habits generally, other witnesses maintain that in their experience these results have not been observable.

It is obvious that the positive testimony of those who have witnessed the evil of which they speak is not displaced by the evidence of any number of witnesses who have not observed the injurious effects of the drug on other people. It is admitted on all hands that the opium habit obtains an imperious sway over those who become subject to it. It is surely playing with words to contend that a mastery so powerful is not lowering to the moral nature of man.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

34. Violent crimes are not attributed to opium, but there was a good deal of evidence that there is, in the case of the habitual consumer, an imperious craving for the periodical dose which constantly leads him, when he is poor, to resort to petty thefts in order to obtain money for the purpose of getting opium.

This allegation again was denied by certain Government witnesses, but we had no evidence that it is the practice to inquire into the original cause of petty theft; indeed one witness distinctly stated that it was not.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

35. It is universally admitted, even by pro-opium witnesses, that the injurious effects of opium appear much sooner and more markedly in the case of the poor than of the rich, because the latter are able to provide themselves with abundance of good and rich food, which appears to counteract the action of the opium.

Nor is it denied by pro-opium witnesses that excessive use produces evil results both physical and moral. It is clear from the evidence that the excessive use is largely a matter of time,

because as soon as a moderate dose fails in its effect, as it usually does sooner or later, the quantity must be increased.

The fact of this tendency to increase the dose was attested by the evidence of a large number of witnesses on both sides. The anti-opium witnesses were practically unanimous on this point, and were supported by not a few of those who defended the practice of eating opium. But other pro-opium witnesses denied this tendency to increase beyond a given point. How this point is to be determined, except indeed by dangerous experiment, was not explained.

The difficulty of discontinuance or even diminution of the habitual dose becomes greater in proportion to the length of the period of indulgence, until at last cessation becomes almost impossible.

COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

36. The question has been raised as to whether the consumption of opium is a matter of race, whether there is any reason why opium is consumed more in the East than in the West, and whether there is any difference in the tolerance (to use the medical term) of the inhabitants of Europe and of India.

The evidence presented to us shows that if there be any difference, Europeans possess greater tolerance.

INDIAN MISSIONARY OPINION.

37. In some Christian denominations in India there is actual prohibition, and in others a general understanding against the admission into church membership of converts who indulge in opium. This fact is strong proof of the sincerity of the opinions of the missionaries of those denominations, for it is obviously not to their interest to unduly restrict the number of their converts, and it is clear that they would not do it but for substantial reasons.

Several memorials were forwarded to the Commission from missionaries and others interested in mission work. Some of them (a) expressed strong views against the use of opium and the present opium system, these views being supported by some of the signatories appearing personally as witnesses. Other memorials (b) took a less unfavourable view, and it is important to observe that none of those who signed these latter memorials offered themselves as witnesses, and consequently were not subjected to any examination of their views and means of knowledge.

Of the 45 missionaries and others closely associated with them who appeared before us as witnesses, and submitted to the test of cross-examination, 41 (c) condemned the use of opium, two (d) may be said to have occupied neutral or indefinite positions, and

5832, 8805, 15,145, 17,177, 19,032, 25,522, 2151, 25,960, 26,613, and many others.

12,484, 15,912, 19,228.

NOTE U.

NOTE V.

2302-4, 23,329.

(a) Vol. II., p. 314.
Vol. II., p. 460.
Vol. V., p. 137.

(b) Vol. II., p. 438.
Vol. V., p. 138.

(c) 2238, 2589, 2756, 6921, 11,015, 13,988, 21,382, 21,463, 23,308, 23,332, 23,456, 25,521, 26,434, 26,539, 27,822, 4278, 7739, 10,611, 19,894, 21,297, and 21 others.

(d) 8652, 17,246.

NOTE R.

NOTE S.

8770.

10,868, 4200, 4235, 12,391-2, 26,770, 19,331, 27,102, 23,511, 25,954, 27,569, 28,114.

NOTE T.

(c) 5457, 16,902.

two others, (e) one of whom declared himself an "abolitionist on "purely moral grounds," to some extent defended or at least extenuated the use of opium.

See also Vol. I., Q. 26.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO THE PROHIBITION OR RESTRICTION OF THE GENERAL USE OF OPIUM.

38. The balance of evidence shows that the non-medical use of opium is usually injurious to the consumer, and I am of opinion that much may be done to discourage the common use of the drug.

NOTE V. V.

The Minutes of Evidence contain a large body of testimony showing that prohibition or restriction would be approved by the mass of the people in many parts of India. More than a hundred witnesses (three-fourths of whom were natives of India) were in favour of prohibition, in addition to a number of others who desired some form of restriction, short of prohibition.

The difficulties in the way of any further restriction propounded by some of the witnesses appear to me greatly exaggerated.

Vol. II., pp. 427 and 467.

Vol. II., p. 429.

It is contended that, were further restriction attempted, it would be impossible, except in the large towns, to find persons to whom the sale for medicinal purposes could be entrusted. But the present regulations authorise the issue of druggist's and doctor's licenses, and these are granted to hakims and vaidis practising eastern systems of medicine. In Bengal alone, 1,264 of these licenses were issued in 1892-3.

As the people of India are in the main abstainers from the drug, and its consumption is not general, except in certain districts, some form of local veto on the common sale, ought, I think, to be adopted. It might also with great advantage and with popular approval be made applicable to alcohol.

I would further recommend a change of system by which the present opium contractors or vendors, who profit directly in proportion to the amount of opium they sell, should be replaced by official vendors, with fixed salaries.

So far from having any inducement to push the sale of the drug they should be directed, as far as possible, to discourage the non-medical use, and regulations should be laid down authorising them to refuse to supply persons whose relatives or friends complain that it is improperly used. All opium sold should be labelled "Poison," as in England, and should be accompanied by a caution, printed in the vernacular and in English, against its use for non-medical purposes. These official vendors would usually be natives of India, on moderate salaries. They should be located in places suitable for supplying the legitimate medicinal requirements of the people and be vigilantly supervised.

The alterations suggested, if properly carried out, would un-

doubtedly be an important step towards the reduction of the consumption.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM SMOKING.

39. Although very diverse views were laid before the Commission as to the habitual use of opium by eating and drinking, there was a striking consensus of disapproval of smoking as an injurious and degrading practice. Not only did the anti-opium witnesses attribute the worst effects of opium to the habit of smoking, but practically the whole of the witnesses who justified or palliated the practice of habitually eating moderate quantities emphatically condemned smoking in all its forms, as being unquestionably injurious and pernicious, and constituting a low and vicious habit.

Most of these pro-opium witnesses were in favour of further reduction of the facilities for smoking, and some of them approved of its total prohibition.

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie said :—

"I think there is a consensus of opinion among all, including "opium-smokers themselves, that the chandu and madak manufacture should be abolished."

The Hon. A. Cadell, member of the Revenue Board, North-West Provinces and Oudh, while approving of opium eating, said :—

"Opium-smokers are, if belonging to the upper classes, "debauchees, and if belonging to the lower classes, disreputable "persons, with a tendency to crime, caused not by any tendency "of opium in that direction, but by the irresistible character of "the vice and by the necessity felt to gratify a vice which is an "expensive one. . . . There is also a general feeling among "the more respectable classes against opium smoking."

See Note W.

40. Regarding the evidence on this particular subject as remarkably distinctive in its unanimity and conclusiveness, I consider that nothing short of absolute prohibition will satisfy the requirements of the case. The only proper action of the Government in accordance with public opinion should clearly be—

I. To discontinue all licenses in respect to preparations of opium for smoking.

II. To make unlawful—

- (a) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of chandu, madak, and other preparations of opium for smoking purposes ;
- (b) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of materials, utensils, or apparatus for making or smoking such preparations of opium ;
- (c) the association of two or more persons at any place for

2761, 3510, 4921, 5001,
5913, 3843, 6341, 10,840,
14,228, 15,723, 19,594,
19,757, 20,047, 25,288,
28,025, 4448, 21,590,
21,812, 21,655, 26,271,
14,416, 16,009, 16,688,
17,422-3, 18,536-8,
22,033, 26,057, 21,870.

3529.

19,097.

19,098.

NOTE W.

the purpose of smoking opium or any such preparations.

The administration and enforcement of such a law prescribing proper penalties for breaches thereof ought to be easy and effectual, for the evidence of any actual offence must be readily obtainable.

The fear has been expressed that a prohibitory measure of this character would open the way to inquisitorial and domiciliary visits by the police, and their possible bribery by the more influential and wealthy opium-smokers. But the existing law is similarly open to be used in an objectionable way, and absolute prohibition is not liable to any greater objections than those which apply to more partial and inadequate measures of repression.

BURMA.

41. The case of Burma is exceptional and must be referred to separately.

Most of the British officials in Burma have frankly recognised the evil effects of the consumption of opium in that country, as well as the practically unanimous opinion of the Burmese people against its public sale, and notwithstanding serious revenue considerations, have strongly advised restriction or prohibition. The Government of India has yielded slowly and apparently with reluctance to the advice given by its own officers in Burma, and to representations made from Great Britain. New regulations came into force on the 1st January, 1894. As a general rule the possession of opium, except for medical purposes, is now forbidden to Burmans. This rule is absolute in Upper Burma. In Lower Burma natives were allowed some months during which they might register themselves as consumers, and thus become entitled to purchase opium. The desire of the authorities in Burma that registration should be made compulsory for foreigners as well as for Burmans ought, in my opinion, to be acceded to. In some districts the sale of the drug to foreigners and registered Burmans is still in the hands of farmers. In other districts a system of retail sale by official vendors is being tried. This will, I think, be found to be a distinct improvement upon the old system of licensed shops. In every other practical way the consumption of opium should be restricted to the legitimate medical requirements of the people.

Sir David Barbour, in speaking of the special measures which had been taken to check the consumption of opium in provinces where its use was believed to be excessive (including Burma), said "I am not at all sure now that those measures have not been carried too far, but they have been adopted to a great extent in deference to English public opinion." The whole history of the sale of the drug in Burma under

British rule; of the protests of the people of that country against it; and of the reluctance of the Indian Government to listen to their entreaties, furnishes, in my opinion, most powerful testimony to the need and to the value of the expression of English public opinion in these matters.

The Burmans are clearly entitled to demand that their wishes should be respected, and their right to the protection they have so long asked for should be fully recognised.

MALWA OPIUM.

42. The term Malwa Opium is employed to describe the opium produced in the Native States in the west of India, either for consumption in India or export from the port of Bombay.

A great part of this opium is produced in the ill-defined tract of land known as Malwa, comprising several Native States, the soil and climate of which are said to be specially favourable to the growth of poppy.

The extension of British territory in India has been so managed as to cut off the poppy-growing States from communication with the sea; and the transit of opium through British territory has been prohibited, except under an elaborate arrangement of passes, granted by British officers on payment of a heavy duty, and by certain duly authorised routes. This pass duty is not the subject of any agreements or treaty stipulations, but is imposed at the will and pleasure of the paramount power. It was fixed on the 1st October, 1862, at Rs. 600; was raised on the 16th July, 1877, to Rs. 650; on the 15th September, 1879, to Rs. 700; on the 28th June, 1882, it was reduced to Rs. 650; on the 5th July, 1890, further reduced to Rs. 600; and on the 1894, was raised to Rs. 650. The amounts realised from this source, together with the quantity of opium, are as follows:—

Average of 3 years.	Rx.	Chests.	Duty per Chest. Rs.
1883-84 to 1885-86... ..	2,498,455	41,008	650
1890-91 to 1892-93... ..	1,753,110	32,510	600

These figures are in part taken from a table which will be found in Vol. II., p. 347, which shows that while the quantity of opium exported from Bombay has been considerably declining, that which is diverted for local consumption has been somewhat increasing.

THE NATIVE STATES.

43. No good purpose would be served by a detailed statement of the treaties and agreements made in regard to opium with the

Vol. II., p. 650, par. 7.

Vol. II., p. 347.

Vol. II., pp. 342 and 347.

numerous Native States. They are described in App. X., Vol. II. By pressure, which they were not in a position to resist, most of these States have been induced to consent to arrangements the aim of which has been to safeguard and increase the revenue which the East India Company and the Indian Government have obtained from opium. In many cases it has been arranged that the rulers of Native States shall prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, and so regulate the traffic in opium as to increase the revenue of the State at the expense of their subjects. There is no evidence that in any of these States compensation has ever been given to cultivators or traders whose interests have been interfered with.

44. As to the power to stop the transit of opium through British territory, Sir Lepel Griffin said, "Of course you can prohibit the export." Sir D. M. Barbour said, "I think the export to China could practically be stopped," but he was confident smuggling into British territory could not. The Hon. W. Lee Warner, in his memorandum, lays down that "interference with the internal affairs of Native States has been justified in the past, either (a) when adopted in the interests of the States, or (b) when adopted in the interests of the British Government." He marshals instances "under class (a)" into six recognised grounds, including "(vi.) to check offences against natural law or public morality." The suppression of seizing people for sorcery, and abolition of suttee, are given as instances.* Mr. Warner holds that opium does not come under any of these heads. Colonel Trevor, agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, was asked, "would not it be an injustice not to allow" the produce of the States to be transmitted through British territory, and replied, "I do not quite see that. If you think a thing is bad, you are not bound to give a passage through your territory."

45. Certain Native States, including such important ones as Indore, Baroda, and Bhopal, consider that interference or prohibition in regard to opium would be outside, or contrary to, treaty engagements. Some of the Sikh States, on the contrary, took a different position. General Sardar Ratan Singh, of the Jind State, said, "if the Government prohibits the use of opium in British territory, similar orders could be issued in the Jind State." He was not sure whether such a thing would be viewed as interference.

* In India, as elsewhere, officials are too much disposed to dread reforms and innovations. The case of suttee affords an illustration. Hunter, in his Indian Empire, page 475, says: "In spite of strenuous opposition, both from *Europeans and Natives*, Lord W. Bentinck carried a Regulation in Council on the 4th of December, 1829, by which all who abetted suttee were declared 'guilty of culpable homicide.' Hunter also refers to other reforms which were distasteful to the covenanted service, and to the officers of the Army, and adds that Lord Bentinck 'was supported by the Court of Directors, and by the Whig Government at home.'"

Lala Dewa Singh, of the Nabha State, was asked what compensation, if any, His Highness' State would be fairly entitled to in the event of prohibition, and replied, "As the prohibition is entirely 'beneficial to the people, this State does not wish for any compensation for the loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition.'" Pandit Sarup Narian, of the Faridkot State, gave a similar answer.

46. The fact that in the face of a greater falling off in the supplies of Malwa opium than of Bengal opium the Indian Government has, since the visit of the Commission, materially increased the payment to the Bengal cultivator and put an additional burden of duty on the Malwa produce, shows more clearly than any official evidence that the right of dealing at will with the export trade, Native as well as British, is quietly claimed and exercised by the paramount government.

47. It is not possible to treat the suggested claims for compensation placed before the Commission seriously. Though compiled at the instance of the Indian Government and revised by its political officers, they neither deserve respect nor criticism. A few illustrations must suffice. The Tonk State in claiming Rs. 132,900 for loss of land revenue, Rs. 59,919 for Customs revenue, and Rs. 94,600 for traders' profits, claims Rs. 104,030 for compensation for money lenders! One item in Colonel Abbott's summary is, "extra expense of living on account of great rise in price of opium" Rs. 489,873.

In the State of Bundi, the average out-turn for the 12 years ending 1892-3 is given at 1,007 maunds; for the last half of that period at 371 maunds. (In the last year it was only 93 maunds.) Yet compensation is claimed for an annual trade of 2,000 maunds, and Colonel Abbott reports that the "Political officer, Lieut.-Colonel Thornton . . . considers the Durbar's estimate of 'the losses, direct and indirect, both to itself and its subjects, as accurate as it is possible to make them under existing circumstances.'"

In the Central Provinces, Sailana claimed Rs. 160,475 for land revenue. Lieut.-Colonel Robertson estimates it at Rs. 60,000. The State claims Rs. 128,380 for cultivators. He reduces this to Rs. 40,000. Of Multhan the same officer writes, "Losses to 'cultivators and traders were not given by the State, they were 'assumed by me.'"

It is clear that the evidence thus brought before us can be of no assistance if claims in equity should be seriously advanced by these States.

CONCLUSIONS.

48. The form of the questions submitted to the Commission makes it difficult to give categorical answers, but in reference to the paragraphs thereon, I reply:—

- I.—(a) That the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, except for medical purposes.
- (b) Such prohibition should not be forcibly imposed on the Native States, but the example of the British Government should be supported by such influence as may legitimately be employed.
- II. The existing arrangements with the Native States in respect to the transit of opium through British territory depend absolutely on the will of the paramount power, and appear to have been dominated throughout by the financial policy of British India. When the Chinese trade from British India has been brought to an end, as I hold it certainly should be, and when licenses to cultivate are no longer granted, licenses for the transit of opium through British territory may justly be withheld.* There is no legal claim for compensation. Any equitable claims must be tested by further inquiry and reliable evidence.
- III.—(a) There is no precedent for compensation to landlords or cultivators on the termination of opium cultivation, and there would be no claim for compensation for withholding further licenses.
- (b) Adequate information was not placed before us as to the cost of additional preventive measures, but the general statements that were made appear greatly exaggerated.
- (c) The revenue derivable from opium has been for some years declining, and can no longer be safely relied upon. (See Note X.)
- IV.—It is desirable to replace the present opium contractors and vendors by official vendors, with instructions and discretion to restrict the sale. I recommend the entire prohibition of smoking.
- V.—The consumption of opium obtains more or less extensively amongst the races and in the localities most fully represented before the Commission. Little or no evidence was tendered from large districts where its non-medical use is little known. It is clear that the Opium habit, so far from being common amongst the people generally, is relatively exceptional in British India. It is a vice in Calcutta and the large towns, but certainly not of the majority of the populations. It is common among the Rajputs, and to a less extent the Sikhs, but the sweeping statements made as to its

* Legitimate medical requirements are not here alluded to.

universal use by them are quite untenable. Women are seldom addicted to the habit. The moral effect is hurtful in tarnishing and weakening the will power of the user: the physical effect is generally injurious in proportion to the amount taken, and to the inability of the consumer to protect himself against it by plenty of good food.

- VI.—(a) The people of India do not, so far as regards the greater part of that country, regard the use of opium for non-medical purposes favourably.
- (b) The people of India maintain that they are already taxed to the very limit of their ability, and that they are unable and unwilling to submit to any additional burdens.

Serious consideration should promptly be given to the question of reducing the expenditure now borne by the people of India.

49. In these pages I have given my conclusions on the evidence presented to the Commission. As stated in a Memorandum accompanying this Dissent, I do not think that the whole of the facts were presented to us with the impartiality and completeness due to such an inquiry. The Report adopted by my colleagues appears to me to partake more of the character of an elaborate defence of the Opium trade of the East India Company, and of the present Government of India, than of a judicial pronouncement on the immediate questions submitted to us. On this ground also, as well as for the reasons already given, I am unable to join in it.

50. One of the last paragraphs in the Report (No. 274) refers to me, and includes the following sentence:—"We regret that in the discussions which took place during the preparation of our Report we were not placed in possession of the views of our colleague."

It will be seen by a letter to the Chairman from myself, a copy of which is appended, that I was distinctly precluded by him from taking part in the discussions referred to. At the first subsequent meeting of the Commission, I referred to my letter, and to Lord Brassey's desire that I should refrain from discussion. Lord Brassey intimated that I had correctly stated his wishes. I do not therefore understand the propriety of this reflection, by the majority, on the course which I took at the Chairman's direct instance and request, with the concurrence of four other colleagues.

18th March, 1895.

HENRY J. WILSON.

APPENDIX

TO MR. WILSON'S DISSENT.

NOTE A. to par. 2.—RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (30TH JUNE, 1893) WHICH LED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION.

"That having regard to the strong objections urged on moral grounds to the system by which the Indian Opium Revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble address may be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to :—

- "1. Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States.
- "2. The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of Opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated.
- "3. The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable; (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures; (c) the loss of revenue.
- "4. Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom.
- "5. The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people.
- "6. The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes; (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures."

NOTE B. to par. 5.—OFFICIAL OPINION OF OPIUM.

Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, political agent to the Western Rajput States, in his work on the "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," written in 1820, published in 1832, writes :—

"This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajput of half his virtues." (Vol. I., p. 644.)

"This drug, which has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influences of pestilence and war." (Vol. II., p. 630.)

"Execrable and demoralising plant" (poppy). (Vol. II., p. 634.)

Mr. C. A. Bruce, superintendent of the tea plantations in Assam (prior to 1840), refers to opium as the—

"Dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country . . .

"This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population . . .

"Few but those who have resided long in this unhappy country know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native."

Mr. A. Sym, 11 years in the opium district of Gorakhpur, and for a time in charge of the opium agency there, wrote in 1840 :—

"The health and morals of the people suffer from the production of opium. "Wherever opium is grown it is eaten, and the more it is grown the more it is eaten, . . . its pernicious effects are visible on the population of the opium

Hansard, vol. 68, p. 380.

Hansard, vol. 68, p. 382.

"districts, particularly in the neighbourhood of the depôts . . . One opium cultivator demoralises a whole village."

A resolution by the Government of Bombay in 1881—

"Ordered that the following letter be addressed to the Government of India :—

" . . . on the question of the expediency of permitting the cultivation of the poppy in Sind. . . .

"III. I am at the same time to state that this Government consider there are very strong objections to the introduction of an industry so demoralising in its tendency as opium cultivation and manufacture into a province where it is at present unknown. . . . It has already been tried in Gujarat, and the result was widespread corruption and demoralisation.

"At present the consumption of opium in this Presidency is very limited, but if the cultivation of opium and manufacture of opium were permitted, every village might have its opium shop, and every cultivator might contract the habit of eating a drug which is said to degrade and demoralise those who become addicted to it. On the ground of public morality, therefore, his Excellency the Governor in Council would strongly deprecate the grant of permission to cultivate the poppy in Sind, or in any other part of this Presidency."

NOTE C. to par. 6.—SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE GROWTH OF POPPY AS IT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL RYOT.

[The figures are not the same as in par. 6, because there the agencies are dealt with together, and here separately.]

In the Benares Agency.

In the month of September he proceeds to the head-quarters or weighment place of the district in which he lives, a distance, on the average, of about 20 miles, to receive license to cultivate a specified plot for the growth of the poppy, the plot being usually only a small portion of his farm or holding, averaging 61 of a bigah, equal to 38 of an acre, or 1,839 square yards. He receives at the same time the first advance of Rs. 3'66 (or, taking the rupee at 13d., 3s. 11½d.), being at the rate of Rs. 6 per bigah. Returning home, he prepares his ground and sows the poppy seed. Q. 2935. II., p. 320.

When the crop is a few inches above the ground he sometimes, not always, gets a further advance, not exceeding Rs. 1'22, or 1s. 3½d., being at the rate of Rs. 2 per bigah. In February or March when the seed capsules or heads are formed, he lances or slits them, and carefully scrapes off the exuding juice or opium, which is preserved in earthen pots until April, when he again travels with it to the weighment place, where he delivers it to the officials of the Opium Department. II., 320.

The average weight received from each cultivator is 2'77 seers, or 5 lbs. 11'17 ozs., and the payment on account which he then receives averages, say, Rs. 7'93, or 8s. 7d.

The opium is then forwarded to the factory at Patna, in the case of the Behar Agency, or to Ghazipur in the case of the Benares Agency. The "consistence" or proportion of moisture in the opium is there ascertained. An account is made out, and in July or August the cultivator, travelling again as it appears to the weighment place, receives the balance due to him, averaging, say, Rs. 1'06, or 1s. 1½d., the price being calculated at the rate of 5 Rs. per seer, equal to 2s. 4½d. per lb. av. for opium of 70 degrees of "consistence." A somewhat higher or lower price will be paid in case it contains more or less than 30 per cent. of water. The total average amount paid to each ryot for opium is 15s.

In the Patna Agency.

In the Bihar or Patna Agency the ryot is in a worse position. He has to deliver his opium with 5 per cent. less moisture. Other arrangements of the

Agency are less favourable to him. The land is less productive. The total amount of opium he weighs in is only 4 lbs. 11·70 ozs., for which he receives only 12s. 5½d.

Vol. V., p. 5.

par. 10.

par. 14.

par. 15.

NOTE D. to par. 7.—EXTRACT FROM CORRESPONDENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE OPIUM DEPARTMENT.

"The railways and other means of communication which have been opened out, and the ever growing demands of the commerce of the country, have completely changed the state of affairs. Opium has lost its place as the most lucrative crop a cultivator can grow. . . . The Board are of opinion that much may be done to improve the popularity of the opium cultivation. . . . In conclusion I am to state that the policy the Board would recommend may briefly be summarised as follow :—I. An adequate price to be paid for crude opium, to be settled from time to time with reference to the competition of other crops. . . . IV. Adequate salaries to be paid to the native establishment and the abolition of all illegal gratification strictly enforced."

(Letter from Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 19th January, 1884.)

NOTE E. to par. 7.—ON DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING POPPY CULTIVATION.

Mr. Kemble, opium agent, of Bihar, in his Annual Report of the Agency for the year 1890-91, says :—

"There can be no doubt that since the opening of the Bengal and North-Western Railway the difficulty of maintaining the cultivation of such a delicate crop as poppy has largely increased." (Par. 7.)

He adds that competition of other crops

"is becoming so keen that our department now have difficulty in maintaining their position." (Par. 8.)

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent, Benares, in his Annual Report for 1890-91, speaks of certain districts where the cultivation of the poppy is popular, but of others where the cultivators have "for the present lost heart," and of other cultivators as "gradually withdrawing from the industry." (Par. 6.)

Similarly in his Report for the year 1891-92, Mr. Kemble (Bihar) says—

"We cannot be surprised at the disinclination generally of the cultivators to take advances. . . . The other main cause which tended to reduce the settlements was the difficulty in obtaining good lands for our cultivation, owing to the competition of other crops." (Par. 8.)

He quotes Mr. Christian, an officer of long experience, as saying,—

"The good lands are no longer under the poppy cultivation, but have either gone to indigo or other better paying crops. The crops that are competing with poppy, in fact, I ought to say, that have swamped and overcome it, are tobacco, potato, haldi, chillies, and other garden produce." (Par. 9.)

In his Report for 1891-92 Mr. Rivett-Carnac again discusses the competition of other crops, but takes a less gloomy view of the prospects of the opium department, than his colleague, Mr. Kemble.

NOTE F. to par. 8.—OFFICIAL INQUIRIES ON COMPLAINTS OF COMPULSION (OR PERSUASION) IN REGARD TO THE CULTIVATION OF POPPY.

In the first case referred to by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Lyon, settlement officer, had reported that certain officers had been bringing pressure to bear.

A deputy magistrate, Maulvi Syed Ali Hosain, who was directed to make an inquiry on the subject, gives the statements of a number of ryots.

"Bansi Mahton states: My brother is khattahdar of this village. His name is Tulsi . . . the former zilladar (since transferred) induced us to

12,079.

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"cultivate poppy, and told us to try for this year. The land is not capable of producing opium . . . he (the zilladar) took my brother to Hajipur; my brother was unwilling to go, and he said that we would not grow opium. . . . He (the zilladar) did not threaten us with punishment if we did not grow, but he pressed us to do so by taking my brother to Hajipur for receiving dadni (advance)."

Shaik Hidayat Ali, says that the Zilladar Rheda Bux—

"Insisted Tulsi to receive dadni (advance for poppy) . . . he stayed three or four days to persuade us to grow opium . . . he did not beat any of us . . . his fault was to compel khattahdar to receive advances, we had since fear that if we did not cultivate we would be falsely proceeded against by zilladar."

Gudri Mahton, referring to the zilladar, says :—

"I cannot say that he told each and every villager to grow opium, but he did me."

Tulsi Mahton says :—

"He (the zilladar) told me that we must grow opium. He advised us to cultivate poppy, as we had no mind to grow this year. He said that I must go to receive advances."

Other ryots made no complaints. Some said they cultivated willingly. It was suggested by them, or to them, that the zilladar stayed so long in the village because it was raining.

The Deputy Magistrate, reporting on the case, says :—

"What the zilladar seems to have done was that he insisted a little too much upon the khattahdar to receive dadni (advances), and holding out good hopes for the poppy growth owing to rains," and he points out "that there was no kind of violence used by him in compelling them to grow opium."

It is instructive in the face of these statements that Mr. Hare in enclosing the report and depositions, says :—

"No touch or trace of any attempt at compulsion appears."

Mr. Forbes in his letter says that—

"Market garden produce has admittedly of late years begun to compete successfully with opium. Cases of this kind must therefore be expected to occur."

This seems to show that compulsion, which is called in India "persuasion," is expected as a matter of course.

THE SECOND CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., dewan (chief officer) of the Dumraon Raj, was interviewed on the 28th and 29th of August, 1893, by Mr. Christian sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, and Mr. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent, in reference to the "reluctance of the cultivators to engage the full area" desired or required by the Opium Department. It was arranged that the dewan was—

"To use his influence with some of the ryots of the Raj to induce them to continue the cultivation . . . by using influence he only meant persuasion; that he had merely asked the ryots of certain villages for his sake to try cultivation for one year (this year) longer, and that they had consented to do so."

It is further explained that this influence or persuasion was exercised by a circular letter issued to the tahsildars of the Raj, directing them to use their endeavours to help poppy cultivation.

A copy of this circular has been asked for, but has not yet been produced.

It appears further that Mr. Christian had a conversation himself with one of

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these tahsildars, who explained "the kind of help given by the Raj." So far as I understand, it amounts to this: that land was to be taken from one man and given to another for opium, if he would grow poppy; that if one man possessed a well another was to be allowed to take water from it to grow poppy, and that rent was to be reduced by the middleman to a ryot who would grow poppy.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the dewan was, as Mr. Forbes states, unwilling to give evidence. His position was extremely embarrassing.

Mr. Dane says that the dewan "attended at Bankipur on the first day that the Commission sat there" (January 3rd). If this means that he was present at the sitting and was ready to be called it does not accord with Mr. Forbes' statement.

Mr. Dane and Mr. Forbes agree that this important witness was present on a later date (January 6th). On neither occasion was his presence known to the Commission generally. It was most important that he should be heard, and no explanation has been given as to why any member of the Commission was kept in ignorance of his presence.

THE THIRD CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Mr. F. H. B. Skrine, collector of Shahabad, and subsequently of Bhagalpur, had an interview about the middle of August, 1893, with Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent, already referred to, who desired—

"My co-operation in restoring the area under poppy to its normal. He told me that . . . the opium agent of Behar, had instructed him to consult me on the subject."

Mr. Skrine undertook to issue a circular, but delayed it for about a fortnight, when he was reminded of his promise by Mr. N. C. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent. He says:—

"Thereupon I addressed a circular . . . to the sub-divisional officers of Bhabua, Buxar, and Sasaram, and the manager of D. & D. Kumar's Ward Estate, in which I informed them that it was the policy of the Government to extend opium cultivation in wards and Government estates. I asked them to give the sub-deputy opium agent a list of villages in their charge which contained land suitable for sowing opium, and to instruct their tahsildars to use their utmost efforts, in co-operation with the sub-deputy opium agent, to induce our ryots to take opium advances."

Mr. Skrine, being called to account, makes various statements in palliation of his conduct, which he does not attempt to defend, and Mr. Commissioner Forbes admits that—

"Things were pushed further than they ought to have been." Mr. Skrine's orders being "such as I should certainly not have approved had they come to my notice; nor are they warranted, so far as I am aware, by any instructions that have ever been issued by Government or by the Board of Revenue."

NOTE G. to par. 10.—POTATOES UPROOTED AT BARNI, NEAR PATNA.

On the 19th December, 1893, Mr. Gennoe, assistant sub-deputy opium agent, destroyed a plot of potatoes at the village of Barni, near Bankipore, on the allegation of a zilladar that this was land on which the cultivator had engaged to grow opium. Evidence to this effect was given before us on the 6th January, 1894, by my son and Mr. Gupta.

On the same day we were informed by Mr. Tytler, sub-deputy opium agent, in the presence of Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent at Benares, and other officials, that it is not lawful under any circumstances to pull up the crops.

At the request of the Commission a further inquiry was subsequently made, and the report of this inquiry has been forwarded to us since our return from

Vol. V., p. 355, par. 4.

Vol. V., p. 372.

Vol. V., p. 355, par. 5.

Vol. V., p. 360.

Vol. V., p. 361.

Vol. V., p. 361.

Vol. V., p. 356.

12,396 to 12,454.

12,269.

Vol. V., p. 140.

India. The report shows that as a matter of fact the cultivator had committed no offence whatever. Mr. Wace says:—

"I have very little doubt that he lost his potatoes because he did not fee the zilladar."

The Assistant Sub-Deputy Agent attempted, in a letter sent by him to Mr. Wace, to justify his action by reference to a rule and a form in the Opium Manual. Mr. Wace points out that the rule does not cover this case, that the form is irrelevant, and that the official in question had not availed himself of an opportunity given him to produce witnesses on his own behalf.

NOTE H. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY ENGLISH OFFICIALS RESIDENT IN CHINA AND JAVA.

Sir George Staunton, who was in China from 1792 to 1816, referred to opium as "an article of vicious luxury," and said:—

"The best lands of India might have been made to produce that which was beneficial to man, instead of being devoted to the cultivation of such a pernicious article."

Sir Stamford Raffles, who died in 1826, said:—

"The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European Government, overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer at Hong Kong, refers to opium as—

"Desolating China, corrupting its Government, and bringing the fabric of that extraordinary Empire to a state of more rapid dissolution."

Sir Harry Parkes refers to opium as "a baneful article."—See his life by Stanley Lane Poole, Vol. I., p. 421.

Mr. L. E. Oxenham, late British Consul in China, says:—

"Do the Chinese, . . . desire the continuation of the trade now? Would the Chinese Parliament vote for such a traffic? No one with any knowledge of China would answer in the affirmative. The opium is equally denounced by the Government, by the Confucian literati, and by the Buddhist and Taoist priesthood."—"Society of Arts Journal," April, 1892, p. 485.

NOTE J. to par 15.—CHINESE OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM.

Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who is in the service of the Chinese Government as Director of Customs, in the special report on opium issued in 1881, said:—

"Chinese who have studied the opium question are opposed to a traffic which more or less harms smokers. . . . They do not find in . . . the revenue produced . . . any sufficient reason for welcoming the growth of the trade, or for desisting from the attempt to check the consumption of opium."

The Chinese Foreign Office wrote to Sir Rutherford Alcock in July, 1869:—

"That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind. . . . The officials and people of this Empire . . . all say that England trades in opium because she desires to work China's ruin, for (say they) if the friendly feelings of England are genuine, since it is open to her to produce and trade in everywhere else, would she still insist on spreading the poison of this hurtful thing through the Empire?"

Vol. V., p. 142.

Vol. V., p. 141.

Vol. V., p. 142.

Hansard, 1840, vol. 53, p. 743.

Report H. of C. on China Trade, 1847

Society of Arts Journal, 1892, p. 485.

East Indian Finance Committee, 1871.

Sir Rutherford Alcock, at that time Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, said in reference to this :—

"He had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium was genuine and deep-seated."

In a letter in the "Times" of July 29th, 1881, Li Hung Chang, then Grand Secretary and Viceroy of China, said :—

"I may assert here once for all that the single aim of my Government in taxing opium, will be in the future, as in the past, to repress the traffic . . . never to desire to gain revenue from such a source."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer of Hong Kong, states that the Emperor of China had remarked :—

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes, but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

NOTE K. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

The Rev. Dr. Medhurst, one of the earliest missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which was the first Protestant Society to enter China, in his "China" (London, 1838), says :—

"Those who have not seen the effects of opium-smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results on the health, energies, and lives of those who indulge in it. . . . In proportion as the wretched victim comes under the power of the infatuating drug, so is his ability to resist temptation less strong, and debilitated in body as well as mind he is unable to earn his usual pittance, and not infrequently sinks under the craving of an appetite which he is unable to gratify. . . . Those who grow and sell the drug, while they profit by the speculation, would do well to follow the consumer into the haunts of vice, and mark the wretchedness, poverty, disease, and death which follow the indulgence, for if they did but know the thousandth part of the evils resulting from it they would not, they could not, continue to engage in the transaction."

Numerous testimonies were communicated to the Commission by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and by the Secretary of the China Inland Mission, all testifying to the evil effects of opium.

See also an important memorial signed by 17 Chinese Missionaries of all denominations (including two Bishops), and all of more than 25 years' standing in China.

NOTE L. to par. 20.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO ALLEGED EXTENSIVE USE OF OPIUM AND POLITICAL DANGER FROM INTERFERENCE.

Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., M.D., says :—

"It is well known that over large areas of country in India, by tens of thousands of people, opium in moderation is habitually used by the natives."

Dr. K. C. Bose, President of the Calcutta Medical Society, says :—

"Amongst the permanent residents of Calcutta only 10 per cent. of the people actually take Opium, whilst amongst those who come from other portions of the country nearly 20 per cent. use opium in some shape or other."

Rai Sheo Bux Bogla Bahadur, merchant and banker, representing the National Chamber of Commerce, says :—

"About 70 or 80 per cent. of both Rajputs and Sikhs" take opium as a daily ration.

Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab, says :—

"I fancy that about 50 or 75 per cent. of the inhabitants of Lucknow take Opium."

"China, Commercial and Social," vol. II., p. 187.

Vol. I., p. 33.

Vol. I., p. 39.

Vol. V., p. 353.

1637.

3774.

6047.

16,849.

Mr. J. J. S. Driberg, Excise Commissioner of Assam, says :—

"Bearing in mind the conditions of the climate, and the fact that opium has been consumed in the Province from time immemorial, so that it has now become a necessity of life, it is certain that any attempt to stop consumption, or even to limit or reduce it, more than has been done in the past ten years, would have a disastrous effect on the physical condition of the people."

"Then you say that stopping it would depopulate whole tracts?—Yes."

Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.I.E., Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says :—

"There is no doubt that the people use opium very largely, not in great quantities, but very widely. I think nearly all of them give it to their children, and believe that it is necessary. . . ."

"My opinion is that we could not actually prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes without a very large and oppressive force, and without an inquisition into the habits of the people, which would be very unpleasant to them, and would make the Government, I think, exceedingly unpopular."

The Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, says :—

"I hold that, in a political point of view, total prohibition would be so dangerous, and would alienate so large a body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as to be impossible. . . . The dissatisfaction would be enormous, and I am not prepared to say that, fanned as it would be by professional agitators, it would not amount to disaffection, and require the presence of more British troops in India."

The Hon. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Abkari, Bombay, says :—

"In my opinion to prohibit the sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes, would be to invite a general rising all over the country against what would be regarded, and, in my mind, justly regarded as cruel and causeless oppression."

See also Q. 4999, 6059, 14,059, 15,700, 15,703, 19,530, 20,425, 27,029, 27,036, &c.

NOTE M. to par. 21.—AVERAGE OF OPIUM TAKEN BY ADULT MALE CONSUMERS.

The analysis of the evidence of 85 witnesses shows that :—

					Grains.
The average of what 31 witnesses consider strictly moderate use is	...	...	...	...	7'77
" " 34 " customary use	...	...	...	...	15'12
" " 20 " excessive use	...	...	...	...	41'00

Thus the 85 witnesses give a gross average of 18'53

But we have more precise information from three medical witnesses :—

				Grains.	
Average of Dr. Huntly's record of	...	...	100 cases =	20'89	Vol. IV., p. 404.
" Surg.-Lt.-Col. Hendley's record of	4,409	"	=	21'5	Vol. IV., p. 381.
" Dr. Ram Roy's record of...	215	"	=	26'4	Vol. II., p. 425.
Gross average of	...	...	4,724	" =	21'7

In view of these figures, it will probably be pretty near the mark to take 20 grains as the fair average daily consumption of each adult male consumer; and that this is not, in the opinion of the authorities, an unreasonable or excessive allowance is clear from the fact that 20 grains is the authorised ration to soldiers on service, and the further fact that in Burma 45 grains a day appears to be the official estimate for each smoker.

Vol. II., App. XXVII., p. 452, 6510-3.

NOTE P. to par. 26.—ON LICENTIOUS PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

Numerous witnesses declared that a special purpose for which opium is taken is for prolonging sexual indulgence.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, C.I.E., says :—

“The chief of these pleasures which allures men to the use of the drug is what I may call sexual endurance.

“They (smokers) told me that this invariably was the origin of . . . the pernicious habit.”

Assistant-Surgeon Shah, Chief Medical Officer of Junagadh State, says :—

“Opium is commenced for sexual enjoyment.”

Mr. Jagat Narian, B.A., pleader of Lucknow, says :—

“It is taken for immoral purposes by 80 per cent. of the opium-eaters here.”

See also 2594, 12,654, 13,994, 18,210, 26,286, 26,542, and many others.

General Sardar Ratan Singh, member of the Council of Regency of the Jind State, says :—

“Those who commenced the use of opium for the sake of pleasure in their youth are looked down upon by society, and are considered as using it for licentiousness.”

See also 18,313, 2594, 18,264.

NOTE Q. to par. 32.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, L.M.S., President of the Calcutta Medical School, says :—

“It produces slow, steady, and certain degeneration of the human system, abundantly evidenced by the digestive disorders and emaciation that attend its use.”

Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., Fellow of the Calcutta University, Lecturer on Forensic Medicine in the Calcutta Medical School, says :—

“The power of resistance of disease generally becomes diminished, and the opium-eater becomes pre-disposed to some diseases; for example, cold, bronchitis, diarrhoea, dysentery, and dyspepsia.”

Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., says :—

“The attenuated body, the peculiar withered and blasted countenance, with a characteristic gait, will reveal the opium-eater at a glance. His digestive organs become highly disordered, and he scarcely eats anything. His mental and bodily powers are destroyed. In fact he becomes impotent.”

The Rev. Colin S. Valentine, LL.D., L.R.C.P., and L.R.C.S.E., &c., Principal of the Agra Medical Missionary Training Institute, when asked, “What are the results of the habit, physical, mental, and moral?” replied :—

“Deterioration in all three points. The appetite is taken away, the digestion is impaired, there is congestion of the various internal organs, congestion of the lungs, constipation and diarrhoea consequent upon it, pains all over the body. A man in the habit of eating opium is upon a lower standing than a man in perfect health.”

Brigade-Surgeon J. H. Condon, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c., says :—

“Physically, it reduces strength, though like alcohol it gives a sort of fictitious strength for a short time; after a time varying with the amount eaten daily, they become emaciated and debilitated, miserable-looking

“wretches, and finally die, most commonly of diarrhoea induced by the use of opium.”

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel A. Cameron, M.D., says :—

“Even when used in moderation for non-medical purposes, the habit is not to be defended. Unless required for some bodily ailment a man is better without it. Its habitual use, except in the smallest quantities, causes emaciation and enfeeblement of the body, saps the energy, and dulls the mental faculties.”

See also Q. 4042-4, 4718, 9360-3, 16,282, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Surgeon-Major R. Cobb, M.D., says :—

“I believe the moderate use of opium to be quite an innocuous habit.”

Surgeon-Colonel R. Harvey, M.D., M.R.C.P., &c., says :—

“The moderate way in which the great majority take it not only does them no harm, but does them a great deal of good.”

Mr. Sita Nath Roy, banker and zemindar, and secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, says :—

“The general impression, bordering on conviction, is that the moderate use of opium is beneficial; that it is a panacea for many diseases, and that its tendency is to prolong life.”

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Purves, F.R.C.S.E., says :—

“I generally agree that the moderate use of opium in this country is rather beneficial than otherwise.”

See also 9524, 12,610, 15,907, 19,228.

NOTE R. to par. 33.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS MORAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Mookerjee says :—

“Its mental and moral effects are none the less harmful, and none the less marked. It most certainly tarnishes the moral nature of man, weakening his mental control over his will, and thus causing him to be the prey of the evil and vicious habits of lying and stealing.”

Brigade Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Cameron, M.D., says that :—

“The general opinion amongst natives themselves is that in positions where energy, alertness, a clear head, or a good memory is required, an opium-eater is not to be trusted.”

Ram Kali Chaudhuri, retired Subordinate Judge, and late member of the Legislative Council of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says :—

“The results of the habit of opium-eating, whether considered physically, mentally, or morally, are bad and condemnable. The consumer, as a general rule, becomes both physically and mentally weak and inactive, and as a consequence loses courage, and his moral conduct suffers so far as it depends on the energy of body and mind, such as the performance of duties requiring activity. In the early stage of the habit sexual virtue is disregarded, where the initial motive was to increase sexual vigour.”

Dr. Manohar Prasad Tewarie, L.M.S., says :—

“Its use in any of its forms deadens the intellect, impairs the physical and moral sense, induces laziness, immorality, and debauchery.”

See also 9129, 9962, 10,496, 11,684, 18,706, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS MORAL EFFECTS.

The Hon. Sri Ram Rai, Bahadur, M.A., B.L., member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Council, says :—

"In no way, so far as my experience goes, does it lead to moral degradation."

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson, M.B., says :—

"In my experience it does not in any way lower the moral tone, nor does it develop a propensity for gambling or sensuality."

See also 26,757, 19,228, 23,303, &c.

NOTE S. to par. 34.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says :—

"They must satisfy their opium craving ; they are necessarily driven to have recourse to all sorts of vicious acts, such as petty thefts, pickpocketing, &c."

Judge Ram Kali Chandhuri (already quoted) says :—

"Where there is little or no means, the habit leads the consumer to commit petty thefts and trickeries."

See also 12,569, 3413, 9173, 25,490, 16,902, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Sir John Lambert, K.C.I.E., Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, says :—
"I fail to discover any connexion between opium and crime of a serious nature."

Mr. James Monroe, C.B., formerly Commissioner of Police in Bengal, now engaged in missionary work, says :—

"The conclusion which I came to from wide experience was that so far as regards crime, opium has no perceptible influence in causing it."

See also 3184, 14,414, 19,749, 19,797, 25,583.

NOTE T. to par. 35.—PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson (already quoted) says :—

"When taken to excess it causes both moral and physical deterioration. It produces emaciation, gastric disorder, loss of appetite, gives premature senile expression, and no doubt shortens life. Morally, over-indulgence makes the victim idle and timid, and engenders a habit of exaggeration."

Surgeon-Major G. W. P. Dennys, Civil Surgeon in the Punjab for many years, says :—

"A confirmed excessive opium-eater is generally a physical and mental wreck, emaciated to an excessive degree, and incapable of performing any ordinary work. He is a deplorable object to behold. Excessive opium-eaters have no stamina whatever, and succumb to comparatively trivial ailments."

Mr. G. B. Prabhakar, L.R.C.P., a medical practitioner of Bombay, says :—
"Opium when taken in excess impairs the digestive system in general, engenders lazy habits, causes dulness of intellect, and produces anaemia and emaciation."

See also 12,608, 24,675, 25,657, 26,022, &c.

PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO MORAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. F. Reed, in command of 29th Punjab Infantry, says :—

"The habitual (*i.e.*, excessive) opium-eaters are marked men in the regiment, and are not trusted like the rest."

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., referring to those taking opium in large doses, says :—

"They are regular drunkards, a depraved lot, generally belonging to the criminal class, thieves and burglars."

See also 24,087, 26,022, &c.

NOTE U. to par. 35.—DIFFICULTY OF DISCONTINUANCE OF HABIT.

The personal experience of Mr. Datta may be usefully cited :—

"I took opium myself for three months, for chronic diarrhoea and dyspepsia. The first day it acted like magic, but gradually the dose had to be increased, until I used to take 20 grains of it. I keenly felt the after effects, and thought of relinquishing. It took me some time before I gave it up, by gradually reducing the doses."

"If I did not take opium at the regular time, when I was used to taking it, I was seized with nausea, pains all over the body, a sort of uneasiness which cannot be described, a bad scalding sense of uneasiness all over the body. Even if I took a lesser dose the diarrhoea would re-appear, and with greater violence. I could not retain the smallest quantity of food, and I was not able to work."

"It took me about four months to relinquish the habit, gradually reducing the dose all that time."

"I took other remedies to restore my health. I had to place myself under other treatment."

There is abundance of other uncontradicted evidence to the like effect.

See also Q. 2593, 18,927, 25,513, 5913, 16,219, 28,168, and many others.

NOTE V. to par. 36.—COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

Surgeon-General Sir Wm. Moore, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P., was asked by Sir Wm. Roberts :—

Q. "You would not admit it was due to some profound constitutional difference?"

A. "No, I don't think so."

Q. "But of course you would not be positive?"

A. "I do not think the constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it."

Surgeon-Major-General Rice, head of the Indian Medical Department, says :—

"I have satisfied myself in my professional practice that Europeans are more tolerant, that is, require larger doses of opium than natives, bulk for bulk."

Dr. Rice further says :—

"To produce the same effect from a medicinal dose of opium in a European you would have to give a larger quantity of it than you would to a native."

Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., says :—

"The ordinary native takes an amount of opium that would be almost laughed at in England as a dose of opium."

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel J. McConaghey, M.D., was asked by Sir W. Roberts :—

Q. "Have you been able to notice, or been led to the opinion, that there is a difference between the European constitution and the constitution of the natives of India, in their relation to opium?"

A. "I do not know that there is much difference."

"I have had Europeans under my treatment who were quite as much addicted to the use of the drug as natives."

"Taking the population of the Europeans I meet with, it will be very nearly the same proportion."

Dr. G. R. Ferris, M.R.C.S., was asked by Sir W. Roberts:—

Q. "Has it never struck you that there was a difference of tolerance, depending upon race or climate, or food, or the environment of Europeans on the one hand, and of the inhabitants of India on the other?"

A. "No. In Calcutta I have seen the greatest quantity taken by Europeans. The maximum I have seen has been taken by a European."

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Wilcox, M.D., was asked by Mr. Mowbray:—

Q. "Have you had any experience of Europeans taking opium in this country?"

A. "Yes. I have stated that the worst cases I have met with have been Europeans."

Q. "You think that the effect of opium on the Europeans who take it is worse than on the natives?"

A. "I do not think so. These cases I speak of were cases of extreme abuse."

See also 3387, 21,298, 19,363, 24,706.

NOTE V. V. to par. 38.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM, EXCEPT FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES.

Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, President of the Calcutta Medical College, approves of the production of opium for medical use only:—

"To that extent and no further."

Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the sale of opium, except for medical purposes:—

"So far as I can gauge public opinion, they (the people of India) will support it (prohibition)."

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says:—

"I am for limiting the use of opium strictly for medical purposes. Its use as a narcotic indulgence should be prohibited by laws."

"And you believe that such a prohibition would be received with favour by the people?—Yes."

Babu Bepin Behari Bose, M.A., a barrister at Lucknow, is in favour of prohibition, except for medical purposes, and says that such action would be supported by the general opinion of the country:—

"The opinion of the country is very settled on this point—that opium eating is not good at all."

Pandit Gopi Nath, assistant manager of three newspapers, and secretary of two bodies of orthodox Hindus, is in favour of prohibition except for medical purposes, and thinks it would be generally approved:—

"It is nonsense to think that because opium is prohibited there will be any riots."

Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, proprietor of two native newspapers at Lucknow, and a member of the Municipal Board, says:—

"It would be a blessing to my city if the Government stops the sale of

"opium, and strictly orders that none but those who require opium for medical purposes should have it."

"I think the majority of the opium smokers themselves will agree with me." 14,525.

Rai Goonabhiram Borooah, Bahadur, retired Extra Assistant Commissioner of Assam, thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes:—

"All but opium sellers and opium eaters will be in favour of it. Even they would like it because their children would be saved." 9139.

Gobind Ram Chowdry, Tahsildar, Assam, says:—

"I wish it could be prohibited except for medical purposes."

"The great majority, not being opium consumers, would certainly support it. . . . There is nothing to fear from the natives of the country in regard to prohibition." 19,288, 19,289.

Mr. Kali Sankur Sukul, M.A., Professor in the City College, and Rector of the City Collegiate School, Calcutta, says:—

"The sale of opium, except for medical purposes, should be stopped." 9330.

"Undoubtedly public opinion would favour the total prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, especially if the country were assured that no other taxation would follow." 9331.

See also 9932-3, 13,389, 15,009-10, 15,626-9, 18,261-2, 27,843-4, 11,692-3, 10,504-5, 4583, 16,569-76, 4298, 8021-2, 8342, 18,033-36, 19,733, 24,301, 8646-51, 9053-4, 9467-8, 11,449, 23,457, 24,335-6, 26,518, 26,587, and nearly a hundred others.

NOTE W. to par. 39.—FURTHER EVIDENCE AS TO OPIUM SMOKING.

Mr. G. M. Ogilvie, Second Financial Commissioner for the Punjab, said in reference to smoking:—

"This use of opium is generally reprobated. It is not practised by the peasantry, and is, I believe, generally confined to the vicious classes of the population." 15,698.

He added an opinion that in consequence of the discontinuance in the Punjab of licensing the sale of chandu and madak, the practice of smoking is rapidly decreasing in that province. 15,714.

Mr. T. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says:—

"I have nothing to say in favour of opium smoking. Speaking of these 9527.

provinces, I regard it as a low and vicious habit, practised, broadly speaking,

"by low or by vicious people. It would be unreasonable to say that any

"physical or moral deterioration which may have been observed in opium

"smokers is necessarily due altogether to that particular practice and not to

"other demoralising habits and associations or physical infirmities. . . .

"But in these parts people who pursue the habit do in my opinion often or

"generally suffer from it or its surroundings. The policy of the Government

"of the North-Western Provinces has always been directed to repress and

"check the practice and has been attended with success."

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., civil surgeon at Amritsar, referring to that district, says:—

"The class of opium-smokers is very limited. Four years ago the opium- 15,945.

"smoking shops were closed by order of the Government, and since then

"opium smoking has apparently decreased; it is confined to a very few,

"generally a disreputable, debauched, and depraved lot."

Numerous native witnesses, some holding important official positions, gave

similar evidence, particularly Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner of Bengal, who said:—

"The effects of chandu and madak smoking are, however, distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, specially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food. Opium eating is not looked down upon, nor does it cause loss of respectability. But smoking chandu or madak is regarded as a degrading habit."

"... the chandu or madak smoker is usually known by his appearance, and he is also generally believed to have deteriorated in many respects." "I think the effects of madak or chandu smoking in this country cannot well be concealed."

NOTE X. to par. 48.—OPIUM REVENUE.

According to the figures in App. VIII. the average of the net opium revenue for the four years ending 1892-3 was Rx. 7,299,249.

The Budget Estimate for 1893-4 was Rx. 5,967,104.

According to the "Financial Statement," the Budget Estimate for 1894-5 is ... Rx. 4,138,200

to which must be added the net revenue from excise, which ... Rx. 985,129

for the average of the five years ending 1893-4 was ... Rx. 5,123,329

making a total of ... which taking the rupee at 1s. 1d. gives £2,775,136.

NOTE Y. to par. 32.—MEDICAL EVIDENCE AGAINST THE NEW THEORY THAT OPIUM IS A PROPHYLACTIC AGAINST FEVER.

A new theory—never heard of,—

4317; 4710; 8824-36; 10,617; 10,684; 11,851-69; 15,868; 16,168; 16,665; 19,378-80; 24,173.

Not used or recommended,—

3619; 4070; 4174-6; 8828; 12,476; 12,585; 12,633-4; 12,695; 13,337; 16,876; 17,275-7; 17,508; 24,777.

Not prescribed, even by pro-opiumists,—

3574; 11,895-6; 16,879-81; 19,258; 19,407; 21,459-60; 24,675; 25,383.

Prophylactic properties denied,—

4710; 5837; 16,167; 16,558; 16,902; 17,152; 17,772-6; 19,203; 25,308.

Not known or used by the natives as a preventive,—

4277-80; 5836; 17,173; 19,406; 24,177-8; 25,361; 25,727; 25,861; 25,957; 26,041.

NOTE Z. to par. 50.

DEAR LORD BRASSEY,

Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield,

January 21, 1895.

I have carefully considered your letters of the 2nd and 7th instant, the latter enclosing a copy of your letter to Sir James Lyall of the same date.

In the former of these letters you point out that if I am unable to agree with you and the majority, it will be "unprofitable to enter into a prolonged discussion," and that it will become my duty to state my own views in a dissentient report. You add that in the report which you will submit you "do not suppose that there will be found much room for amendment," and that "taking this view" you "do not anticipate that our further deliberations round the table need occupy many days."

In your letter to Sir James Lyall you "strongly insist that the completion of our work has become of extreme urgency," and you say that "having received two communications from the Secretary of State within the last few days, I feel that my duty calls for some decided course of action. I do not

"believe that long discussion round the table will be necessary or desirable." * * * "I shall in any case relieve the Commission from further collective work on the 26th."

Believing that full examination and consideration was the usual course, I was prepared to give all the time needful for the purpose. But as the majority of the Commission will probably be guided by your wishes in the matter, that course appears to be precluded.

Under these circumstances, it would not be right for me to attempt to discuss a few statements or arguments here and there in the Majority Report; for were I to do so, it would convey the impression that I was satisfied with whatever I did not challenge, and might be open to other objections. I must therefore confine myself, as you suggest, to a statement of my own views, some of which, I believe, are in accordance with those of Mr. Pease.

Entirely apart, however, from the considerations already referred to, I think it right to point out that in your letter to Sir James Lyall, you advise "personal revision of the draft as now being circulated on the part of each member of the Commission," adding that you would go "carefully through each revise" and endeavour to incorporate all suggestions which do not conflict with the "main conclusions."

Four new portions or chapters, apparently intended to form part of the report, have been circulated within the last few days; a further chapter has come to hand this morning, and at least three or four portions or chapters have yet to be supplied.

As we are to meet the day after to-morrow, it is impossible that your wish as to revision by each member, and the incorporation of suggestions, can now be carried out; and it cannot be right or proper that the Commission should adopt, as its own, any chapters or documents which its members have not had adequate means and opportunity to consider and approve.

I remain,

Dear Lord Brassey,
Yours faithfully,

HERNRY J. WILSON.

The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B.,
Chairman Royal Commission on Opium.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES IN INDIA.

I. While in India I was obliged to express disapproval of the action of the Government of India, and of various officials, in relation to the Commission. As the after proceedings did not remove but strengthened this objection, it is due to the Commission and myself to place the main grounds of this objection on record.

In doing so I readily acknowledge the difficult position of the Indian authorities. Rightly or wrongly they appeared to hold in the main that the good government of India is bound up with the Opium Revenue. The difficulties arose from assuming an im-

partiality on the part of the Indian authorities which could not be, and was not, continuously enforced.

Vol. V., p. 368.

2. Some of the circumstances to which I am about to refer were stated in a letter addressed by me to Lord Brassey while we were in India, but the consideration given to them appeared to me inadequate. I have here omitted some and added others.

3. On the 18th November, 1893, it transpired that a telegram had been sent from the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the 15th August, containing the following passage:—
"We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses, who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society." As anti-opium evidence was easily available, without any special search, this official statement seemed to show that the authorities were taking up a partisan attitude.

4. Two days later a letter from Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, to Lord Brassey, Chairman of the Commission, was passed round to the members for perusal. It contained a statement in favour of the existing opium system, and against interference with that system as likely to lead to serious trouble. This appeared to me a departure from the judicial attitude which might have been expected from Her Majesty's Representative.

Vol. V., p. 368 and p. 371.

5. The Government of Madras was not allowed to present its own case to the Commission, but was instructed by the Government of India (13th December, 1893) to send to Calcutta abstracts of evidence of proposed witnesses. A letter of similar purport was addressed on the same day to the Resident at Hyderabad with regard to the evidence of other witnesses. Similar instructions were given to the Government of the North-West Provinces. I submit that this requirement was distinctly detrimental to the free expression of opinion and unprecedented in the history of Royal Commissions.

Vol. V., p. 373.

6. An official letter was sent [30th December, 1893] from the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, to all Commissioners of Divisions, and other officials in these provinces, calling attention to the fact that some officials had "communicated direct with the Secretary of the Commission, submitting to that officer abstracts of the evidence," and pointing out "that there is no authority for this procedure, and . . . that all communications should be addressed to this Government." Here, again, the authorities seemed determined that no evidence should be submitted to the Commission which had not been subjected to official scrutiny in high quarters. Moreover, this circular was not communicated to officials alone, but even to non-official persons who were intending, and were considered qualified, to give evidence on the subject of the inquiry.

Vol. V., p. 370.

7. At Benares, Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., stated that he had been officially invited to be a witness and to furnish an abstract of his intended evidence. After he forwarded his statement, he was informed by official letter, in which no reason was assigned, that his evidence was not required. The fact that he entertained anti-opium opinions was subsequently proved by his volunteered evidence before the Commission. Other proposed witnesses at Benares were similarly treated.

8. At Bankipur, a list of witnesses intended to be called on the 3rd January, was supplied to me. It included the name of Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E., Dewan of Dumraon. This gentleman represents a large estate in which poppy is extensively cultivated. He was not called. Information from two sources led me to believe that his evidence would not have been altogether favourable to the Government. The official version of this circumstance will be found in Vol. V., p. 355, paragraphs 4 to 10, and as I have commented on it in the Appendix to my dissent from the Report of the majority of the Commission, I will only add a strong expression of my opinion that as the Dewan was not called on the 3rd January, the Commission ought to have been informed that he was present on the 6th January. The withholding of that information was not creditable to those concerned.

9. At Lucknow 24 witnesses were called at the instance of the Government, 23 of whom gave evidence generally favourable to the Government case. Thinking that a different kind of evidence might have been omitted, Mr. R. M. Dane, who accompanied the Commission to manage the case on behalf of the Government of India, was, at my request, asked by Lord Brassey to put in the list of persons who had been asked by the authorities to give evidence at Lucknow, together with such abstracts of their evidence as had not already been produced. I thought the Commission was entitled to know the method that had been followed in making the selection of witnesses, and that the original list of witnesses, with the marks and notes upon it, would throw light on the subject. The list was not produced. It was stated that the names of Lucknow witnesses were included in the general list of all the witnesses for the North-West Provinces and Oudh; but that circumstance seems quite irrelevant, and an altogether insufficient reason. However, the names of 17 rejected witnesses extracted from the list were supplied, together with the abstracts of evidence of 16, four of whom seem to entertain anti-opium views, and four others make some strong observations against the use of opium. I would draw particular attention to the fact that two of these gentlemen, namely, Mr. P. Wyndham, C.S., Assistant Commissioner and Excise Officer, Sultānpur, and Mirza Muhammad Beg, Deputy Collector of Basti, make the

III., 13, 166.

important statement that in their opinion revenue and rents derived from land would not be sensibly affected by the prohibition of poppy cultivation.

10. At Bombay another instance of the anxiety of the authorities to prevent the free communication of information on the opium question was brought to light by the Rev. A. W. Prautch. An official circular had been issued desiring that information applied for by Mr. Ernest Hart, Chairman of the British Medical Association, should not be replied to, on the ground that "to reply to such applications might prove embarrassing."

11. I learned at Bankipur that the police at Gya had been searching out the movements of two of my friends and myself for the purpose of ascertaining with what persons we had had communication. As this matter formed the subject of protest on my part before the Commission, I need only refer to the Minutes of Evidence. I do not know whether on any other occasion we were similarly tracked.

12. Perhaps the most notable instance of the Government method of preparing for the fair and honest inquiry expected in England will be found in the correspondence relating to the Native States of Rajputana. On the 9th September, 1893, the Government of India directed the agent of the Governor-General in Rajputana to invite the Durbars of the Native States to appoint witnesses to give evidence before the Commission, and also to nominate a British officer to give evidence as to those States. An abstract of his evidence was, as in other cases, to be forwarded to the Government of India. Accordingly, on the 22nd September, the agent, Col. G. H. Trevor, sent out a circular "to all political officers in Rajputana," desiring that the Durbars [Courts] of the Native States should be invited to nominate witnesses, and requesting the British officers addressed to furnish information and statistics. On the 5th October Lieut.-Colonel Abbott was appointed to give evidence himself, as well as to produce the witnesses, and arrange the evidence from the Native States—the request for a draft of his evidence being again repeated by the Government of India. Colonel Abbott then prepared a note on opium, which will repay careful perusal. He indicated the principal heads of evidence, and, among other things, suggested "that some stalwart Sondhia, Mewati, and 'Rajput lumberdars and patels should be among the witnesses selected.' He made numerous other suggestions as to matters of detail entirely in favour of the existing state of things, and without any provision for ascertaining and proving any matters of an adverse character, either of fact or of opinion. He advised that the witnesses "should reach Ajmere a week in advance" of the Commission, and supplied the reason, namely, "that I may become acquainted with all, and see if each one understands on

Vol. IV., p. 373.

Vol. III., pp. 10, 24, 25.

Vol. IV., p. 384.

Vol. IV., p. 385.

Vol. IV., p. 386.

"what points he is required to give evidence." He also made careful suggestions for preparing ample claims for compensation. On the 29th November "all political officers" were again addressed on the subject as follows:—"Mr. R. M. Dane, C.S., the officer selected by the Government of India to advise local Administrations in the matter of preparing for the inquiry to be held by the Opium Commission, has had an opportunity of seeing the previous correspondence on that subject in this office, and has pointed out that the great importance of the inquiry . . . has apparently not been fully appreciated. . . . that Rajputana is vitally interested in the inquiry, and that "there should be no lack of evidence, both official and non-official, to prove before the Commission the full extent of their rights and interests in opium." The suggestion was repeated that witnesses were, if practicable, to be "ready in Ajmere about a week in advance of the Commission's arrival there." Taken altogether, this correspondence is, in my opinion, as one-sided as the instructions in a brief in a partisan cause, and the evidence, which in accordance with these suggestions, was prepared and put before the Commission at Ajmere, was of an unusually partial and one-sided character.

13. The instances I have given as to the action of the authorities appear to me inconsistent with any real desire on their part that the whole of the facts should come in a perfectly unbiassed manner before the world. Whatever the Government of India intended by their determination not to seek for evidence of an anti-opium character, its action was likely to be understood, and was undoubtedly understood, to mean that pro-opium evidence was to be sought for, and anti-opium evidence was not.

14. Lord Brassey himself had early recognised the true position of the Government, as is clear from his statement to Mr. Alexander, the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, at the close of his evidence before the Commission:—"We all appreciate that "in the encounter in which you are engaged with the Government "of India upon its own ground you are placed in circumstances of "no ordinary difficulty."

15. My contention on this subject is, that having regard to the nature of British authority in India, and to the moral timidity of many residents in India, both Native and European, it was the duty of the Government, in the presentation of evidence to be adduced before the Commission, to have publicly assured the people generally that no harm would come to them by giving free expression to their views, however opposed such views might be to the interests of the Revenue, or the known predilection of English officials. In fact it should have given practical effect to Mr. Westland's message read by the Chairman at the commencement of the proceedings on the 27th December:—"The Govern-

Vol. IV., p. 387.

See par. 4.

Q. 2588.

Vol. II., p. 274.

"ment, however, will not reply to such evidence [that is anti-opium evidence] as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

16. In view of the various incidents which came to my knowledge, and some of which are here set forth, I am driven to the conclusion that the authorities in India have not pursued their declared "course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

HENRY J. WILSON.

A FURTHER PROTEST.

The following correspondence is printed at the end of Vol. VII. of the Commission's Proceedings, after the Index and glossary of Indian terms, as Appendix H., with the note :—

"This correspondence is added to the proceedings in compliance with the Chairman's undertaking expressed in the last paragraph of his letter of the 10th December."

Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield,
December 5th, 1894.

DEAR LORD BRASSEY,

I am sorry that it should be needful for me to complain in reference to certain matters connected with the Commission.

I. I am informed by Mr. Baines that no minutes of the proceedings of the Commission have been kept, or, at any rate, are now available. This, I understand, is entirely contrary to the usual practice.

II. It appears to me that our Indian colleagues have not been treated with the consideration to which they were entitled in reference to their coming to this country for the purpose of taking part in our deliberations on the Report. As regards the Maharaja of Darbhanga, it was, I am aware, generally understood that he was not willing to undertake the journey, but that general understanding was no reason why he should not have been formally and courteously invited. The case of Mr. Haridas is different. He appeared to be desirous of coming; and had he been formally and courteously invited at the proper time, before he had resumed his duties as Dewan of Junagarh, there is every reason to believe that he would have been glad to accept the invitation; in fact, he distinctly stated that your Lordship told him you would inform him in June as to whether his presence would be required in England, and had he been so then informed he would doubtless have been able to avoid taking up his new appointment in August last.

III. It appears that when at last, in consequence of my representations, Mr. Haridas was invited to come to this country, the communication was not sent direct to him, but through the India

Office, and then successively through the Government of India and the Government of Bombay. This was, I submit, a departure from the usual practice of Royal Commissions, and distinctly derogatory to the position of such a Commission and of a Royal Commissioner. Mr. Haridas has thus been treated as though he were merely an official under the Indian Government, to be communicated with through the usual system of official routine.

IV. It appears further that our Indian colleagues have not been promptly furnished with the sections of the Draft Report. Four parts were received by me up to the 2nd of August, and might have been in their hands in the third week of the month, whereas Mr. Haridas, when he wrote on the 9th October, had not received any part.

V. The Secretary of the Commission sent for my perusal a letter from Mr. Fanshawe addressed to the Chairman, proposing that the correspondence between the Indian Government, the Commission, and myself in reference to the action of the authorities should be published in the Appendix. I returned to the Secretary the letter of Mr. Fanshawe, saying that I did not object to such publication, but that the last letter of the series, namely, that dated the 3rd February, 1894, should have a note appended to it indicating that it had not been communicated to me for three months after the date it bore. My request has not been complied with, and our Secretary informs me that it was ignored by him on his own responsibility. I submit that in so acting he exceeded the limits of his authority.

I have to request that you will be so good as to place this letter before the Commission at a suitable but early part of the meeting on the 7th instant.

I remain,

Dear Lord Brassey,

Yours faithfully,

HENRY J. WILSON.

The Right Honourable Lord Brassey, K.C.B.

Normanhurst Court, Battle,
10th December, 1894.

MY DEAR WILSON,—

I much regret that your letter of December 5th, but which bears on the envelope the London postmark of December 7th, did not reach me in time for discussion at the last meeting of the Commission. As to the keeping of minutes, there had been no meetings of the Commission since we separated at Bombay. A shorthand writer has been present at every meeting, and his notes have been printed. As regards the invitations to our Indian colleagues, I did not think it desirable to invite them to England

until the Report was ready for discussion. You know the delays, and the causes of the delay. As soon as I knew the approximate date when we should be ready for a conference, I informed the India Office. I cannot think that our Indian colleagues would themselves take exception to the mode in which they have been treated. Nothing could have been more cordial than our relations in India from the beginning to the end. I endeavoured to show them in every way the same friendly regard and the same deference to any suggestions or opinions which they advanced, which I have always desired to show to my English colleagues.

I will forward your letter to Mr. Fanshawe and Mr. Baines for any explanations. The correspondence can be published with the minutes of our proceedings.

Yours sincerely,

BRASSEY.

Forwarded to Mr. Fanshawe with Mr. Wilson's letter, in compliance with the Chairman's concluding paragraph.

14th December, 1894.

J. A. BAINES.

Secretary.

Endorsement by Mr. Fanshawe:—

I have read and now return this correspondence, which I cannot help thinking has been sent to me under some misapprehension. There is nothing, so far as I can see, in Mr. Wilson's letter of the 5th instant on which I am called upon to offer any remarks.

14th December, 1894.

A. U. FANSHAWE.

Endorsement by the Secretary:—

As regards the last paragraph of Mr. Wilson's letter, I have to explain that, in a note received from him dated the 24th of July, he wrote—"If you are going to have the correspondence in question put in type, I think there ought to be an endorsement to the effect that Mr. Hewett's letter to the Government of India, Camp Ajmere, 3rd February, 1894, was not communicated to me until the 1st of May, 1894—three months after date. I shall, of course, have something to say on the whole subject hereafter."

Mr. Wilson did not inform me that he was kept in ignorance of the fact that such a reply had been sent or of the purport of its contents. The records are the common property of the Commission, accessible to every member. It is neither usual nor necessary, therefore, to formally communicate correspondence to individual members, who have the official copy available for reference. Mr. Wilson was present with the Commission up to the 20th February, and to have added a note to the effect he suggested involves the implication that he was debarred from access to the records and from due knowledge of what action his colleagues had taken in a matter in which he was materially interested. In omitting the endorsement, therefore, I considered it superfluous to refer to the Chairman. The only member of the Commission to whom I informally showed the proposal agreed with my view as to the misapprehension to which such a note would give rise.

J. A. BAINES,

Secretary.

Further endorsement:—

This correspondence was placed by the Secretary for disposal at the meetings of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th January, but other work blocked the way.

J. A. BAINES.