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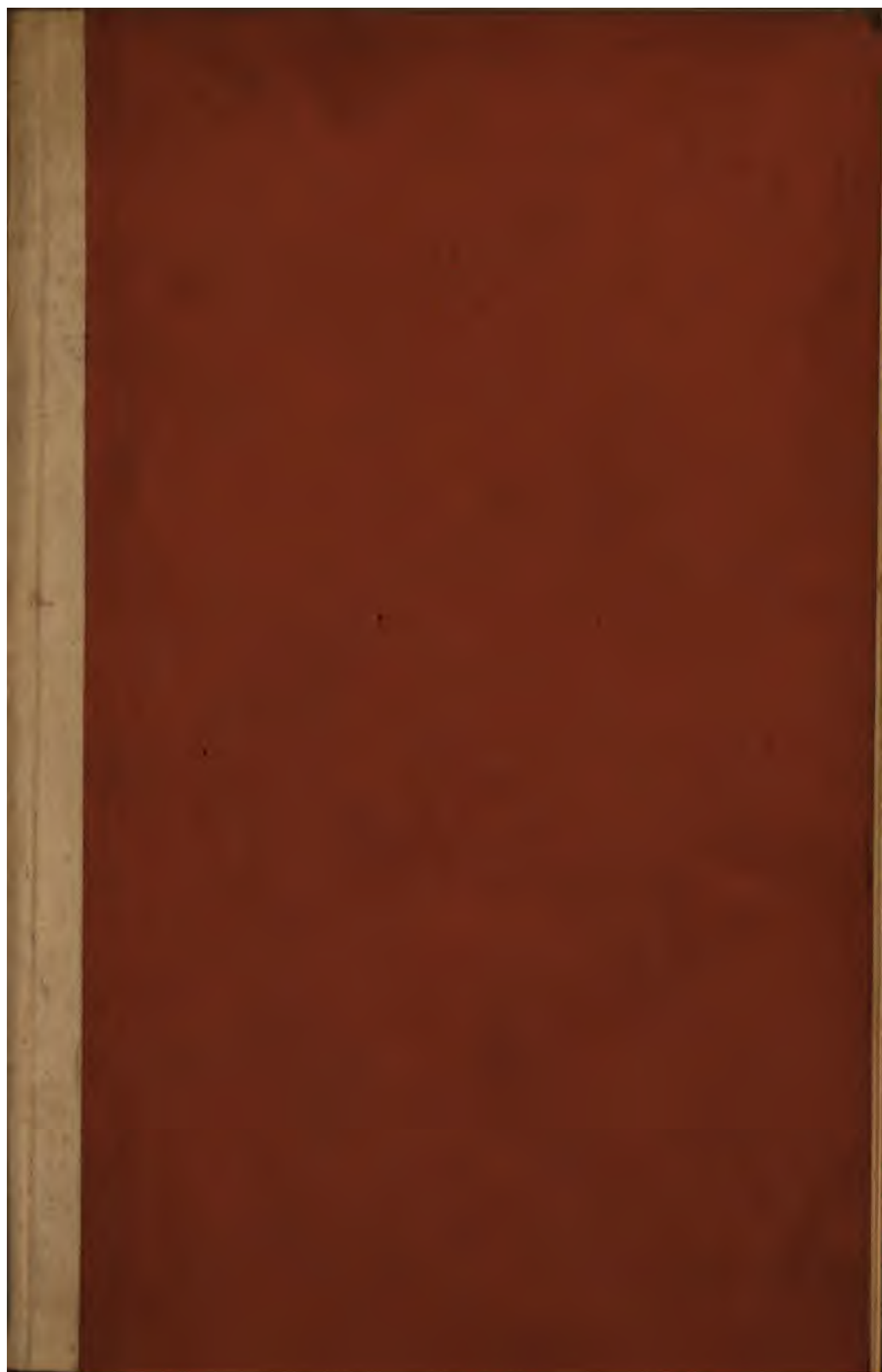
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# THE OPIUM QUESTION;

OR,

## IS INDIA TO BE SACRIFICED TO CHINA?

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST,

LATE MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

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“Audi alteram partem.”  
“Magna est veritas et prævalebit.”

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THE OPIUM QUESTION, OR "IS INDIA TO BE  
SACRIFICED TO CHINA?"

- I.—*All about Opium*. Sultzberger, 1884. Ridge Mount, Anerley, S.E.  
II.—*Truth about Opium*. Brereton. Allen & Co.  
III.—*Truth about Opium-smoking*. Bromhall. Hodder & Stoughton.  
IV.—*Friend of China*. Dyer Brothers, Paternoster Row.  
V.—*Christlieb: Indo-British Opium and its Effects*. Nisbet, Berner Street.  
VI.—*Vindication of England's Policy*. Haines, 1884. Allen & Co.  
VII.—*China Yellow Book: Opium*. II. Special Series, No. 4. Shanghai, 1881.  
VIII.—*England, China and Opium*. Fry, 1873. Bumpus, Holborn.  
IX.—*Opium Question Solved*. Arnold. Partridge & Co., 1882, Paternoster Row.  
X.—*Opium Question*. Moule. Seeley, Fleet Street, 1877.

IN the midst of loud declamation and plenteous abuse, the Anti-Opium agitators neglect to grapple in a practical manner with the subject, or suggest any feasible remedy for the alleged evil. It is natural that this should be so, for, not understanding the formidable complications of the disease, how can they prescribe for the patient? The problem is a solemn one. If the agitators urge that China is not to be sacrificed to the financial wants of India, the whole body of Anglo-Indians rise, as one man, to maintain that India shall not be sacrificed to the moral weakness of China. England has no direct interest in the matter: every rupee of the vast sums spent in the culture of the poppy, the manufacture of the drug, and its export by sea to China, is supplied by natives of India, or Anglo-Indians, transacting business in India.

Let us clear away sundry topics which only cloud the discussion, and divert the mind from the real issue, which is, "What shall be done in 1885?"



I. The war of 1841-42 may, or may not, have been connected with opium in its origin (which is doubtful), or have been wicked (which is also doubtful); but whatever it was, it is an accomplished fact and a matter of history.

II. The war of 1857 arose entirely from the capture of a small vessel, and had nothing to do with opium. Be it recollected that Parliament was dissolved, and the matter was laid before the country, and the war was the direct result of the votes of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland. The people had the matter before them, and decided upon it. India was not consulted.

III. Peace was made, and certain ports were thrown open to all merchandize, opium, at the request of the Chinese, being admitted to the Free Ports subject to a fixed Customs Duty. Beyond those Treaty-ports China is absolutely master of the situation, and nothing can pass out of those ports without an arbitrary transit-duty, which can at discretion be made prohibitory. I have ascertained this fact from the most competent authorities, and, if there were any treaty *compelling* China to admit opium beyond the Treaty-ports, I should join in the petition to have that treaty repealed. It is very true that, if the Chinese were to forbid the passage of opium out of the Treaty-ports, smuggling would be resorted to along two thousand miles of coast by men of every nationality; but England, if it attempted to exclude French brandy, would run the same risk, and the Navy of the United States was not able to exclude the blockade-runners during the cotton famine.

IV. The injurious effects of over-indulgence in opium-smoking is admitted. But every nation has its prevailing vice, which must be attacked by moral arguments, not by the Arm of the Flesh. An English Bishop rightly said that it would be better for men to be drunkards than slaves. The people of England extract twenty-eight millions annually from the intemperate habits of a portion of the community. There are worse things in China, a far greater moral contamination than opium-smoking. Why do the citizens of the United States, who admit all nationalities to their

territory, exclude the Chinese? Because they bring with them a contamination worse than opium-smoking.

V. If the habit of opium-smoking is so destructive of body and mind, as the agitators say, it would tell upon the population. China, however, is like a full bowl, overflowing into every land, Australia, New Zealand, the Indian Archipelago, South Africa, and America. Other vices bring with them sterility, poverty, and national weakness. China is a power of unwieldy but gigantic strength: it has recovered all its lost ground on its North-West frontier, holds its own against Russia, and France, and there are no signs of a decay in its arts, manufactures, or national power.

VI. If unhappy Ireland had a culture, a manufacture, and an article of export, which enabled the tenant to live in comfort, the landlord to receive his rent without fail, the State to levy an excise of eight millions on the export; if the population were indebted to this culture for social and undemoralized happiness and content, would the Parliament of Ireland consent to destroy this culture, and arrest this manufacture, because the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands, or South America, were so uncontrolled in their appetites, and so abandoned in their proclivities, as to destroy themselves with over-libations of whisky? Yet such is the state of many millions in British India, to whom the culture of the poppy is as the wand of Fortunatus. Landlord and tenant welcome the arrival of the Opium-Factory Agent, who pays upwards of a million in advance without interest, under contract, for delivery of the poppy juice, thus protecting the cultivator from the exactions of the village banker, and enabling him to pay his rent to his landlord, and enabling the landlord to pay his land-tax to the State.

VII. If India were a constitutional colony (and one excellent result of this agitation will be, that constitutional powers will be conceded to it for self-protection from selfish Englishmen), would it be expected that the Colonial Parliament would throw to the winds a revenue of eight millions, because irresponsible men in England take up one side of a question, and, forgetting the drunkenness of England, and

the frightful injuries inflicted upon Africa by the English commerce in arms and liquors, sympathize with the debased Chinese opium-smoker, and its debased and mercenary rulers, who fill their despatches with moral saws, and tolerate ineffable abominations ?

VIII. "Begin at home" is a maxim which applies both to the English agitator and the Chinese Government. China will soon become, if it is not already, the largest opium producer in the world, and some even think that ere long it will export opium. Of one fact, however, there can be no doubt, that travellers in remote regions find the poppy cultivation and the opium pipe among tribes never visited by European, or accessible to the Indian drug. It is not clear that opium-smoking ever has prevailed outside China: in British India, with the exception of British Burma, which is outside of India proper, and in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, it is totally unknown.

IX. With our streets at home inundated with intoxicating liquors, with our manufacturers sending out annually arms, ammunition, and rum, to every part of unhappy Africa, so as to enable the aborigines, who have survived down to the nineteenth century, and have outlived the foreign slave-trade, to destroy themselves by internecine war and drunkenness, of which they were ignorant before the arrival of the white man: with human sacrifices and cannibalism still practised in marts to which our traders resort: with many forms of frightful cruelty and horrible crime rampant in countries to which we have access, are we to throw away the Empire of India in the vain and fanciful idea of keeping back a heathen Chinaman from his pipe, while we have failed to hold back a Christian Englishman from his pot ?

X. It is notorious that the surplus-income of British India over the absolute necessities of the State is supplied by the wonderful and heaven-sent windfall of the opium-revenue, and out of this surplus fund the Bishops with their Chaplains, and the grants-in-aid to the Missionary Societies from the Education Department, have for many years been paid. If then this source of revenue be so tainted, as the Anti-Opium

agitators would have us believe : if it be an accursed thing, like the price of blood, the wage of the prostitute, the cost of a brother's soul, and the incense offered to Mammon, how is it that these societies, so outwardly blessed by the Almighty, can accept a part of the spoils and mingle it with the pure offerings of Missionary love and thanksgiving? It is their duty before God and Men to reject the contamination. The Missionary Societies know very well from what source the surplus-income of British India comes, and yet they do not hesitate to take their share.

XI. Amidst the agitators there are two camps : the platform-orators, and the prudent Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, who must sometimes start at the utterances of the extreme members of his own party. We have heard the opium-trade likened to the slave-trade. What does this mean? No doubt the slave-trade was a curse to the country which despatched the slaves, and a heavier curse to the country which received the slaves ; but the sympathy of the world was with the slave himself, a man of like passions to ourselves, and with an immortal soul. But the opium trade is one of the choicest and richest blessings to the country which exports it, blest at every stage of the transaction, and to every one concerned in it : to the country which receives it, it has neither brought depopulation, nor poverty, nor sterility, nor weakness, though to a large number (about two millions out of a population of four hundred millions) of the debauched members of that nation it has supplied an opiate, more carefully prepared and of greater intrinsic excellence than the culture and manufacture of his own country can produce, or at least has as yet produced, for, in the ports of Mongolia the Chinese indigenous opium has driven out the Indian alien drug. We can scarcely suppose that any sympathy is felt with the fate of the opium-ball : so the analogy with the slave-trade falls to the ground.

XII. The agitators sometimes urge that it is an Indian, sometimes an English question ; but I never heard any one urge seriously that sevenpence in the pound should be added to the English Income-tax to make up for the loss of

Revenue to British India, and that compensation should be given to the landlords and tenants and chiefs of Central India for the terrible loss caused to them by the abandonment of a profitable culture. Yet, if we have the strength of our convictions, we should rise to the dignity of paying the forfeit of our own misconduct. Sydney Smith gives an anecdote of the Bishops on one occasion feeding the starving populace with the dinners of the Deans and Canons, while they kept their own. When slavery was abolished, the twenty millions of compensation were paid by England and not by the West India Islands. An extremely moral sensitiveness should not be sordid, and attempt to make a scape-goat of a subject-empire to satisfy its own scruples, not shared by the people of India. A much larger sum (perhaps five-fold) than twenty millions would be required to supply the compensation to the agricultural and commercial interests wantonly injured by the Exeter Hall moralists. Nor would the Chinese be any the better for this Quixotic insanity.

XIII. Another line of argument, brought forward in Exeter Hall, is, that the suppression of the trade would cause India no loss at all. It is stated, with charming simplicity, that the area of culturable soil, now occupied by the poppy, would be at once transferred to cereals, which would be equally profitable and be a safeguard against famine. How little do such advocates know of the infinite trouble taken, during the last thirty years, to introduce into India other and more profitable products than cereals? How little does he reflect that a glut of cereals is the ruin of a country, unless the means of export are at a very high stage of development, which requires capital? Besides, land under poppy-culture pays its land-tax to the State, and rent to the landowner; and it will have to do the same if under garden-crops or sugar-cane: but over and above the land-revenue and rent, the opium pays an export duty of eight millions to the State, and who would dare place an export-duty on any other crop? There would therefore be a dead loss to the State, but the land-

lord and tenant, in losing the poppy-culture, would lose their enhanced profit upon a profitable culture with a certain demand, and in the provinces under the Bengal monopoly they would lose the opium-advances, which fall annually in a shower of silver over the fortunate districts suitable for the cultivation of the poppy.

XIV. Herod and Pilate are reported to have become friends on the occasion of the condemnation of an innocent prisoner. This reflection rises in the mind when we read of a Roman Cardinal and the Evangelical Clergy of England joined in a strange alliance. In the Papal Bull of 1882, the British and Foreign Bible Society is described as the eldest daughter of Satan, and all Protestant Missionaries as propagators of lies, and yet the evidence which has convinced the Cardinal is supplied by these Missionaries. On the other hand, the Evangelical Clergy have over and over again denounced the Pope as the Father of Lies, and yet on this extremely complicated question of morality and politics, they appear on the platform, and exchange compliments with the Cardinal. The astute Cardinal would keep the monopoly, which the Anglo-Indians are longing to get rid of, until he can find an opportunity to cut down the culture, manufacture, and trade, root and branch. Others would get rid of the monopoly as a glaring offence, and leave to time and public opinion to correct the greater evil, which is inextricably entwined with the great principles of liberty, freedom of culture, freedom of trade, and freedom of export. Still the independent observer cannot but look on the sudden alliance between parties otherwise so opposed in a matter, the whole gist of which is mixed up with the efforts of Protestant Missions, as inauspicious and suspicious. Over and over again it is asserted that the opium trade is the chief obstacle of Protestant Missions, and the Missionary Societies take it up as such without going into the truth of the assertion. Such being the case, the Cardinal was a strange ally: "Non tali auxilio." I remark that there was the same inauspicious conjunction of orators to attack the Surgeons on the platform of the Anti-Vivisection Society.

I would not willingly say an unkind word against any Missionary. I am a Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, and take an active interest in every attempt to evangelize India and China, assisting the work by addresses on platforms, by my writings, my subscriptions, and the devotion of the best part of my time to Committee work. Their motives are pure and above suspicion : their hostility to the opium-trade is inspired by respectable but mistaken feelings, roused by ignorance, or misconception of the real state of the case. The plummet line of their investigations does not reach the bottom. They do not appear to advantage in this controversy, as going out of their proper sphere, and displaying a narrowness of vision. Some of them are indeed great men, of whom the world may be proud, but the majority are men of self-devotion and probity, but no Government would deem it wise to rule an empire on their advice, or according to their notions.

In their phraseology the great kingdoms of India and China, with their population of seven hundred millions, are conventionally described as the kingdom of Satan : those of us who have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the people of India, know how untrue that description is of them, and it may be assumed to be equally untrue of the Chinese. The kingdom of Satan, if it were localized, would probably be found in some European capital. They fix on some particular evil which strikes their eye, and attribute to that evil their want of success in their field, forgetting that in other fields, where that particular evil does not exist, want of progress is complained of also. For instance, caste is denounced in India, opium in China, cannibalism and slavery in Africa, and polygamy and idolatry everywhere. As a rule, owing to the necessity of acquiring the vernacular language, the transfer of a Missionary from one field to another is not possible : so a Chinese Missionary lives and dies with the conviction, that, if he could get rid of his bug-bear opium, his way would be clear. Nor are those, who chronicle the works of Missionaries in Europe, wiser, for we

read in a pamphlet by a great and good German writer, that he would recommend the English Government at once to throw up and abandon the millions obtained for India from the export of opium, *and trust to God to supply the deficit.* I write with all reverence, that empires are not built up and maintained on such principles. It is a pulpit-utterance, and not the counsel of a ruler.

Nor do the Missionaries recollect the famous words of Prince Kung, "Take away from us your Missionaries and your opium." Sir Rutherford Alcock has publicly stated that the enmity felt by the Chinese to the importation of foreign opium sinks into nothing, and will not bear comparison with the hatred, felt and openly expressed for Missionaries of all denominations and their doctrines, and it has been a constant trouble to the Ministers of the French, English and American Governments. In 1884 at Fuh Chou placards were stuck up against the Missionaries. I do not justify the Chinese rulers or people, but I state facts, and it is reasonable to believe, that, if China recovered its independence, it would sweep away all treaties, and get rid of both subjects of annoyance. The Missionaries have, in China and elsewhere, directly and indirectly, done infinite good, and it would be wiser and better, if they would not meddle in politics, leaving to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, and devoting themselves to the things of God. And I can truly say that throughout the length and breadth of India, with extremely rare exceptions, such has been the practice of Missionaries of every denomination. Unhappily in China the Missionaries have taken up political agitation, with very little advantage or credit. Could these excellent men, whom I love even in their weaknesses, have a term of five years in Africa, how gladly, on their return to China, they would accept the Chinaman with his pipe, and try and win him by moral influences and the public press, could they be rid of the savage and the cannibal, the sorcerer and the executioner, whose presence weighs down the spirit of the Missionary on the Victoria Nyanza and the Niger.

The agitation has been re-echoed by a certain class in



England. So long as the principle of repressing the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs is not adopted by the State for the people of England, it seems mere mockery and hypocrisy on the part of Englishmen to apply it arbitrarily to a nation not under their control. The Chinese, who are the consumers, and the Indians who are the producers, must laugh at the hypocrisy of a nation, of which drunkenness is the notorious blot, and urge it to begin its moral reform at home. In one of the reports of the Society I read that the Chinese Government desire to stop opium-smoking among their own soldiers, and they are quite right to do so; but it is shocking to think that for the first offence the punishment is slitting, or excision, of the upper lip, and the second offence is visited with decapitation. In all our wars we have refused to accept as allies tribes who scalped their prisoners. The Anti-Opium Society does not hesitate to ally itself with the rulers of China, who openly avow such barbarous laws, though we may hope that they are not acted upon.

I was reading a short time ago the Report of the Anti-Vaccination Society, and but for the title, it might have been supposed to have been the Report of the Anti-Opium Society: there were the same speeches at public meetings, the same complacent self-assertion, a general abuse of all Governments, who were fools, or knaves, or both, and a disposal of a most intricate and difficult question in an off-hand manner. The Reports of the Anti-Vivisection Society are moulded in the same mould. Many of the discussions of the Anti-Opium Society have the character of a College Debating Society, for the Society is spoken of as "the English nation," and one individual, writing from Calcutta, vouches for the opinion of the Hindu people; another correspondent, who had never left Hong-Kong, undertakes to express the opinion of the Chinese people. About twelve men seem to do all the speaking, for their names appear at all the meetings, and the same arguments are used with variations of inaccuracy, reiteration of abuse, and strange inconsistency. Can a tree at the same time bring forth good and bad fruit? Can the long succession of Indian Viceroys and Governors, whose praise is in

the lips of all parties, whose Biographies are sold by thousands of copies, all have been deceived, or were they purposely blind and base in this one particular? Most of the speakers on this subject are of third and fourth rate calibre, and some really good speakers, when they handle the opium pipe, fall short of their usual excellence, as if out of their depth or uncertain of the drift of their policy: occasionally, really great men have stepped down into the arena. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone were at one on this issue: the former statesman remarked, in a somewhat bantering tone, that the deputation "raised a very large question, when they asked them to interfere in any way to discourage the action of private enterprise in supplying a drug which the Chinese preferred to take. He could not hold out any hope that any legislation in that direction was probable. If he were to assign a time, when such legislation might be undertaken, he should say it would be subsequent to the time, when a Bill was passed preventing the sale of spirits in England." But Mr. Gladstone, in 1880, raised the question above its usual level, and touched a higher chord: he said, "Do not let it be supposed that I am treating this subject with indifference. The charge is that this subject has been approached from a very low level of morality (hear, hear). Let us see, then, whether we can escape from this low level of morality and resort to the high level of morality which is recommended. If we are told that we must abolish this traffic, then the charge has no meaning at all, unless we assume the obligation on the part of the people of England. Either we are to assume the obligation on the part of the people of England, or content ourselves at the present moment with giving a promise that something will be done in the future. It would be a very high level of morality indeed; in one point of view, if we were prepared on behalf of our constituents to put 3*d.* or 4*d.* on the income-tax and assume the payment of these seven millions. That would be taking our stand on a high level of morality. But that is no part of the debate. That is not proposed; therefore that is not the level of the morality.

“ It must be some other level of morality, and let us see what “ it is.”

And how injudicious, and impolitic, and indeed un-Christian, has been the mode of agitation adopted. Hard words and gross insults have been heaped upon a body of men, who for a long series of years have watched over the interests of the great Indian people. No close Corporation, no City Guild, no Company of Merchants, has been fattened by the opium export-duty. It is notorious that the Government of India is renewed every five years by both the great parties of the State, and a long line of illustrious statesmen, and an army of less distinguished but no less honest and single-minded servants of the State, both Civil and Military, have made India their study and delight. Some, like Lord Elgin, have brought Chinese experience to India, others, like Lord Napier of Magdala, have served in both countries. There has been a Government at home independent of the Government of India, and yet there has been an absolute uniformity of opinion on this great question, shared by every one of the servants of the Queen, who had studied the subject. Nor have the distinguished representatives of England in China arrived at a contrary opinion. I have myself taken the opportunity of personally consulting members of the China Diplomatic Body on their return to England, and I have received always the same reply. To show the length to which this abuse has gone, I mention that in my presence a Member of Parliament, at a great public meeting, asserted that “ the gold coin, called a Sovereign, was large enough to hide the name of God,” as if any of the distinguished champions of the policy pursued by the Government of India for the last forty years had the remotest pecuniary interest in the matter. They were not slave-holders fighting to retain their slaves, or monopolists struggling to retain their monopoly, or rack-renting landlords to maintain their right of eviction, but persons totally uninterested in the issue, but convinced that an attempt was being made to force a policy contrary to the rights and interests of the people of India.

Let us consider the matter from the Chinese side of the question. I am not careful to defend the use of the drug, or to assert that opium-smoking is innocuous. So much I can say from knowledge. I lived a great many years among the Sikhs of the Panjab, who habitually swallowed opium-pills, and a finer, manlier, more prolific race cannot be found. In "China Millions" I find at page 32, 1879, that Opium was plentiful in Yunan, and yet the people had a well-to-do appearance and good houses, notwithstanding that the narcotic, home-grown, could be purchased for a trifle. Mr. Cooper remarks, that it would be death to a large portion of the population suddenly to stop the supply, and that the Chinese Government, in wishing to stop the Indian opium, were acting, as they generally do, without any idea of the welfare of the people. I read in the "Friend of China," 1883, page 221, that the elders of a village begged that the cultivation of the poppy might be stopped in their village, remarking that about one per cent. would smoke Indian opium, while twenty per cent. smoked home-grown opium. The greatest anti-opium agitator is obliged to admit that no reliance could be placed upon edicts from Peking, as they meant nothing, and were only bland expressions of Confucian morality. Moreover they are known to mean nothing, and subordinates in high office smoked opium, and collected excise on imported opium, took bribes to permit home-grown opium: attempts to stop cultivation, or destroy cultivation, notoriously failed. It transpires that the Chinese themselves, while their Rulers were denouncing the trade of the Europeans, were exporting opium from Yunan to Burma. There seems little doubt that the amount of home-grown opium far exceeded the imported opium, and the real objection of the Chinese Government was to the annual drain of silver from China, as the balance of trade was against them. It is notorious that the Chinese Government levy an excise upon home-grown opium exceeding one million, and levy a differential duty on land cultivated with the poppy.

But of all things the idea is to be deprecated of making

China a *corpus vile*, upon which benevolent enthusiasts desire to inaugurate a policy, which they are totally unable to enforce at home. One authority reports that opium-smoking is a pleasure, which it is quite possible to enjoy in moderation, and take in the same way as the Scotchman takes his whisky; and a Chinaman stupefied by opium is a much less terrible person than a Scotchman excited by whisky. Setting aside, however, such considerations, there is no doubt that the violent extirpation of opium-smoking in China is as impossible as that of gin-drinking in England. When men are persuaded that the practice is undesirable, the fashion will die out; but attempts to compel them before they are so convinced can only lead to aggravation of the ills complained of. Why should an enlightened Government, such as the English, recommend the tottering dynasty of the Chinese Empire to interfere with the private habits of the people? This would be dangerous even in England, where the people are educated and enlightened. We should never attempt such a crusade in India. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his late work "*Man versus the State*," shows that we are advancing too far in that direction in England, and over-governing, and therefore mis-governing. The Sikh Government, which preceded us in the Panjab, forbade the use of tobacco, or the slaughter of kine, but tolerated the burning of widows, the killing of female infants, and the burying alive of lepers. Mahometan rulers forbid liquor shops, while they tolerate polygamy, and punish an abandonment of the Mahometan religion by death. In the Papal States change of religion and matrimony to a large proportion of the people were forbidden, but there was no objection to State Lotteries, licentious lives, and liquor-shops. Leave the people in their pleasures and their private habits alone, so long as they refrain from breaches of the peace, and appropriation of the property of others. Leave it to moral pressure, and education, and general advancement, to control, diminish, and eventually eradicate the particular moral weaknesses, from which no one nation is free, though they differ in character and degree. It is very easy to make a treaty

forbidding the importation of opium into Japan, because the people are not addicted to the drug. It is still easier for the Government of the United States to make a treaty forbidding the export of opium from North America, considering that no opium is grown in the length and breadth of the United States: whether American citizens abstain from the trade in the Chinese seas remains to be seen. So random are the assertions, that it is a relief to find that no one has yet charged the Indian Government with introducing the cultivation of the poppy into Western China, *vid* Tibet and Burma, from pure motives of mischief, to complete the proofs that that Government consisted of men who were both knaves and fools. The import of opium from Persia is comparatively insignificant. Borneo opium up to this time is only a possibility. On the Zambési, in East Africa, the Portuguese have commenced the cultivation, and send the opium to India. One of the chief resources of the Dutch Government in the Indian Archipelago is opium: it is sold to the Chinese, and forms one-tenth of the revenue of the colony.

It must be recollected that the Chinese Empire is sending colonists literally all over the world, and they take their pipe with them, and it is asserted, that they recommend with success the custom to the inhabitants of the country where they settle. This fact does not bear on the subject of importation of Indian opium into China, and is only mentioned by the Anti-Opium Society by way of aggravation. There are, however, colonies of Chinese in Singapur, the Malay States, the Islands of Sumátra and Java, the French Settlements of Saigon, and the Kingdom of Siam, as well as in Peru and California. They all smoke opium, and are beyond the influence of the Chinese Government, but they intercept a portion of the Indian opium shipped for the China seas. The Chinese at Singapur are robust, hearty and energetic beyond other Eastern races, and yet beyond doubt they are all smokers. Is it expected that in Australia, Hong-Kong and Singapur, English Colonies, the crime of smoking opium is to be punished in the Courts

of Law? It is whispered that the practice has commenced in London, and is extensive in the United States of North America.

There is little doubt that the Chinese Government has been false throughout. In spite of the high moral seasoning which distinguishes their arguments, the real taste of their *flesh* is sometimes discovered. The Grand Secretary argued to Sir T. Wade, that the fair thing would be for the Indian Government to divide the enormous profits on the export of opium with China, share and share alike. He declined to give up his revenue on home-grown opium. In fact, he showed himself to be a ruler of men, and not a member of an irresponsible voluntary association. The Mandarins and the Governors of Provinces smoke themselves, and make a profit upon the drug. The real solution of the difficulty will be to deal with home-raised and foreign opium upon an equitable adjustment of excise, transit-duty, and customs.

Let us consider the matter from the Indian point of view. I took the opportunity of stating, some years ago, at a meeting of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Government of India had nailed its flag to the mast, and that I rejoiced that it had done so. The Viceroy in Council has recorded his opinion that the loss of the opium export duty would cause insolvency: they state this in language not capable of misapprehension: other sources of revenue are not available, and reduction of expenditure is impossible. The abolition of the export duty would confer a very doubtful benefit on the Chinese, but it would do incalculable harm to the millions of India. Perhaps this is overstated, as empires and nations have survived heavier losses. I am very sorry that an attempt was made to widen the cultivation in the North-West Provinces, but it proved to be an utter failure. The cultivators stated that they had been badly used in old days, that they did not now understand the cultivation, and had other crops which paid as well, and they wanted no change. The improvement of communication enabled more bulky produce, such as sugar-cane and potatoes, to be carried to distant markets, and the

poppy is driven to inferior lands. It is satisfactory to know that the area of 500,000 acres, now occupied by the poppy, will not be enlarged.

It appears that not more than £200,000 is realized from opium sold in India at the different Collectorates. India abounds in stimulants and narcotics, and opium is only one of many. The Arian nations seem to prefer to swallow the drug, the Non-Arian to smoke it. I have often as Collector superintended the sale of the opium to the local retailers: if a prisoner were found to be addicted to opium, he had to be supplied with daily decreasing doses, so as to wean him of the habit without endangering his life: only once I came upon two men from the Himalaya (whence also much opium is imported into India) who were hopelessly addicted to the practice, and were miserable objects. In the early days of our rule in the Panjab, where the cultivation has never been restricted, post, or concoctions of opium, was sold openly in shops licensed for the purpose. In Western India a decoction of opium is sold publicly in the cities, and called Kusumba. The Anti-Opium Society will scarcely find proofs, that with such vast stores of opium available in British India, we have attempted to raise revenue by encouraging our subjects to indulge vicious habits. We have raised the largest possible revenue out of the sale of the smallest possible supply.

There is not the least probability of the present policy being abandoned or modified, but it is as well to consider what is possible or the contrary. We might abandon the export duty, and set the Indian opium as free as indigo and grain. The consequences would be an enormous increase of the exported article, an excessive fall of the price of the drug in China, and such a defalcation in our revenue as would cause insolvency for the time at least. If an attempt were made to impose other taxes, we may imagine the indignation of the people of India: the mass of the population is very poor: the salt tax ought to be reduced: to impose further burdens merely to gratify a moral whim of a small portion of the English people, who had taken up an extreme view of



the subject, would be a cruel injustice, and arouse a keen sense of wrong wilfully and widely inflicted.

We might abolish the monopoly, and disconnect the State with the manufacture and sale of the drug. To some tender and uninstructed consciences the very existence of this monopoly aggravates the evil, and, as a rule, all monopolies are wrong; but if the State withdrew, its place would at once be occupied by a Company, and very serious considerations would arise. So inexplicable are the reasons which guide good men in their actions, that it is possible, that some of the loudest denouncers of the National Sin, as the opium trade is called, might be found among the shareholders of this new Company. On the death of an advanced total abstainer a few years ago, he was found to have shares in a hotel, which held a liquor license, and his family could not see the inconsistency. But the abolition of the monopoly cannot be looked upon only from the financial point of view, but as a measure affecting the well-being of the people of India. A great Company, seeking only a good dividend, would flood the country with opium, with great injury to the people. It is true that no monopoly exists in the West of India, whence nearly half the export duty is collected, but the poppy cultivation is entirely within the territory of Native States, whose system differs entirely from our own. It is obvious that a State monopoly is the severest of all fiscal restraints, and those who really desire the export to be reduced should not seek to destroy the monopoly, however scandalized they may be by its existence.

We might forbid the export, in the same way as the Government of Italy forbids the export of works of art, but it would be very difficult to prevent smuggling with so large a seaboard. The people of India would resent the, to them, unintelligible policy of interference with a profitable trade, contrary to all the well-established principles of political economy. The cost of the preventive force would be very heavy, and the interference with other trades very annoying. In fact, such a measure scarcely comes within practical politics, but we should have the Native Chiefs of Central

India to deal with : they derive a large revenue from the drug : the prohibition of export would entirely destroy this, and they would demand compensation, and so would the Landholders of Bengal. Who would satisfy these lawful demands arising from inconsiderate legislation ?

That we should prohibit the culture of the poppy within British India is a thing that is not possible. It would be a law unworthy of an enlightened Government, and would be incapable of execution. It is true that we can restrict the culture to certain regions which are most suitable to the crop. I have had considerable experience in the North of India from the river Karamnasa to the river Indus, and consider it impossible to forbid absolutely any culture, and I cannot imagine that it would be feasible in Bengal. If the culture were prohibited in British India, and allowed to continue in the Native States, the production there would be stimulated : the attempt to prohibit the culture in the Native States would either be illusory, or, if enforced, lead to very serious consequences, and peril to the very existence of our Empire in India.

And at the same time that India was thus exposing herself to perils, and expenditure in the maintenance of repressive establishments in a fight against nature, equity, and common sense, the Chinaman would be smoking his pipe with opium supplied by his own country, or other opium-growing countries, not such good opium perhaps, but much cheaper, and in much larger quantities ; and it is not obvious that, if the Anti-Opium Society has any definite ideas of its objects, it will have gained anything, for all the sad pictures of the debased and ruined Chinaman would be as true, or as deficient in truth, as ever, and the Missionary would be met with the same harrowing scenes, and would realize that it is not that which goeth into a man defileth a man, but his own fallen and corrupt nature.

We must recollect that there is now a respectable Free Press in every part of India and in every language, and the Press would have a word to say on such an insane policy. I do not think that the Government of India would entertain

it for a moment, but I wish the Anti-Opium Society to understand the ultimate consequences to which their ideas would lead.

I intimated this summer to a friend, who like myself is a Member of a Committee of a Missionary Society, that I intended to write a paper defending the Indian policy in this matter. His remark was that I should be soundly abused for so doing. I am quite prepared for the contingency. Sir Rutherford Alcock felt himself compelled to stand forward and enlighten the public mind, and mercenary motives were at once attributed to him in connexion with the new Borneo Company. It is the old story. When a man has a bad case in a court of law, his only resource is to abuse the attorney of the opposite party. I admit that those who oppose the Indian policy are actuated by the highest and purest motives: having myself no interests whatever except the promotion of Missionary enterprise, I claim the same admission in my own favour, nor do I rush into the controversy hurriedly, as I have had it under consideration for more than five years, waiting for some further *denouement* of the Chefú Convention, which appears to have disappeared. Let it be clearly understood that under no circumstances would the Government of India admit into its Treasury income, of which the sources are tainted, such as the produce of lotteries, a tax on Hindu pilgrimages, offerings to idol-temples, the price of slaves, the earnings of slave-labour, the profits of immoral establishments, whether gambling, as at Monaco, or brothels, as in some European States, any more than it would accept the hire of the assassin, or the *premium pudoris* of the unfortunate classes who infest the great cities. The line of demarcation of lawful, and unlawful, income is quite clear. The kindly fruits of the earth, blessed by the hand of the Creator, are intended to be gathered. In the case of the poppy they are thrice blessed, supplying comfort to the cultivator, rent to the land-owner, land-revenue to the State, and over and above, a magnificent export-duty. Neither in morals, nor by the law of nations, can a legitimate commerce be impugned. If

fanciful and romantic objections were admitted, the Quakers would object to villainous saltpetre, as being the component of gunpowder. The total abstainer would object to hemp, sugar, and rice, whence intoxicating liquor is distilled. It is mere hypocrisy in a nation, which exports rum, gin, and gunpowder in such enormous quantities from English ports to Africa, and which, among many noble qualities, is noted for the drunkenness of a portion of its people, to feel such a tenderness for the besotted Chinese. It would be much easier for those, who think with me, to sail with the wind, and throw overboard the interests of the people of India. Sir Wilfred Lawson is the only consistent antagonist, for he would go to the root of the matter, and place opium and alcohol in the same category, adding a plea for mercy in favour of opium, as the opium-smoker is not a wife-beater, a ruthless murderer, a breaker of the peace, and a public nuisance.

It may be distinctly asserted that the opium trade is not based upon force: the Chinese are quite strong enough to exclude it if they chose, and their being ready to resist the French, on a much less important grievance, proves that they could do so, and they know, as every one knows, that England would never attempt to force the drug into China by war. But when "force" is so vigorously denounced, have the leaders of the movement reflected upon the meaning of the term which they so often use? By force of character and of arms, England has raised herself to her present lofty position: by force she vanquished the Spaniards, the French, and the Russians, subdued vast kingdoms in Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, and brought under subjection a large portion of the world. Our Indian Empire is based upon force: our prestige throughout the world is based on our potential, or stored, force. I have been pelted by little boys in the towns of Turkey, and have walked alone at my ease, and respected, in the great cities of India: this was owing to the force stored up in our cantonments. It was not the outcome of treaties, but of conquest.

Some years ago I described to Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian Liberator, our system in India: he remarked that

we were no better than the Austrians after all ; and this has often led me to reflect upon our inconsistent position, for in Europe we are the champions of every State which seeks for political liberty, and in Asia we are ourselves despots. The only reply is that we are *there*, and it is not practical to leave India : but, while we are there, we are bound to stand up for the people of India, and be their champion against the Manchester manufacturers ; against the sentimental philanthropist ; against our own countrymen, who come to fill their pockets, and go home again : we are bound to protect the Indian in the enjoyment of his laws, customs, lands, and civil rights : if we cannot give him political liberty, he shall have everything short of it : if he cannot have a Constitution like the colonies of Great Britain, he has a strong phalanx of men who have known India from their youth, and loved the people, and are ready to resist any attempt to oppress them, deprive them of equality in the courts of law, or of free trade, and free commerce. If the Chinese do not like the products of India, they can let them alone. The Indian ports are open to every possible product of Chinese industry. If the Chinese prefer their home-grown opium, be it so, and India will seek other markets, and develop other industries ; but it will do so by its own spontaneous action, and not under the threats of benevolent enthusiasts in a distant country.

However dark the colours may be, with which the opium trade is painted, it is *there*, and, if the Government of India abolished its monopoly, and remitted the export-duty, and set the cultivation of the poppy free, the trade would not be diminished, but would be enormously expanded. It is said of King Henry V., that he intended, if he had conquered France, to destroy all the vines with a view of arresting drunkenness. The late Maharaja of Pateála allowed no distilleries and dancing girls within his territory ; but the extent of his administrative capacity may be measured by the fact, that I tried in vain, in a personal interview, to persuade him to allow me to open a post-office in his dominions. It is, however, beyond the power of

Viceroy, or Parliaments, or even Philanthropic Associations, to fight against Nature, and exclude from culture and commerce one of the richest gifts of the earth. By restricting the culture to certain tracts (of which the soil is most suitable to its cultivation), we can create a monopoly, and forbid the culture beyond certain limits ; but as to forbidding it altogether in the central poppy region in our own territory, it is impossible, and, if it were possible, it would be a difficult and costly operation to war against Nature and freedom of culture under the influence of a mere fancy. Still less feasible would any attempt be to arrest the culture in the territory of the independent Chiefs of Central India. It is possible that if prices fell, the culture would be given up in outlying districts, and other staples would prove more profitable ; but this matter would be settled by the cultivator himself, and not by the State.

The people of China will soon have unlimited supplies of home-grown opium. The action of the Anti-Opium Society has helped to open the eyes of the Chinese authorities to the policy of this counter-action, which will arrest the export of silver, and still supply the much-coveted drug. India will suffer for the time, but it is not clear what the morals of the Chinese will gain. The Chinese Government now thoroughly understand that no force will be used to introduce the Indian drug, and they are anxious to share the vast revenue by imposing a transit-duty. If a few millions make use of the Indian-imported opium, which does not penetrate far into the country, scores of millions will learn to smoke the home-grown opium manufactured in their midst. When the Indian export trade has, under the inexorable laws of Supply and Demand, shrunk into nothing, it is not obvious whether the Anti-Opium Society will congratulate themselves upon the extinction of the so-called National Sin, or feel like engineers "hoist with their own petard," when they contemplate the enormous increase of opium-smokers in China.

In the mean time the march of events seems likely to extinguish the opium trade and the Anti-Opium Society in one common ruin. I quote the last accounts :

“There cannot be any doubt but that the foreign drug will be driven, slowly perhaps, but steadily, by native competition, from the China market. The records of the foreign Customs, and the Consular service, the testimony of travellers and missionaries, supply evidence on this point which cannot be doubted. The three northern Ports, in one year, show a loss amounting to 27 per cent. of their total imports. The native drug has so much improved, that it is there driving the foreign article from the market, even though the foreign prices had been reduced from 9 to 24 per cent. from those of the previous year. Sechuan opium is fast supplanting the foreign on the Yangtze, the distribution being largely carried on through boatmen and foot travellers, who tell no tales. In Formosa and South China generally, though the decline of the opium imported through the Customs is marked, the consumption is said not to be largely on the decrease, owing presumably to contraband supplies, nor does the native article as yet interfere largely with the foreign drug. The reason for this is simple. The opium of Yunan and Sechuan cannot yet compete with the Indian opium, adulterated, as sold at the ports of Formosa, Amoy, Swatow, Pakhoi or Hoihow, where it is delivered, principally by means of junks from Singapur and Hong-Kong, mainly, of course, the latter place. It resolves itself into a simple question of cost of carriage.

“Among the reasons assigned for this decrease are the action of the Chinese authorities towards discouraging the practice, and the depressed condition of trade. The latter is undoubtedly a factor in the case, but I have no faith in the former. That the authorities are taking any serious steps towards the suppression of the drug is not to be credited, least of all by any one who has travelled in Interior China. Like the Abbé Huc, from personal experience gained in Chinese travel, I can say:—‘Pendant notre long voyage en Chine, nous n’avons pas rencontré un seul tribunal où on ne fumât l’opium ouvertement et impunément.’ It is found, in the opium provinces, growing under the walls of nearly every court-house. All travellers are agreed in this, that Yunan and Sechuan opium is rapidly increasing in quantity and improving in quality. It is fast forcing its way to the seaboard; being already brought there and shipped along the coast, although as yet in small quantities. The poppy is spreading over other provinces, and as the value of the crop is double that of wheat, it is fast replacing that dry-weather crop. The use of the Indian drug, since the improvement of the native article, is becoming, slowly but surely, a luxury only for the more affluent trader or official. Perfected still more, fashion will give its *imprimatur* to the native article, and then the foreign drug will be doomed.”

The owner of a mine finds that the ore is exhausted, and he has nothing to blame himself for: he has done his work scientifically, but the gift of Nature is exhausted. So will

it be with British India. It made good use of the advantages which fertility of soil, industry, and commerce supplied, and when one of them fail, there is nothing for it but to let the export-duty die out, and strive to face the financial difficulty. This is something very different from abandoning without cause an abundant source of revenue. But this decay of resources will be a work of time, and the opium trade with its shower of silver upon India will, though perceptibly diminishing, scarcely disappear in this generation. The Missionaries in China will restrict themselves to their proper duty of preaching the Gospel, sadder at the spectacle of the awful increase of opium-smoking, perhaps wiser in having learnt that it is idle to fight against Nature, free-trade, and the liberty of each man to control his own actions in things not forbidden by the laws of civilized nations. The Government of India will have to restrict its many plans of usefulness. The Anti-Opium Society will cease its exertions, unless, under the guidance of more thorough and earnest leaders, it turns its attention to gin, rum, and French brandy, exported to West Africa or consumed in England.

My own feeling has ever been in favour of getting rid, at as early a date as possible and at some sacrifice of revenue, of the monopoly, because a monopoly in itself is wrong, and in this case a scandal to some minds, and it seemed feasible to arrive at the same results on the East side of India, which have spontaneously arisen on the West side; but I am convinced now that the abolition of the monopoly would be prejudicial to the best interests of the people of India, and that is with me the paramount consideration. I have already stated that, if I were satisfied that opium was introduced by force into the Provinces of China *outside* the Treaty-ports, I should join the opposite party. Five years ago I called, with another member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society by appointment on the late Sir Harry Parkes, then Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Japan, and satisfied myself that this allegation was not true. A short time ago a Missionary from China told the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the



Chinese Government systematically neglected the provisions of the Treaty as regards religious liberty. I made him repeat those words, and then asked him, why then it was alleged that they were afraid to do the same with regard to opium? His reply was that the Chinese were afraid of the merchants, but not of the Missionaries. But I read in the *Times* (October 23, 1884) "that for the last nine or ten years the Chinese Government has been allowed to encroach on treaty rights, and has levied with impunity heavy transit-duties, which have virtually nullified the treaty-advantages, and proved disastrous to the sale of Manchester goods in the interior." This is the statement of a Hankow merchant. In the face of such statements, and the fact that the Chinese Government is not afraid to go to war for ancient and shadowy rights over Tonkin with the French Government, how can we believe the Chinese Government is not able to raise the transit-duties upon opium to such an extent as to raise the price and restrict the sale? Is China not strong enough to put down smuggling if the attempt were made?

Nor can I, after calm reflection on the whole case during the last fifteen years, acquit the Anti-Opium Society of being the cause of the miserable end of the contest, which will have injured the people of India by the destruction of a profitable industry and trade, and has yet multiplied the vice of opium-smoking in China beyond any previous calculation. What was their object? Did they desire to arrest the vice in China, or only to free the Government of India from the imputation of pandering to that vice? If we desired to wean the English public of their taste for alcoholic drink, we should scarcely commence a crusade against the importers of brandy, or the distillers of gin. The line which the Anti-Opium Society adopted of indiscriminate abuse had two effects: it stiffened and hardened the views of the Government of India. The statesmen who were, or had been, Viceroys, and meritorious public servants who were or had been Governors and high officials, felt injured by the gross insinuations which they felt that they did not deserve: they

at least understood the nature of the problem, but upon the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society there was not one Anglo-Indian of experience, nor was it likely that there would be one : a general feeling of resentment at, and contempt for, the movement was felt in Anglo-Indian circles both in India and England. But their proceedings had another effect, not contemplated, but equally real. The eyes of the Chinese rulers were opened to the exceeding value of the trade, and to the firmness with which the Indian Government held to it. They saw also how feeble were the efforts of the Anti-Opium Society, whose motive was not the welfare of the Chinese, but the alleged discredit attaching to the English name. Opium cultivation was found to be as acceptable to the Chinese landowners, the local Governors and the State, as it has proved to be in India. It was not clear what results the Anti-Opium Society desired : it is clear what they have obtained.

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The above remarks were written in London in October, 1884, despatched to Calcutta, and appeared in the pages of the "Calcutta Review" on the 1st of January, 1885. I had no idea that negotiations were going on, and that the Chefú convention would so soon be ratified. Yet such has been the case. The death-blow to the argument of "force" being applied to the Chinese Government has been struck, and in the Paper (China, No. 5, 1885) presented to the Houses of Parliament, August, 1885, Marquis Tseng appears as a very sensible negociator, representing a very sensible and enlightened Government at Pekin. They have entirely entered into the Commonwealth of Nations, and thoroughly appreciate the valuable addition to the Imperial Revenues by an additional squeeze of the Indian opium, which pays the Customs-duty for permission to enter the Treaty-port, and a heavy Transit duty for permission to leave it : when sold in retail, it may again be taxed, in the form of an excise, but upon equitable principles with regard to the Native-grown Drug.

The arrangement now sanctioned is *proposed by the Chinese*

*Government* : there are no Confucian platitudes, no high moral sentiments, but an unmistakeable desire to secure to the Imperial Treasury, as distinguished from the Provincial Chests, as large an income as possible, collected in advance at the Treaty-port. Moreover, the information is volunteered that the new arrangement will harmonize with existing Institutions in China. The matter has stood over for seven years, and, as if by an irony of Fate, the final arrangements were conducted by the Liberal Ministry, and brought to all but a formal conclusion, but the finishing touch has been given by a Conservative Ministry under the signature of Lord Salisbury.

It may be asked then : why add to the controversial literature ? let the dead dog lie. We shall probably hear little more of the Anti-Opium Society. It is to be hoped that moral influences will be brought to bear to stay the plague of opium-smoking among the Chinese People, and that the great European and North American peoples will resist the contagion. Shame on them, if they do not !

But the mischief does not end here. England has many sins to answer for, both in past and present time. She has used the strength of a giant as a giant, invading weaker countries, and then abandoning them ; but in the matter of the opium-trade England is not to blame, unless the new principle is to be laid down that no Christian Nation is to be allowed to export Gunpowder, Arms, Alcoholic Drinks, and Intoxicating Drugs, and no commercial treaties are to be made with weaker Asiatic and African Nations. To make such without a degree of pressure, which in the case of European Nations would be intolerable, is impossible. Englishmen, by unwarrantably vilifying their own country, and in this case unjustly, only give foreign nations the opportunity of echoing it. We read with astonishment such expressions as the following : "The most outrageous and unpardonable national crime of any age." These unjustifiable expressions are quoted and amplified by such excellent and respectable Religious organs as the "Missionary Review" of Princeton, U.S., and are believed by thousands of over-confident and

uninstructed readers. Such expressions as these follow, indicating gross ignorance: "The perversion of many hundred thousand acres of the best land in India from food crops to crops of this poison is the main cause of the frequent famines in that country. The thousands of Hindus who grow the poppies and make the opium are greatly demoralized thereby, many of them becoming eaters *or smokers* of the baneful stuff, and the opium vice is spreading in almost all parts of India. In Burma and Arracan opium *was given away at first*, then sold at a cheap rate, and the price raised when the habit was established. England on a vast scale is ruining her own subjects as well as the Chinese." Surely this is something more than ignorance, and amounts to *Suggestio Falsi*. It is notorious that India suffers from a glut of Cereals, and exports grain to England. It is equally notorious that the amount of opium sold in India is extremely limited, and that the population of the opium-growing districts are peculiarly free from the use of the drug. It would not be easy to find an opium-smoker in British India west of the Bráhmmapútra River, except the Chinese immigrants. As to the alleged policy adopted in Burma, it is simply ridiculous.

What will be thought of the following extract of a communication by a Chinese Missionary to his credulous friends:

"The thing which remains for us to do now is to give the people the Gospel of the Lord Jesus; meanwhile to use every effort to induce our Government to abolish the trade as far as India is concerned. We must wipe our hands of this dirty trade, though we cannot wipe out the past; *the harvest has been sown*. The Chinese regard it as a *direct act of plotting the nation's destruction*, equally as much as the conduct of a man who is guilty of administering poison to another for some evil advantage.

"I was talking with two men yesterday upon the subject of opium. One was a young fellow who is now using medicine to break off the habit. As we were talking of its effects, he stamped his foot, exclaiming, 'Alas! alas! from where did it first come?' I answered, 'From India; but,' I added, 'no one has forced you to grow it, neither forced you to eat it. There is no foreign drug to be bought here; it is all your own production.' Nevertheless the fact remained that Englishmen *introduced it, or at least introduced the practice of habitual smoking*; before that, it was scarcely known, if known at all.

"The English nation are undoubtedly the sowers of this dreadful

seed ; it has yielded an abundant harvest of death and ruination in China. So prevalent is the habit here, that the bulk of the people do not rise before ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and no business is commenced in the commercial houses until nearly mid-day."

A distinct reply is required, and an indignant denial, and an appeal to patent facts. We shall next hear that the English introduced the use of intoxicating liquors among the tribes in the valley of the Kongo : fortunately Henry Stanley, an American citizen, in his great work, published 1885, mentions incidentally, that these tribes were wholly given to the use of intoxicating liquors of their own manufacture, *before they saw a white face.*

If any one had a dear friend, exposed to unjust obloquy, affecting his whole moral character, would he, if he had the facts at his command, maintain silence? If any one were deliberately and without foundation, to attack the British and Foreign Bible Society and Church Missionary Society, to which I have devoted the remainder of my life, should I not draw the sword in their justification? and can I be silent, when such things are said against my countrymen, against the two great parties, Liberal and Conservative, which govern the country, and do not spare the failings of each other, and are equally jealous of the National good name : when such frightful crimes are imputed to the Government of British India, with regard to which I quote a few lines from a Leader in the "Times," which appeared only a few days ago (Aug. 11, 1885), and which expresses my deliberate sentiments after a prolonged study of the system of administration of European, Asiatic and African Nations. "On the whole, we are convinced, such an inquiry will be "useful, mainly, because it will show that there never was "a Government, be its faults what they may, more efficient "for good, more progressive and enlightened, and more "consistently inspired by the highest and purest motives, "pursued with indefatigable zeal and absolute self-devotion, "than that of the English rulers of India."

This pamphlet is written for an American, as well as an English public.

*London, Aug. 18, 1885.*



































