

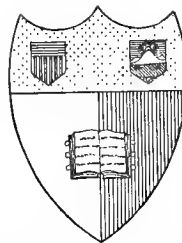
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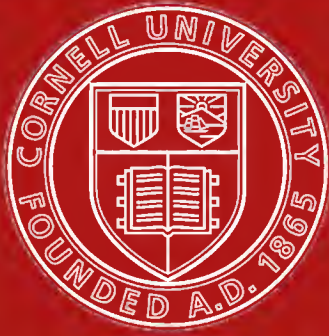


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# FIRST REPORT

OF THE

*Chamberlain*  
*16/13*

## ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM;

WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE AND APPENDICES.

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

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## ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

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### VICTORIA, R.I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our trusty and well-beloved Arthur Pease, Esquire ;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. The consumption of Opium by the different races and in the different districts in India and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Her Majesty's Command.

KIMBERLEY.

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# ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

---

## FIRST REPORT.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

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

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

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

J. P. HEWETT, Secretary.

Calcutta,

December 30th, 1893.





# INDIAN OPIUM COMMISSION.

## MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

## THE ROYAL COMMISSION

APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### FIRST DAY.

Friday, 8th September 1893.

PRESENT :

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

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

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.

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

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

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

2. And you are the President of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade?—I have been President of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade since the death of Lord Shaftesbury, in 1886. He was my predecessor. I might say that the present Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was one that was re-cast, if I may so say, in 1873, or thereabouts, having in view principally the Chinese portion of the question—not so much the Indian then as the Chinese portion. We desired that China should

be left perfectly free to act with regard to opium and levy such duties on opium as she might choose, and that the Indian opium should be kept out of China as a source of great demoralisation to the Chinese.

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

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

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

"land then selected for cultivation?"—"When any ryot wishes to cultivate opium, he goes to the sub-agent and asks to have his name registered, his land measured, and to get a cultivation license and the usual advance. The sub-agent makes inquiries, ascertains that the man is really *bona fide* an owner of the land which he proposes to cultivate with opium, has the land measured, and then makes an advance upon the security of the person himself to whom the advance is made and his fellow-villagers. The advance is made shortly before the sowing season. The ryot then sows his land, and when the plant is above ground the land is then measured by one of the native establishments, and if the ryot has sown all that he engaged to sow, he gets a second advance; if he has not sown so much he gets something less in proportion, or if more, he gets a little more. There is a sort of rough settlement at the second advance. Nothing further takes place till the crop is ripe for gathering, and when the ryot has gathered the crop he collects it in vessels and takes it to the sub-agent's office, there he delivers it to the sub-agent as the agent of the Government and receives the full price for it, subject to further adjustment when the opium has been weighed and tested and examined at the agent's factory. The opium is then collected at the sub-agency and forwarded to the factory; there it is exposed for a considerable time in large masonry tanks, it is reduced to a uniform consistency, and made fit for the market, some for home consumption, and some for sale in Calcutta for exportation—the greater quantity for exportation. It is there packed in cases and sent to Calcutta, and in Calcutta it is sold by auction at periodical sales and exported by merchants for consumption abroad."—"Is there any regulation by which the Government limit the extension of land so cultivated, or do they always accede to every request?"—"It is limited according to the financial needs of the Government; it is limited entirely upon Imperial considerations. The Government of India, theoretically at least, if not practically, decide how much opium they will bring to market, and, of course, upon that depends the quantity of land that they will put under cultivation and make advances for."—"Are great precautions taken to prevent any person cultivating the land with opium without a license?"—"It is absolutely prohibited." Now, my Lord, that being the state of things you will see that Sir Cecil Beadon distinctly states that it is limited according to the financial needs of the Government. And that is corroborated by extracts which I made some time ago from different messages from different local governors in India. On the 22nd April 1869, the Hon. W. Grey, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, writing from Barrackpore to Mr. C. H. Campbell, said: "I have a telegraphic message from Simla, urging that every possible expedient that you can approve should be used even now to extend the opium cultivation next season to the greatest possible extent." Sir Richard Temple, in a minute dated 27th April, 1869, wrote: "I am clear for extending the cultivation and for insuring a plentiful supply. If we do not do this the Chinese will do it for themselves. They had better have our good opium than their own indifferent opium. There is really no moral objection to our conduct in this respect." Mr. Grey, again, on the 29th April 1869, urged increased cultivation, remarking: "This would just suffice, and no more, to put us on smooth ground again." Sir John (then the Hon. J.) Strachey wrote from Simla on the 20th April 1869: "It seems to me that immediate measures of the most energetic character ought to be taken with the object of increasing the production of opium." I think that that entirely bears out Sir Cecil Beadon's view that the opium is cultivated for the purposes of revenue only, and without any other considerations than those Imperial considerations. Then I find in the financial statement for 1884-85: "The Government is indebted to Mr. H. Rivett Carnac, opium agent at Benares, for strengthening its opium revenue during the year 1883, and in a lesser degree in the previous year, by the manufacture and preparation of Malwa opium into a form suited for local consumption. It is calculated, so long as the cost of the Malwa drug at 90 degrees consistence does not exceed Rs. 413 per maund, and the selling price of provision opium is not less than Rs. 1,202 for Patna, and Rs. 1,112 for Benares opium, the scheme for substituting Malwa for Bengal opium for manufacture into excise opium is, financially speaking, likely to prove successful." Therefore, the Indian Government

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

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

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

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



Sir J.  
Pease, M.P.

8 Sept. 1893.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. I was going to ask you if you were prepared to give us some figures showing the revenue obtained by the Indian Government from the export trade?—The highest opium revenue was in 1880-1; it amounted to 8,451,276 Rx. That was divided into the Bengal duty, 5,926,924 Rx.; the Malwa opium duty, which is a Pass Duty on opium manufactured in the native states formed 2,524,458 Rx. Then the Budget Estimate for 1892-3 was altogether 5,399,800 Rx., of which about 1,800,000 in round figures came from the Pass Duty; therefore that shows a falling off of 3,000,000 Rx. between the year 1880-1, and the Budget Estimate for 1892-3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29. Well, we should be glad to hear anything that you have to tell us which indicates the views of our public men on the subject?—I quoted in the House of Commons a very curious despatch from the East India Company to Lord Cornwallis in 1817, and he was one of the first of the Governors of India: "We wish it, at the same time, to be clearly understood that our sanction is given to these measures, not with a view to the revenue which they may yield, but in the hope that they will tend to restrain the use of this pernicious drug, and that the regulations for the internal use of it will be so framed as to prevent its introduction into districts where it is not used, and to limit its consumption in other places as nearly as possible to what may be absolutely necessary. Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except for the purposes of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind."

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

31. We shall be very glad to hear what they said, whether speaking in the House of Commons, or elsewhere?—First, I take Lord Salisbury in 1876, when we went to him as a deputation on the question of the Bengal trade, he said that: "The Government does not view with any favour an extension of the system, and there is no project of the kind in existence. Without taking the view as to its moral condemnation which is held by many persons present, I feel that there are inconveniences of principle connected with it"—inconveniences of principle is rather a curious term—"which would have prevented any Government in the present day from introducing it. I entirely disclaim any intention to push the Bengal system farther."

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

" province where at present it is unknown, and, so far as his Excellency in Council is aware, not asked for by the people. If opium cultivation were allowed in Scinde, it could not with consistency be prohibited in the rest of the Presidency. It has already been tried at Gujarat, and the result was widespread corruption and demoralisation. At present the consumption of opium in this Presidency is very limited, but if the cultivation and manufacture of opium were permitted, every village might have its opium shop, and every cultivator might contract the habit of 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 Scinde, or in any other part of this Presidency." I take the occasion to point out that Sir James Fergusson objected on the grounds of public morality.

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

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

39. Some statements have been made in the House of Commons by the late Mr. W. H. Smith and Sir J. Fergusson?—Yes; and Mr. Smith stated that: "The course which the Government of India had taken during the last five years was to diminish the area of cultivation in India by 20 per cent. That must be taken as an indication of the policy of the Government in its administration of India." A little further on he said: "The policy of the Government had been greatly to diminish the cultivation and consumption of the drug in India. That had been their distinct policy during the past five years, and it would be preserved in the future."

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

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

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

44. Could you give them to us?—Yes, they are as follow: 1880-81, 536,017 acres; 1881-82, 531,275 acres; 1882-83, 495,740 acres; 1883-84, 505,843 acres; 1884-85, 565,246 acres; 1885-86, 594,921 acres; 1886-87, 562,052 acres; 1887-88, 536,607 acres; 1888-89, 459,864 acres (that is the lowest year I can find); 1889-90, 482,557 acres; 1890-91, 500,688 acres; 1891-92, 463,665 acres.

45. Does that embrace all that you wish to say to us on the point of the acreage?—Yes, and they show that that which Mr. Smith has indicated had practically been carried out. Although in one or two years there are little jumps up, the quantity has been reduced from 594,900 acres in 1885-86 to (in the present year) 463,665 acres, because the Indian Government acted on the view that the trade was one that ought not to be pushed, but ought to be gradually relinquished.

46. We should be glad if you would state shortly the history of the opium question in the House of Commons. In what session was the question of the opium trade first discussed; how many motions have been made on the question, when divisions have been taken, and what were the numbers on both sides?—The resolution which I moved in 1891 (it was on the Friday, on the question of leaving the chair) was this. The question proposed was: "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," and my amendment proposed to leave out after the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words: "this House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that it should cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the poppy and the sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and

" that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory." I think I shall prove to the Commission that the House of Commons affirmed the doctrine which is laid down in that motion, that it was morally indefensible. The question was put in the usual form on Fridays, when the motion is, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," in order, technically, that the House should go into Committee of Supply. To this resolution I moved an amendment in the usual Friday form, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words I have just read. The Speaker put the question: that the words proposed to be left out, that is, from "That the Speaker do now leave the chair" stand part of the question. The House divided, Ayes, 130, Noes, 160. (It was really 161). I want to show that the House of Commons virtually passed a resolution by a majority of 30, that the opium revenue was morally indefensible. The words of my motion were then added to the word "That," and the main question, as amended by me, was proposed by Mr. Speaker according to the decision of the House on the division. The question as amended was then in possession of the House, and before it was finally put, my words could have been altered by the consent or vote of the House, but no amendment to those words was proposed. If Sir Robert Fowler had not moved an addition, and no other motion had been made, the question as amended by the majority of the House would have been put, and the majority would no doubt have carried it. But Sir Robert Fowler moved an amendment in the form of an addition, and an addition only. That addition became the property of the House, and could have been amended, it could have been accepted or rejected as proposed or amended; but the original words could not have been touched after the addition had been moved. This was the position of affairs when the Speaker, at one o'clock, adjourned. The only question of uncertainty was not my resolution, but Sir Robert Fowler's amendment. Had time allowed, other additions could have been moved, but not so as to destroy the meaning of the unaltered words. That statement is a correct statement, not altogether my own drawing up.

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

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

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

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

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

52. What was the issue between you and the Government with reference to the wording of the Commission?—Well, I am not quite sure that I am at liberty to say exactly, but I can tell you my own point was that in my resolution I wanted that the trade should be declared as morally indefensible, and I refused to take any Commission that did not admit that. The appointment of your Commission has in it the word "whether." "Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

64A. Have you any evidence from missionaries?—A petition from missionaries and ministers of the gospel in China was presented by my brother on the 6th April 1883, at the time he was in the House. That petition says: "That opium is a great evil to China, and that the harmful effects of its use cannot be easily overstated. It enslaves its victim, squanders his substance, destroys his health, weakens his mental powers, lessens his self-esteem, deadens his conscience, unfits him for his duties, and leads to his steady descent, morally, socially, and physically." Then the petitioners go on to "pray that your honourable House will early consider this question with the utmost care, take measures to remove from the British treaty with China the clause legalizing the opium trade, and restrict the growth of the poppy in India within the narrowest possible limits."

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

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



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

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

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

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

70. We do not wish to restrict your statement?—I am only afraid of taking up your time, my Lord. This is 1882. The Rev. W. H. Collins, M.R.C.S., formerly Medical Missionary at Pekin: "After fully 20 years' (furloughs deducted) experience of opium smoking in China, I solemnly affirm that it is a most deleterious practice; far more so than either spirit drinking or tobacco smoking. The man who smokes opium becomes enfeebled both in body and mind. The wealthy man may continue the practice for many years, being able to vary his diet and to increase the dose of opium; but the poor man loses both his appetite and the means of procuring food at the same time, and quickly becomes a total wreck. When a man has been enabled, by the aid of medicine, to break off the habit, he nearly always yields to temptation, and resumes the habit. Self-interest never enables such a man to abstain from smoking, but he will resume the pipe, knowing well that the result must be the starvation of his family, and his own miserable end. I have only seen three or four cases of permanent cure out of many hundreds that I have treated." Then in 1892, Miss Geraldine Guinness in "Four Years' Sojourn in China": "had travelled through six of its provinces, and was also personally acquainted with the opium question in Tonquin, the Straits Settlements, Colombo, and Aden. She gave a graphic account of some of her opium experience in China. She spoke of how her heart had ached and bled during the painful hours in which she had worked by the bedside of women and girls who had poisoned themselves by opium to save themselves from fates worse than death, to which they had been sold because their fathers and husbands wanted opium. The opium vice is not one crime simply, but a concentration of all crimes. She spoke of the great opium palaces of lust in Shanghai that she had visited, where hundreds of women were held in bitter bondage. Crime of the blackest dye is directly traceable to opium in China." There are only two more, my Lord. I have a great number, but I think these two will do. I have picked them rather promiscuously than with any special design at the present moment. This is Archdeacon Wolfe in 1888:—"The devil could not have invented a more pernicious vice for the destruction of soul and body than this of opium smoking, and woe to the man who by word or deed gives any support or encouragement to the hell-born traffic! It is necessary for every friend of the Chinese to speak out in the plainest and most decisive

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Burmah," a copy of a memorandum by C. U. Aitchison (now Sir Charles Aitchison), written in 1880 on the consumption of opium in British Burmah, and there he describes in extraordinarily strong language, but language which has been corroborated since by subsequent testimony, the effect of the introduction of opium into British Burmah by the Indian Government. He says: "It is no debateable question of the effect of opium on the human frame that is here raised. Under some conditions the moderate use of opium may be beneficial. The Chinese population in British Burma, and to some extent also the immigrants from India, especially Chittagonians and Bengalees, habitually consume opium without any apparent bad effects; those of them who have acquired the habit do not regularly indulge to excess. With the Burmese and other indigenous races the case is different. The Burmese seem quite incapable of using the drug in moderation. A Burman who takes to opium smokes habitually to excess. The habit once acquired can rarely, if ever, be broken off, and this infirmity of temperament is pandered to by the dealers in opium, who tempt young and respectable men to their ruin by giving them opium for nothing, well knowing that the taste once acquired will be habitually indulged. The papers now submitted for consideration present a painful picture of the demoralisation, misery, and ruin produced amongst the Burmese by opium smoking. Responsible officers in all divisions and districts of the province and natives everywhere bear testimony to it. To facilitate examination of the evidence on this point, I have thrown some extracts from the reports into an appendix to this memorandum. These show that, among the Burmans, the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the jails with men of relaxed frame predisposed to dysentery and cholera, prevents the due extension of cultivation and the development of the land revenue, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations." As the Commissioners I dare say are already aware, the Indian Government in Burmah has at length taken steps to extinguish the curse of opium in that country. And they say that because, "the use of opium is condemned by the Buddhist religion" (they do not say anything about the laws of morality or the Christian religion) "the Government, believing the condemnation to be right, intends that the use of opium by persons of the Burmese race shall for ever cease." That is being carried out in Burmah, making exception of the Chinese and the Indians, who had according to the first issue, and I hope still have, to register themselves as smokers and continue to register themselves as smokers of opium in order that it may be kept from the Burmese. I dare say this copy of Sir Charles Aitchison's papers and the reports of the other officers in Burmah, which corroborate that very strong clause which I have just read, are or will be among the papers which you have or will have laid before you.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

89 and 90. Have the licenses for consumption on the premises been withdrawn?—They have been practically withdrawn, but Colonel Clarke says that the opium shops are the *rendezvous* of low characters and that such gatherings might well be interdicted by law. Mr. James, in Bombay, Northern Division (that is in Sind), says: "Some respectable persons might continue to smoke privately by themselves, while the lowest and most degraded would, as now, frequent the shop." The consumption of opium has been or should be reduced. There are a great number of witnesses to that. A report from Madras says:—"The Government is aware that the opium traffic is carefully watched by the agents and their assistants, and that so far from 'teaching the people' to 'rely on opium as a febrifuge' we are doing 'all we can to gradually wean them from their hereditary habit of using it on all occasions.' Wherever the prohibition has been tried it seems to have been attended with success."

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

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

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

95. I think I am right in suggesting that, as a man of experience in affairs, you will not fail to recognise that the Indian Government are under the necessity of raising a certain revenue, and that in the present financial condition there would be a serious difficulty in substituting other sources of revenue for that which is drawn from opium?—Of course, we all know that when we have not money to spend we begin to look at two things, one, increasing the revenue in other branches, and another, decreasing the expenditure. The case of the opium revenue has got into a much more easy shape than it was when I commenced with this subject. As I have shown the net revenue is now about 5,000,000 a year in tens of rupees, Rs. 5,390,000. It has gone down Rs. 3,000,000. The Indian Government in 1880-81, when it had the highest opium revenue, had a net income of 84,000,000 of tens of rupees; in 1892-3 the estimate for the net revenue of the Indian Government is 5,800,000 of tens of rupees. If the opium revenue had continued to grow, it would have been 9,100,000, but they have done without 3,000,000 of revenue; and Indian expenditure has gone up, as your Lordship will see directly, 14,000,000 of tens of rupees. Now where has it all gone? The army charges, exclusive of the Afghan war charges in 1881-2, were 13,800,000 tens of rupees; in 1892-3 the army estimate was 21,159,000 tens of rupees; in 1893-4 the estimate is 22,242,000 tens of rupees. The British soldiers were increased from 63,000 in 1885 to 71,000 in 1891; and the native soldiers are increased from 126,000 to 149,000; so that the army has gone up 31,000 men.

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

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

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

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

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

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"the area under cultivation in India, the necessity which may be forced on us of reducing the quantity of opium annually offered for sale, and the increase in the production and the improvement in the quality of the Persian and Chinese drugs, which renders it doubtful whether a diminished supply of Bengal opium will enhance the price realised at the sales, and may indeed render it necessary to reduce the export duty on Malwa opium, all point to one conclusion, namely, that, although the total loss of the opium revenue does not appear imminent, it is by no means improbable that it may undergo a considerable diminution." Then in 1881-82, "Moral and Material Progress," page 33, signed by Lionel Tennyson, "The weather was, however, generally favourable to the growth of the poppy, and the quality of the drug was good. Fever was prevalent amongst the cultivators. The poppy is being slowly banished from the most fertile lands by the potato and the sugar-cane, as the value of those crops is being gradually enhanced by improved communication and European machinery. The system of advances is reputed to be the chief inducement to the cultivator to grow so precarious and troublesome a crop as opium, and that system is now being adopted by firms interested in other crops." December 1881, Letter from the Government of India on Finance, "On the whole, the evidence goes to show that, although we may be able to retain the present area of cultivation in the Benares Agency, we cannot count with any certainty on being able to extend it." E. Baring in 1883-4 quotes his own reports of 1878, "The process of depletion cannot continue indefinitely. An exceptionally good crop may, indeed, again replenish the reserve. But we cannot rely on a fortuitous circumstance of this sort. An average crop, or, at all events, a succession of average crops, will oblige us to resort to one of two alternatives, we shall be forced either to increase the production or to diminish the amount offered for sale." Then he goes on again in 1883-4 (Financial Statement, page 41), "So long as the value of the rupee and the opium revenue continue liable to such fluctuations as those which we have recently witnessed, the financial situation of India must always contain some special elements of instability." Then we have in "Moral and Material Progress, 1892," page 89, "It is reported that cultivators of opium have lost heart, after experiencing three bad seasons in succession; that new cultivators are gradually withdrawing from the industry, while there is a tendency on the part of older cultivators to lessen the poppy area cultivated by them in favour of the more robust and less precarious cereals. The Behar opium agent adds that 'the opium department have difficulty in maintaining their position, they cannot drop cultivation at will without losing it permanently.' " The "Calcutta Englishman" states, in 1891:—"The opium cultivator in India is becoming uneasy concerning the future of the industry. An idea that Government contemplates a cessation of opium manufacture appears to have obtained widespread credence in the opium-growing centres of Bengal, and many ryots, especially those near the great towns, are reported to have abandoned the cultivation of poppy in favour of potatoes or tobacco. The result is detrimental alike to the interests of the cultivators and of the Department, for, in the words of the Behar agent, 'When a cultivator has once severed his connection with the Department, and has begun to take advances from mahajans in another line of business, it is difficult to get him back.' The recent orders of Government reducing the area of cultivation, together with the bad out-turn of the past three years, have no doubt tended to accentuate the feeling of insecurity, and it is hoped that a successful season will go far to restore the confidence of the ryot." This I cut out of the "Pioneer" of Allahabad. After commenting on the danger to the Indian opium revenue from the increased cultivation of the poppy in China, the "Pioneer" says:—"Another cause which is slowly but steadily working against Indian opium is the growing unpopularity of the cultivation with the ryots, especially in Behar. They find that, with facilities of traffic and rise in the price of cereals, several other crops pay very much better than opium. Hence the cultivation of the poppy is gradually falling off. Tobacco, potatoes, sugar-cane, turmeric, chillies, and other condiments are more profitable in the long run than opium. The best lands of the village are no longer devoted to the poppy, as they once were, and if the ryots still adhere to the cultivation in poorly productive villages, it is

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

101. Have you any remarks to give us with reference to the revenue that is derived from the transit duty on opium from the Native States?—That revenue is a revenue, as is well known, per chest, taken from the opium grown. The chests in 1879-80 that paid duty were 46,211, carrying a duty of 750 rupees. In 1880-1 that had fallen to 36,000 chests, but the duty then was 700 rupees. In 1883-4 the chests fell to 38,586, and the duty was lowered to 650 rupees. In 1888-9 the chests fell to 30,000 (you see it had gone down from 46,000 to 30,000 in ten years), and the duty was 650 rupees. Now they only charge 600 rupees per chest, and the quantity, I believe, is still going down, or it is certainly at a standstill. Now, a chest of Malwa opium, I believe, costs fully as much as a chest of Indian opium, which runs to 427 rupees per chest. The pass duty now levied is 600 rupees, which makes the cost of a chest 1,025 to 1,027 rupees. The sale price of opium is stated in 1891-2, in the East India accounts, as a probable 1,000 rupees; therefore, there is not much profit out of it for the Native States beyond what the native princes obtain from a larger rent from the opium lands than from corn and cotton lands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

206. (*Chairman*.) We may take it that we all regard that policy of the past with great regret, and that we accept the statement which was made on behalf of the late Government by Sir James Ferguson, that such a course of policy as that would never be permitted again; that I think is agreed?—I wish it were so, my Lord, that we all look back with shame and regret upon the past. I believe you have stated correctly, that the question which is before us now, is the present and is—Is the opium a thing that is doing good or doing evil?

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

Dr. MAXWELL called in and examined.

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

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

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

217. That long residence in Formosa put you into a position in which you could form a judgment as to the effects of the opium habit. Will you kindly tell us the conclusions to which you were brought?—I may first just state, my Lord, the kind of experience which as a medical missionary I was forced to have. I should say that every missionary whether medical or otherwise in China is forced to take note of the opium question, not only because he meets with opium victims, but because the rigid law of the Christian church in China is that no opium smoker shall, under any condition, be admitted to the church. He must form a judgment for himself of the grounds of that and approve it or otherwise. So that every missionary is involved, but especially a medical missionary, the moment he opens a dispensary, as I myself did in the seaport village of Takow in the island of Formosa in the year 1865. In the first four months of my dispensary practice there, out of 649 patients I think I had 247 who were opium smokers, and 109 of these came expressly to be cured of opium smoking, that is to ask my help for the cure of opium smoking. I took note of that, and three years later, or rather in the beginning of 1869, when I was permitted to return to the capital of Formosa, the city of Tai-wan-foo, a city of 150,000 or 200,000 inhabitants, and opened a hospital there, in the first five months of my work there, I had 250 opium patients, that is patients who came expressly seeking help to be delivered from the bondage of the opium habit. Now this is the experience of every medical missionary in China. In the north and in the west and in the south wherever a medical missionary is planted he is beset by great numbers of people, men especially, who are seeking to be cured of the opium habit, and I calculate that no less than 20,000 patients a year pass through the hands of the medical missionaries alone, seeking deliverance from the habit; that is altogether apart from those who go to missionaries who have opened opium refuges and who are able to help them by means of the opium refuge, shutting up the patients for a certain number of days, and altogether apart from the very large numbers who go to Chinese practitioners seeking help from them.

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

212. You suggested erroneously that sometimes even 20 per cent. of the population of China were opium smokers; that would be of the adults, I presume?—It may be so now, because, I believe, that through the home production the quantity of opium produced in China is perhaps five times that which comes from India. The inspector, Sir Robert Hart, made a calculation of the amount of opium imported from India, and how many people it would serve to afford smoking to, and I think it was only 1 per cent.; that is several years ago. But I should say now that in some places 20 per cent., but that upon the whole 10 per cent. of the population, some 40,000,000, are opium smokers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

223. Great suffering is involved?—Great suffering.

224. What is the nature of the suffering?—The nature of the suffering is this. If a man passes the time of his usual participation in the drug and does not receive it, does not get it, he begins as I have often seen in the case of Chinese teachers, to gape and yawn and to show a very large amount of lassitude, and if this is continued and he does not receive his regular dose, his eyes begin to run, his nose begins to run, he begins to have more or less of colicky pains in the bowels, his bones begin to ache, he is not able to pull himself together either physically or mentally, and he is unable to sleep, he is unable to do work, and he is thoroughly miserable, and if this is continued, as has happened again and again, both in India and China and in England, persons who are in the habit of using opium in that way and cannot get their usual supply have even killed themselves rather than endure the suffering. There was a case which occurred a few months ago in Birmingham where a man cut his throat. He was carried into the General Hospital in Birmingham, and when asked by the doctor there why it was that he had been so foolish as to commit suicide in this way, or at least to attempt suicide (he did ultimately die) his statement was that for three years he had been an opium-eater and had reached the length of something like 60 gr., that his funds had failed, and that his agony had become such, owing to the want of opium, that, rather than endure the continual suffering, he cut his throat. Now in India and in China we have not the least doubt that there are many such cases; but that is a general description of the kind of suffering through which they have to pass. Many have tried to cure themselves, but they have found themselves, as a rule at least, unable to do so, and they come to us for help in order to be liberated from this bondage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

246. (*Chairman.*) There is one more point on which you wish to make a statement, and perhaps you could make it briefly and in answer to one question; what is the view that you wish to present to us with reference to the freedom of China for taking action to exclude opium under treaties?—I want to say very definitely, my Lord, that I hold that China is not free, and that I think such statements as those of Sir James Fergusson and also of the late Under-Secretary for India, Mr. Curzon, that China, if it pleased, could be in the same position as Japan—that China, to-morrow, could issue an edict prohibiting opium—are quite inconsistent with what I think most people understand by treaty obligations. At the present time China is bound to us in England.

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

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

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

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

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

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

252 and 253. (*Chairman.*) Will you make your statement of your view shortly to the Commission. I, as chairman, will take care that the matter is referred to the Foreign Office?—As I understand, at present China is bound to us by the Che-foo Agreement of 1885 or 1886; and according to the Che-foo Agreement, as I read it here, "in the event of the termination of the present additional article, the arrangement with regard to opium now in force under the regulations attached to the treaty of Tien-tsin shall revive." So far from China being free, if she choose, by giving notice, to withdraw from the Che-foo Convention, all that she could do would be to come under the power of the Tientsin Treaty, which is a very much worse position for her than the present position under which she is under the terms of the Che-foo article; and I do not think any one can read the history of the negotiations which ended in 1885, in the signing of the Che-foo article, without recognising that China did not get what she expected to get, and what she claimed in the first instance when that Convention was entered upon by Sir Thomas Wade with her in the year 1876. According to the original design, what Sir Thomas Wade agreed to move his Government to secure for China was that all opium coming into China should pass into bond, and that the import duty should not be paid until a purchaser should be found, and that then the Likin duty, or the local taxation, should be paid at the same time. This was what Sir Thomas Wade said he would move our Government to give to China in return for what she did for us in the way of commercial concessions when the Che-foo Convention was entered upon. If she had got that, which I think was a fair claim, we would say at least it would have been fair, the right to have opium brought into bond and to have the local taxation paid by the purchaser when it was taken out of bond, it would have been all right. The Indian Government refused to agree to those terms because as it was alleged the Chinese Government could at once raise the local taxation to what would be a prohibitory point upon Indian opium. The local taxation was in its own hand and if it could secure by the putting of opium into bond that there should be no smuggling, and there could not be any smuggling after that, then it would be possible by raising the local taxation to exclude Indian opium, and the Chinese made no secret that that was within their view. The Indian Government refused to enter upon any such arrangement, and the negotiations went on from 1877 till 1885 before any settlement could be reached, and the final settlement that was reached was the commutation of the local taxation making it equal all over the country, but making it payable at the time when the import duty, and amounting to 80 additional taels. But that was not what the Chinese first proposed themselves. When negotiations were first entered upon the Viceroy Tso asked for 120 taels; and when that was refused by Great Britain it was on the ground that that would make it prohibitory to Indian opium, and the Viceroy said, "Yes, and that is what we should like to have it in our power to do." Finally Li Hung Chang, the present Viceroy of Chili-li, came down to 80 taels. But it took years before our Government agreed to the 80 taels. China did not get her full demand. She

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

(The witness withdrew.)

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 a.m.

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

### SECOND DAY.

Saturday, 9th September 1893.

PRESENT:

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

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

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Dr. Maxwell.*

8 Sept. 1893.

*Rev.*

*J. S. Adams.*

9 Sept. 1893.

Rev.  
J. S. Adams.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

The Reverend HUDSON TAYLOR called in and examined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

407. Seventy or 80?—Yes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

436. You have, I believe, recently endeavoured to ascertain whether the Chinese authorities would be induced to make use of the right conferred on them by the "Additional Article" of 1855 to increase the duty on Indian opium to a prohibitive point, steps being taken at the same time to suppress or limit the growth of opium in China. Will you state the results of this effort?—I was led to ask one or two of our missionaries whether the Chinese could not be stirred up to make representations to their own Government on the subject. One of them, the Rev. J. S. Collins of Nangwa, in North-west Fuh-kien, replied on the 30th March last as follows:—"I lost no time in consulting those most likely to know the usual mode of obtaining such an expression of popular opinion as would correspond to a petition to the Throne with us at home. Having learned that the proper course would be for the mandarin governing the district to issue a proclamation desiring the local gentry assembled in their local council to send him an expression of opinion which he might forward to his superiors, I took an opportunity yesterday to lay the matter before one of the Kien-ning (or Kyong-ning) city mandarins. There was no mistaking his interest in the cause. We explained carefully what you suggested, namely, raising the tax on imported opium, but he smiled and said, that no matter how high the tax was, if people wanted it, some way would be found of smuggling opium into China. No one who knows the [state of things here] can doubt this. He said most emphatically, 'England must move first, England must move first,' and then he added with a meaning smile, 'but your Queen would not be willing to allow so profitable a trade to be stopped';

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

446. More than that?—

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

The Rev. GEORGE PIERCY called in and examined.

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

451. Have you spent any considerable portion of time in China yourself?—I was 32 years connected with the mission, from its foundation until the year 1882. Since that time I have been in London looking after the Chinamen who come here, so that I have been connected with the Chinese every month of every year since 1850.

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

453. We shall be glad to hear what your personal impressions are with reference to the evils resulting from the use of opium among the better class of the Chinese?—I may say, my Lord, that I have heard the evidence that has been given here, yesterday and this morning, the whole of it. Now, I have two points that I should like to lay before the Commission which have not been touched upon, I think, at all. I wish to be as brief as possible, and yet wish to give emphasis to those two special points. The first is a short account of a body of merchants in China, in Canton, who existed under the old *regime* as a very important body of men. There was a time, as all know, when Canton was the only port open to Western commerce in China. During that time there was a body of merchants in Canton upon whom the Chinese Government devolved responsibility as to the conduct of all the trade, giving them the monopoly of importation and exportation. These were termed in those days and the name by which they still go is the Hong merchants. The number was from 12—varying no doubt at different times—from 12 to 18 or 20. In China, as all know, the rulers, the official class, is the highest, and then comes the scholarly class of the Chinese; but in Canton we had what I do not think has ever existed since in any of the ports of China, and what I think cannot exist again—it was before my time I may say—there was a body of merchants who conducted the whole of that trade between all outside nations and China. I wish to say respecting that body of merchants that they were princely men; the wealthiest of the commercial class in China. They were in numbers, I should say, nearer 20 houses than 10; they were men who, according to Chinese customs, had large families. Polygamy is an institution in China, and they were men with large families. Now, the families of this Cohong, as I term them, being the wealthiest, though not the highest in position in China, would be recognised by us Englishmen as being in the category, on account of their wealth, and on account of conducting this monopoly of the trade, of men in eminent position; and their families as the largest, and of course, in some aspects the most respectable and most influential class that existed. What I have to state about them is this: that there were many of the sons of these men—I need not give their names, because those names are rather difficult to English ears; but I may mention two families, as of those two one of them survives to the present time. Those two families were called respectively Puntingkwa and Howkwa. The other merchants had somewhat similar names, their family names, or names of their firms. What I wish to bring before the Commission is this: that of these large families, consisting, some 50 years ago, of many sons and of a host of grandsons—all those families, with the exception of one, are all but extinct; that they are reduced to extreme poverty and distress. The hoards of wealth which their fathers gathered when they held that monopoly, and the property they acquired, and the gardens of pleasure and the palatial residences, all these have gone to wreck and ruin, and there is only the one family of Howkwa left in Canton of those 16 or 18 Cohong merchants. That name may be remembered and known somewhat in England by a certain blend of tea in the old time that was called "Howkwa's mixture." That I have no doubt the ladies appreciated. Now here is a case in point in which there was great wealth, high respectability, position in society, and in which that wealth was bequeathed to sons and to grandchildren; and it has almost entirely disappeared, and disappeared because the sons and the grandsons took opium,—in large quantities,—beginning, of course, with small doses when smoking it, and going on to larger doses, until in some of those families a man was kept to prepare the opium for smoking—to bring it from its raw condition by repeated processes into the state of prepared opium for smoking purposes;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

will be forwarded. The first is a book which was connected with the foundation of the society, and was written by my predecessor, the first secretary of the society, the Rev. Storrs Turner. I may mention that it is a very great matter of regret to me that he is unable to give evidence before the Commission; he is only recovering from a very serious illness, otherwise I am sure he would have been most glad to come and speak to some points with which he is much better qualified to deal than I could be. This was an essay written by him in response to an advertisement that was issued by the late Mr. Edward Pease (Sir Joseph and Mr. Arthur Pease's brother) for an Essay on the question of the Opium Trade, in connexion, I think, with its effect on missions in the East. Mr. Turner was one of the prize essayists. He had been a missionary in China for a number of years. His essay led to the formation of the society in the autumn of 1874. There had previously been some committees—a committee in London of which the late General Alexander was honorary secretary,—but they had fallen through. Our society was founded in the autumn of 1874; and Mr. Turner, was appointed the first secretary. He held that position until 1885, shortly after the signing of the Additional Article which I will refer to later. The chapter to which I want specially to refer here is the eighth chapter of his book—the closing chapter—in which, after dealing with the history up to that time, he puts forward propositions for an amended opium policy. I should, perhaps, say that the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

478. The Malwa system?—The Malwa system.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Wednesday next at 11 a.m.

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

### THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, 13th September 1893.

#### PRESENT :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From Ta-li-fu, Mr. George William Clarke says that he has had experience both in Yun-nan-fu and Ta-li-fu, an important city, and he says, that in Yun-nan-fu 60 per cent. is the proportion of the adult male population who smoke; in Ta-li-fu about the same. Among the coolies in the provinces 80 per cent. He thinks that in these towns about 15 to 20 per cent. of the women smoke, and the people begin to smoke from the age of 18 to 23. He has seen boys 10 or 12 years of age smoking. Mr. Anderson, writing from Yun-nan, says:—"I have nearly crossed this kingdom at its centre and have had good opportunities of watching this people, on long overland journeys, or protracted boat journeys, resting at native inns, visiting opium dens, visiting the people in their own houses, talking with them in towns and villages, mission halls, hospitals, dispensaries, and opium refuges, and there can be no doubt of the awful injury caused by the opium vice."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

528. No public protest?—No.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

Mr.  
G. G. Brown.

Mr. GEORGE GRAHAM BROWN called in and examined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

559. Would you give us any details that you wish to put before us?—May I be allowed just to add one word. Upon the authority of this man opium was first cultivated about 30 years ago—30 years before 1891. I hold that the vice has quite overmastered public opinion since then. The common native statement is that eight-tenths or nine-tenths smoke in this city. I am not referring to the outside cities, my Lord, merely the capital city of the province.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the physical ground, I have noticed the terrible induction of sterility amongst the women. My wife has come across not one or two, but many mothers who smoke during pregnancy avowedly to reduce their trouble in labour. I have also known of women having 8, 10, 13, 14 children. In three of these cases two grew up; in one case only one;—the others died not through infanticide, but because one or both of their parents were exceptional smokers. I have known of one lady who was able to smoke three Chinese ounces of the native opium daily; she had become a sot. In the time of the influenza there were no coffins left in the city—perhaps that is the strongest point as to physical debility which I can lay before your Lordship and the Commission. They had come to the condition where there were not coffins to bury the dead, because of the terrible ravages that influenza made amongst them, and those who did not smoke were, as far as I observed, the ones who came out best from the scourge. At the time of anti-Russian excitement—on the march of 54 days to the capital of Chinese Turkestan,—they raised three Regiments in Lan-chau of 1,200 soldiers each. Out of those 1,200 soldiers the natives expected that about 300 would arrive at Urumtzi, the others would die or desert on the road. The Hu-nan Regiments nominally do not smoke opium, and their officers threw this question in our teeth most bitterly.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

587. Yes?—Not the effects.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

603. And you draw a sharp distinction then?—No, where the craving is established I hold that a man is an opium smoker.

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

The Reverend A. ELWIN called in and examined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The witness withdrew.

*Mr. M. Wood.*

*Mr. MARCUS WOOD* called in and examined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

669. Are you a medical man?—Not a medical man.

670. Then you would not, perhaps, form any opinion as to whether there was evidence of degeneracy of race in China, in the community at large?—From my own experience, as non-medical man, I should certainly say there is a great deal of evidence. Wherever the opium is more grown and more used, there the people are far worse physically.

671. So that you do not think China is awakening, but gone to sleep; that is your impression?—China is certainly not awakening. China is becoming more and more demoralised as the opium habit increases. That is my impression.

672. That is your strong impression?—That is my strong impression.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. F. Brown.

Rev. FREDERICK BROWN called in and examined.

673. (*Chairman*.) You are a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, are you not?—Yes.

674. How many years have you been a missionary in China?—10½ years.

675. In what districts have you served?—In the provinces of Chih-li, and Shan-tung, coast provinces.

676. Will you tell us briefly what is your experience as to the effects of opium on the Chinese consumers, whether you look at it from a moral standpoint or the physical standpoint?—I look at it from both standpoints as distinctly bad. The moral effect on the heathen seems to be to rob them of all that little moral sense they seem naturally to have; and it turns them into thieves, liars, fornicators, and it seems to turn them into everything that is bad. I speak now especially of the heathen.

677. In what way have you found the alleged action of the British Government, or the Government of India, with the opium trade, to prejudicially affect your work?—I find that I am frequently ashamed of my nationality; during my 10½ years' residence in China

it has been my privilege to travel extensively in the two provinces I have named, and to go over the same ground frequently; and I have often been taunted and ashamed of my nationality, bringing the Gospel of Jesus in one hand, and in the other hand opium—my nation was sending the opium into the provinces in which I travelled. The moral effect of opium on our native Christians (or the immoral effect) is very marked. We have distinctly cases in which we are greatly puzzled—we are obliged to excommunicate several each year, possibly five or six. I returned to England in May, and in January one of our native ministers had been charged with opium smoking. He had taken it to relieve his pain, he had been sent to a most out-of-the-way place, and without being able to consult a medical man in his illness, had been advised to take a whiff of opium. He had done so, and possibly more than once. The man became a smoker in his capacity as a Christian minister, he was disqualified. He to-day, while regretting it more than anyone else probably, is not preaching the Gospel, but feels himself morally unfit, and the Church feels bound to relieve him of his



office. I give this as an instance of the way in which we, as Christian missionaries, are affected through the opium. If you would allow me to speak of the physical deterioration, I would mention that I have taken some prominent part in famine relief work, and I would distinctly state that I have noticed that the opium smokers were the first men who seemed to fall under the strain of scarcity of food. I would also state that the mission with which I am connected is possibly the largest educational mission in China. We have colleges in four or five different cities, and we find that when the son of an opium smoker enters the college, he is really unfitted to compete with the sons of non-smoking men. I may state that the colleges are not strictly kept for the sons of Christians, there is admittance by paying; they get a thorough good Western education. We find that we occasionally get opium smokers' sons, and they are unfit to endure the ordeal which is placed upon them in that place, and frequently withdraw. I would also state that I have resided close to the Examination Halls in Pekin city, where each year there are a large number of graduates go in for the metropolitan examination, and men are carried out from the Examination Halls, during the time of examination, dead, and invariably, when you ask who the man is, the reply is, "Oh, he is an opium smoker." No smoking is allowed, I understand, in the Examination Hall, and he dies under the strain.

In answer to the last question on the paper which I had placed in my hands, as to the effect it had upon my work, I would put in three petitions. The native Christians knew of my return to England, and as the mission with which I am connected is an American mission (though I am engaged to travel the district, and have full charge of the work in the Shan-tung province) our members asked me to bring a petition to England, and try to stir up in the minds of the English people a feeling on this matter. I represent to-day an aggregate of over 1,000 native Christians, and I have three petitions here, one representing 448 Christians of four different missions, two English and two American. I have another representing 600 Christians in the Shan-tung district, who spontaneously got together and wrote a petition on satin to the Queen of England. It has seemed impossible to present it to the Queen. I have shown it often. I have translations of the petition, which, if thought advisable, I might read in your hearing.

678. Yes, we shall be prepared to hear it?—This petition distinctly states:—"We the members of the Christian Church in Shan-tung see all around us evidences of the destructiveness of this deadly drug, and desire to see the use of opium suppressed in China. Opium has long been the bane of our country, through folly and ignorance many of our people have been taken in the snare. This is no light calamity, opium slays the smoker, wastes wealth, scatters mothers, renders wives homeless, the nation is impoverished, families are destroyed, and very many lives sacrificed. Happily for us the holy religion of Jesus came to China, taught by missionaries who expounded to us the doctrines of truth, dispersed the cloud of delusion, and helped us to escape from the paths of error, thus it is that we have avoided the sin of the opium smoker. We have established an Anti-Opium Association, and with one accord we pray God, morning and evening, to bring about an end to this calamity. We now with all respect pray the Sovereign of England with her ministers and magistrates mercifully to pity China, whose ignorant and foolish people have suffered the mischief wrought by opium. We also pray all merchants and traders dealing in opium to cease from bringing it to our shores in response to our humble cry for our people, our homes, and country, and we will ever remain your grateful petitioners. This favour we natives of China beg at your hands. Signed by native ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and eighty leaders of the Church in the Shan-tung District and representing nearly 600 Christians. Translated by F. Brown.

679. The petitioners in that petition seem to assume that the great evils of which they speak are due entirely to the importation of opium. They do not appear to recognise the much larger quantity of it that is supplied from local sources?—I would say that in the provinces of Shan-tung and Chih-li, so far as I am able to judge, the local production is limited compared with other provinces. It is nearer the coast, and the foreign opium is more accessible.

680. Would you say that the foreign opium represents the half of the consumption?—I would certainly say so.

681. Is there any other petition that you would like to bring before us?—There is another petition here.

682. Is that numerously signed?—This represents about 300 Christians from the province of Chih-li; the other is from the province of Shan-tung.

683. Would you read us that?—It is signed by the native ministers only:—"We the ministers and officers of Methodist Missions sign our names to this petition the begging that measures may be taken to stop the use of opium, and save the Chinese from the ruin which it causes. From the entrance of Christianity into our country many missionaries have been putting forth efforts for the elevation of our people, and we native Christians are striving to copy their example and virtuous deeds. As to tobacco and wine most of our congregations have adopted prohibitory rules after careful discussion. Even non-Christians in many cases gladly yield to exhortation and follow the same rule as the Christians. But as to opium smoking it has prevailed for many years, the habit has been formed, and although the craving is less in some cases than in others, yet the mischief wrought is intense and to check it is impossible." (This is a literal translation of their petition.) "Time after time has China's Sovereign and high officers issued prohibitory proclamations. The missionaries with the ministers and laity of Christian congregations have repeatedly exhorted the people on the subject of opium smoking. But opium traders have been eagerly coming and going all the time, rendering it most difficult to eradicate the evil by stopping the supply. The poppy has been grown in China in limited quantities. But the bulk has been coming from India without intermission." (This statement will be accounted for by the fact that they grow it in limited quantities in this province, in the province of Chih-li.) "There is no evil from which our country suffers that can be compared with this. It is our humble opinion, which we state with all modesty, that he who confers a benefit should first cease to do harm and stop the inflow of evil. The source of mischief should by all means be purified. We take the opportunity of the return to England of Pastor Brown to append our names to this petition and entrust it to his care in the hope that measures may be taken to stop the export of opium from India to China and secure the lasting benefit of our people, whose gratitude will never cease. Here follow the signatures of the chief pastor and 67 ministers and leaders. January 1893." The ministers and leaders represent about 300 native Christians.

684. (Sir W. Roberts.) Have they memorialised their own authorities in the same sense?—No, I am not aware that they have.

685. That would not be safe for them, I suppose?—It might not be safe for them. Moreover the high official Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy of Chih-li, I think has distinctly stated that he has not much sympathy with the putting down of the growth of opium in China while the Indian opium is allowed full sway. That is distinctly understood by the natives in both provinces, and consequently the English Government get the benefit (possibly more than they deserve, but the full benefit,) of all that can be said against opium.

686. (Sir J. Lyall.) Is it a fact that the Chinese Christians (converts, you know) are taken in any sense under the protection of the European Governments to which the missionaries belong?—That the native Christians are taken under the protection of European Governments?

687. To which the missionaries belong?—I am sorry to say that in some cases it is so. In other cases it is not so, for the missionaries distinctly give the native Christians and churches to understand that they will not interfere in matters appertaining to the Government—Government cases, law cases. There are ample opportunities, but in most cases, I think, they do not interfere.

688. So far as it is the case, is it not alone sufficient to account for any hostility on the part of the Chinese people, and particularly the Chinese officials, to foreigners?—To take the native Christians under our wing

68. Yes, the fact of the conversion of a man makes him no longer fully the subject of the Chinese Govern-

*Rev. F. Brown.* ment?—If it were so, it certainly would be very much opposed by the heathen. The heathen would look on such a man as half a European, but it is not so in most cases. We distinctly give them to understand that we do not interfere with their Government or their law cases. A Chinaman becoming a Christian is still a Chinaman.

The witness withdrew.

*Brigade-Surgeon R. Pringle, M.D.*

Brigade-Surgeon R. PRINGLE, M.D., called in and examined :

691. (*Chairman.*) Are you a member of the medical profession?—Yes, my Lord.

692. You were in the service of the Government of India?—Yes, Brigade Surgeon.

693. How long were you in India?—I served for 30 years in India.

694. What parts of India are you acquainted with?—Orissa for eight years, two years in Central India, and 20 years in the North-West Provinces.

695. What does your experience convey to you with reference to the question which has been committed to this Commission—what is your general impression with regard to the opium habit, with regard to its effects. Take, first of all, the physical condition of those who are opium eaters and smokers?—In this relation I would note first of all the medical aspect, and then the religious aspect; the difficulty of the natives doing without it, and the possibility of the effect upon the people of the withdrawal of it. First of all, the medical aspect. As a medicine opium is invaluable when prescribed medicinally. As a dietetic substance I consider it is absolutely unsuited for dietetic purposes. Its action on the digestion is such as to remove it entirely from the category of dietetics. With reference to the febrifuge properties, it is merely febrifuge on the principle that it is sudorific and sedative. It relieves the system by the skin, and it gives rest and relief from pain and suffering, and thus admits of restful sleep at night, both as regards malarial rheumatism and malarial dysentery. With reference to its effects upon the people themselves, I can only say, and say it most thankfully, that as regards India, in the districts that I have seen, the effects of it are not visible to any extent whatever upon the agricultural population. The cases in which the effects of opium are visible are those, who, by the habit, have drifted from higher into lower positions, and have thus collected in large cities, in what might be called the slums, as the dregs of the populace. I consider that India as yet is protected by its very high moral tone of self-respect from becoming victimised by opium. Habitual indulgence in opium is so absolutely contrary to any notion of self-respect, that I cannot understand any native—any respectable native—ever giving way to it without feeling that he has lost position, lost influence, and lost caste.

696. You were in the North-West Provinces, you say?—For 20 years, my Lord, as sanitary officer.

697. That would bring you in contact with the Sikhs, would it not?—To a certain extent, but not so much as in the Punjab.

698. Had you anything to do with any of the races which consume opium in India?—Yes, as medical officer in charge of a native regiment on service—in a very malarious district; when their constant request to me was for quinine. I prescribed quinine very largely, but never was once asked for opium; though I am afraid my demands upon the Store Department in Calcutta were so large with reference to quinine that I was called upon for an explanation for this large expenditure, and the civil officer in charge of the expedition stated that the large expenditure of quinine was absolutely necessary to maintain the force in any efficiency for the hard, long marches in these malarious districts. I consider that opium was never suggested as a febrifuge under any condition whatever. Of course I prescribed it as a medicine in combination with others, but never used it as a febrifuge.

699. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) What country was that expedition in?—In the hills of Orissa, near Cuttack.

700. And what were the troops?—The Bengal Native—the 53rd Native Infantry.

701. What province did the sepoys come from?—They came mostly from Oudh and the North-West Provinces. That was in 1854 and 1855.

690. If he is backed by a foreign Government, as it were, if he becomes a Christian, he is no longer fully a Chinaman?—If he was backed by a foreign Government he would not be a Chinaman; but it is not so, we do not interfere in their law cases.

702. (*Chairman.*) From the evidence that you have already given, I suppose I may take it from you that you do not hold that opium has had a wide effect in bringing about a state of moral degradation in India?—I consider that the population, as such, is practically untouched by the opium habit, as we see it in the villages and in the respectable portion of it. Of course I am not alluding to those who are drifting into the lowest classes of the people, or who may be found collected near coolie depôts, or men who, from a good strong physique, have fallen under the influence of opium, and thus have had to give up their regular work as palanquin-bearers or as workmen. Because, if a man once takes to opium, his time of immunity under the influence of opium is merely a question of the power of digestion, if that is seriously interfered with, the drug is too apt to supply the place of food, and while a man lives under the stimulation of opium, though he can carry on a very considerable amount of work, yet he gets lower and lower under its stimulating influence until the depression comes, when he feels that he practically cannot live without it. Those people are not to be met with in villages. There is no place in an Indian village that I have ever seen for a drone. Unless he is a wealthy man he must be a worker, and if he ceases to work he naturally drops out of the village or the agricultural population, and if he has taken at all to opium, his position as a respectable man is seriously compromised; while if he is engaged in business or trade, his habits of honesty, or probity, are compromised; for when a man is described as an opium eater or smoker, it is tantamount to saying that he is under influences that make him hardly trustworthy.

703. What do you say with reference to statements which have been made by very many to the effect that the use of opium in very limited quantities inevitably tends to an increase in the use, and ultimately to an abuse, or rather an excessive use, of opium?—On the principle, my Lord, that no stimulant of this character can be taken without keeping up the quantity—it may be increasing the quantity—because the stimulation requires more and more of the substance to bring it up to a given height, and unless it is up to that height, the tendency is to take more to raise it to it, until at last too frequently the very drug itself comes to be so paramount, that it supplies the place of food, and really I can only describe it as the Chinaman does when he says that a man lives on opium at first, but ultimately opium lives on him. It is astonishing how little a man can eat and live upon when he is dependent upon opium.

704. (*Mr. Pease.*) You think it is more so with opium than with alcohol?—I think so, sir; though on many points there is no comparison between the two substances. When opium is taken, there is a necessity for the dose being gradually increased, or completely abandoned, half measures are of no use except under restraint. If opium is taken as a soporific, and the person leads a listless, idle life, he is bound to go on increasing the dose to produce sleep, whereas, if he leads an active life in the open air and has thus the possibility of producing sleep, then under ordinary conditions, he may not require quite so much.

705. (*Chairman.*) Have you anything else that you would like to say in your evidence in chief with reference to the moral, or physical, or religious aspects of the question?—I would only say, with reference to the moral aspect of it, that there is the evidence which has been published with reference to an inquiry held in Calcutta at the Calcutta Medical Society, in which a number of native medical gentlemen of position gave their evidence. I want nothing more to supply all that is necessary for the immorality connected with the smoking of opium than is supplied by this report of the Calcutta Medical Society.

706. Has that evidence been published?—Yes, my Lord, I have a copy of it here.

707. Will you show it to us?—Certainly I can leave this with your Lordship. I have no evidence that I could wish to give, with reference to the immorality of the opium habit, of greater value than that document. The recorded inspection of these opium dens illustrates the whole secret of the immoral conditions connected with opium-smoking. There is not a den, for instance, visited by Dr. Crombie in which there was not one woman, and the whole point rests upon that. The presence of that woman was expressly for sensual purposes, and the way in which this evidence is given, as I wrote to Dr. Crombie, illustrated the sensual action of the drug by the woman who was present in every one of the opium dens that you visited, and by the statement of some of the native medical men, who stated that none but the lowest people,—those who are lost to moral considerations—indulge in smoking opium in those dens, in short that it was a sign of moral depravity. As regards its being taken in fever districts in small doses, I consider that any one who habitually indulges in opium in small doses in fever districts, instead of its giving him some protection from the disease, absolutely produces a tendency to fever. I should consider that if any man went, for instance, into a malarious district, and took small quantities of opium to such an extent as to interfere with the digestion, no matter how small these doses were, it would render him liable to fever instead of preventing it, because fever, in all malarious districts, is generally primarily connected with biliary derangement, and the action of opium on the biliary secretion is, as we know, very remarkable, and, unless care is taken, the constipation that results from taking opium is such as to produce very considerable biliary derangement, frequently ending in inflammation of the liver, and abscesses or dysentery. But I consider that the necessity of opium as a medicine is so great that I would not on any account wish it to be understood that I am saying a single word against what is strictly medicinal in its properties and uses.

708. Is there anything that you would like to say to us with reference to the attitude of the Government of India in relation to the opium trade?—My Lord, as a Government servant, and one who served the late Honourable East India Company, I can only say that I consider the relation which the Government bears to this opium trade is so entirely opposed to all that I have felt the Government has done for that country, where its one effort has been to materially improve it, and to raise it, that I feel bound in justice, as I love the people and I love my country, to lift my voice against it. I know the effect that it produces on the natives, this opium and liquor traffic. It has led to the most mistaken ideas regarding the aim that we have in view with reference to our presence in India. It is so apt to lead them to suppose that we are there for little or no other purpose than for making money, than which, nothing could possibly be further from the real aim and object, I believe as a Government servant, of the Government in India as it stands at present. I have known it and seen it, and I consider that there is no Government that the world has ever known in which the handful has ruled the thousands in the way it has. I know what the natives think of it themselves; they have spoken very fully and freely to me as a medical man, and if this blot, and the excess to which the liquor traffic is carried, were removed, I know of no great State movement which would show the people more powerfully or clearly that the one desire of the Government is for their ultimate good. I know there are those who say that to interfere with the habits of the natives as regards opium would be most dangerous as regards the public safety. I can only say, in opposition to this, that I have seen perhaps the most inquisitorial orders that ever were laid down by a Government, especially with reference to a Government like that of India, in a strange land, among people who have such remarkable notions about the privacy of their houses (I allude to the orders with reference to female infanticide carried out without any disturbance in the Agra and Meerut Divisions for 20 years), I know the way that this order was carried out, and nothing but the absolute assurance that the Government really meant it for the good of the people would ever have permitted such an inquisitorial act to be carried out without the most serious complications from men who resent any interference with their home life, but who really feel in this case, that when the Government entrusted into the hands of underpaid and low caste people this very important duty with reference to the births of females in their houses the Government

were doing it for a good reason and with a good object in view, and without a single word of complaint. I know it was carried out in districts where, to give an idea of the suspicious character of the people, when I was starting vaccination, they brought up girls to be vaccinated, because they believed it would kill them, and their death would lie at my door, but, when they found it to be the reverse, they kept back the girls, in the hope that they would die from small-pox and no further questions asked. This is a fact that I placed upon record, and it is in an official report. There is one other point which I would like to say with reference to the great question of withholding opium from those who have been in the habit of taking it. I feel that this is a far more serious question than it is at first supposed to be or we are apt to view it. Withholding opium from an opium-eater or an opium-smoker is a very, very serious step if the habit has gone to a certain extent. Unlike the alcoholic craving, *i.e.* it is a craving of intense pain—of intense agony—and the relief that is given has to be seen to be believed. To see a poor creature writhing in pain and agony—then just a few whiffs of his opium, or a small injection of morphia—to see him come into the room again as if really nothing had happened to him—just shows that the craving is a craving that, in all efforts to stop indulgence in opium, must not be lost sight of. Indeed this is proved absolutely with reference to Burmah, where the orders of the Government have been that for those who cannot give up the habit entirely and at once, if, giving it up it would be dangerous to their health, a register should be kept, and that they are allowed to have a certain amount of opium given to them. Now that establishes in my opinion, my Lord, the great point that there must be a very serious mistake when people suppose that the opium can be withdrawn easily from those who are confirmed opium-eaters or opium-smokers, in the case of those who to a certain extent may be almost dependent upon this drug for their very existence. This action of the opium is seen in a remarkable manner among those who are ill-fed, and live in malarious districts, where it seems to hold diarrhoea and dysentery in check, and when it is removed their conditions assert their sway and the patient is rapidly carried off. I would only, with reference to this point, allude to an article which appeared in the “Lancet” regarding the withdrawal of opium.

709. Written by whom?—By Dr. Mouat.

710. When did this article appear?—It appeared, my Lord, in the “Lancet” of April 30, 1892. This is my reply to the article in question, taken from the “Lancet” of September 10, 1892. Dr. Mouat’s letter was of such very great importance, that a medical man, whose letter I hold in my hand, points out that these statements, *viz.*, the ease and safety with which opium can be withheld from prisoners, and the fact that no deaths are due to the opium habit, must be met by facts, and not be attacked by any vague statements, but by unquestionable data. I therefore went and examined all Dr. Mouat’s Jail Reports in the India Office here, and have extracted portions of them, which are in that little pamphlet I place before your Lordship. My letter produced the “Rejoinder” from Dr. Mouat, but the “Lancet” declined to publish my letter in reply, dated October 18, 1892, a copy of which, in pamphlet form, I beg to submit, as there is a paragraph in Dr. Mouat’s “Rejoinder,” which was of importance, because Dr. Mouat was under the impression (entirely mistaken) that my knowledge of the effects of opium on the prisoners was drawn from the jails of Cuttack and Poree in Orissa, whereas in reality it is the outcome of the whole of my knowledge of jail management, gathered in a very careful inspection as the sanitary officer of two of the largest divisions in the North-West Provinces, when I had the opportunity of inspecting the jails and was in medical charge of the largest jail in India myself, the Agra Central Prison, until I took the jail fever and had to be relieved and another officer appointed in my place. I feel that it is necessary to state this, so that the Commission may have the entire correspondence on this most crucial subject. Further, I feel that statements with reference to jails in India, to my knowledge, require to be most carefully received, when we consider, as Dr. Mouat himself fully admits, the character of the subordinate native officials connected with the jails, and the tendency to receive money from friends outside is such that those of us who have seen much of jail management are sadly aware that the treatment a prisoner receives in a jail

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depends a great deal upon the wealth of his relatives outside. To such an extent was this carried out in a model jail in the North-West Provinces.

711. I am afraid we must not go too much into that ?—But it is with reference to the withholding of any luxury. For if we say that opium cannot be admitted into a jail, I very much fear that that must be most carefully safeguarded, with reference to the very great difficulty in carrying out this order as Dr. Mouat has clearly shown in his own report. I will, however, not allude to that further; and with reference to what one reads regarding the apparent harmlessness of opium smoking, and some of the pictures that are exhibited of opium smokers in health and strength, would only take the case of the lascars, the native seamen, regarding whom I have here a sketch. This, my Lord, is the sketch of the native seamen, the lascars, taken from the "Daily Graphic." Now, to look at these men one would suppose that they were in excellent health, and that they were at all events not victims to the opium habit. I do not say that these men are victims to the opium habit. On the contrary, anyone who goes and sees the haunts of these lascars knows at once that in this country, when they stop at a port, it is then alone that they indulge in this habit of opium smoking. But I fear there is little doubt that many of them not only smoke it on shore, but eat it at sea. On one occasion a gentleman, whose name I can give—for I hold his letter in my hand—stated that when he was in command of a vessel sailing up the Red Sea, on one occasion when they got on the rocks, it was found out that the lascars were in such a state, under the influence of opium, that it was fortunate that the rising tide took his ship off the rocks as he had very little to hope for from his men. As long as the opium habit is kept within bounds, as I am thankful to say it is yet in India,—by outward respectability—no man being willing to be caught under the influence of it, or suddenly to be called up to do anything, and to feel that he is not ready to do it, the habit cannot be said to be visibly deleterious. But, it is to that fear, and, above all, the great self-respect which I am bound to say still remains in India, as far as my experience goes, both among the agricultural and the upper classes, that the freedom from this habit is to be traced. I am aware there are difficulties as regards Rajputana, but not having served there I will only speak of what I really know in reference to this. The only instance in which I can remember of any natives, of the better class connected with agriculture, being addicted to opium, was in two districts in the Meerut Division, and I found this out by their being in their villages at a time of the day when men should be out busily at their work, and these men were indulging in opium. The way the natives alluded to it to me was (in an undertone), when they said "I am afraid they are indulging in opium." Now, if there is any other point upon which I can give the Commission any further information, I am ready to do so, as my one object—and I would wish, my Lord, it to be stated—as a Government officer, in taking the part that I now am taking, and have done, is that I plead for India. It is possible to stop and to reduce the temptation to indulge in opium now, as I know it was to indulge in drink, if the facilities for taking it are removed.

712. Your statement so far has carried us to this—that the opium habit is not by any means universally, or I will even say generally, prevalent in India?—Certainly not.

713. But where that opium habit has taken possession of an individual it generally goes beyond the moderate use and with very injurious and fatal consequences. You have given a general statement to the effect that you feel regret that the opium trade has received a certain amount of countenance from the Government of India. The point I should like to interrogate you upon would be with reference to any proposals that you have to make of a practical nature, with reference to a change in the mode of dealing with the opium trade on the part of the Government of India. Have you anything to suggest on that point?—I could suggest that the opium be used and cultivated, and its cultivation alone permitted for medicinal purposes, as can be done under the supervision of Government, in much the same way that other drugs are cultivated at the Saharanpur Botanical Gardens, for medicinal purposes also.

714. Do you consider that such a regulation as you propose would be favourably received by the people of India?—I have no hesitation in saying, that as long as

it is done with due consideration for those who may have come under the influence of the drug, and are really its victims, this is quite possible; for the rest, as far as my experience goes, I have seen very very few natives from whom the drug could not be withheld with perfect safety. That is to say, they are not such victims to it as to make them liable to risk their lives by this withdrawal. Of course I am only alluding to those whom one meets with in ordinary society, and certainly not those who have drifted into the dregs of society through inability to work.

715. (Sir J. Lyall.) I did not quite understand what you said about stopping opium in jails—preventing people who are addicted to opium from using it in jails. Was it your custom when you were in charge of a jail to stop it altogether?—With reference to that, as the question has been put, I would say that Dr. Mouat—

716. I ask your practice, sir?—Dr. Mouat—

717. I do not ask anything about Dr. Mouat. I ask, please, what was your practice when you had charge of a jail?—I was in charge of a jail, and my practice was to act up to the orders I received from my superior officer—Dr. Mouat—and I certainly withheld opium from every case, taking care that there were no serious risks incurred. I did that in the first years of my service in India, but I lived long enough in India to know that while I might withhold it, I would be very sorry to draw any conclusion upon the supposition that no opium finds its way into the jail, and that I was drawing conclusions upon absolute fact instead of knowing that it was possible that the wealthy could obtain opium if they were prepared to pay for it.

718. But I believe the general practice is to dole it out in very small quantities to confirmed opium-smokers, and not to allow it at all to other people in jails?—Certainly, if there is any risk to life, opium is given to those cases alone.

719. As a rule, do you not think there would be any risk to life; it must be only in a case of very excessive use of opium, where a man has lost his appetite for everything else; it would be only in a case of that kind, I fancy, that there would be absolute risk to life. There would be great suffering, but there would not be risk to life, I think?—Well, I may say that in this paper (my letter in the "Lancet," of September 10th, 1892), you will see quotations from Government reports in which the following occurs:—Seebisaur, Assam, 1862, "The sickness and mortality had increased during the year. Nearly all the deaths were from dysentery in worn out opium-eaters." The whole of these details are carefully given here."

720. That is not exactly an answer to my question. My question was, is it not the general idea among the medical profession in India, who have to deal with it as officers in charge of jails, that you can stop the use of opium without danger to life except in cases of very aggravated opium-eating, where a man comes into the jail already in a very low condition from the opium-eating habit?—Certainly.

721. In other cases you could stop it?—Certainly, in other cases you could stop it; but of course everything will depend upon the state of the man's health at the time. If he has a tendency to dysentery or diarrhoea, to stop the opium would simply be to expedite the fatal termination.

722. You have said that in your opinion opium-eating was inconsistent with self-respect among all Indians; did you say as much as that?—Yes.

723. How do you make that agree with the extensive prevalence of the opium-eating habit amongst all Rajputs in Rajputana?—I make it agree in this way—that I can remember when it was a sign of the greatest disreputability for anyone to drink spirits, but it has got to be so common lately that it has ceased to be disreputable by so many taking it now, and so opium-eating has almost assumed a species of respectability among the Rajputs. The difficulty, I think, is this, that as all take it, it is difficult for anyone to stand out alone; but it must be remembered that it is against their religion, and it is against the religion of any Mohammodan to take any opium or alcohol, or anything which intoxicates; and it is equally against his religion, to take little or much, as it is to take any at all.

724. Is it not the case that though they may think opium eating, to a certain extent, inconsistent with self-respect, they consider spirit drinking much more



inconsistent with self-respect?—On the principle that one shows disreputability outside and the other can be kept quietly in the house.

725. You talked about our Government encouraging opium and liquor, and of the fact being a public reproach to us in India. Do you happen to know what the prices of opium and liquor were when you first landed in India, and what the difference was when you left: you landed in India how many years ago?—1854.

726. Have you any idea what the difference in price is?—I am afraid I could not answer that; but I think I could answer the question by telling you how the liquor-shops were placed when I went to India, and how they were placed when I left India.

727. That is another thing; for instance, I can remember a time when any part of India (the India that I knew) spirits were to be got at about an anna and a half a bottle. For many years past you cannot get it for less than about 12 annas or one rupee?—It is less than that in the North-West Provinces.

728. But has not the tendency been always to increase the price, both of opium and of spirits since you have been in the country?—Certainly; and that has led to the addition of drugs to produce intoxication, which is the sole object that any native has for taking liquor at all, for as for taking it in the light of anyone taking liquor in this country, there is no such habit in India at all. A man only takes drink to be drunken; and he will bargain to be made drunk, and a careful addition of ganja will expedite this. The man has paid for the drunkenness to be produced, and this is done by previously adding ganja to the liquor presented for sale.

729. Is not that an argument that if you stop one door there you must stop all; that is if you stopped opium, for instance, you must stop spirits too?—I am very glad to say that I believe that entirely, and have done my best to carry it out; and I reported that liquor shops were put alongside the wells on the roadside, and I am glad to say it has been put a stop to. Liquor shops were put alongside the manufactories, and that also has been put a stop to. I do not suppose that any legislation will ever make a man give it up; but what I am anxious to see is that we will not do anything to tempt them to take it, and it would be the same with the opium. If a man can buy opium much as he would any other vegetable produced, excepting the license and quantity, he naturally concludes that the Government does not view it in the same light as they do it here, and they know now perfectly well, and many of them say, "Oh! it is a poison in England, and it is not a poison here." They see the distinction. Every person cannot get opium here; to say that it is to be got quite easily is a mistake. I know of a case the other day in which a girl took spirits of salt for suicidal purposes; but she had applied first at a chemist's with money to buy laudanum, and it would not be sold to her. That I know for a fact.

730. On the other hand, ordinarily speaking, there is nothing to prevent anybody getting laudanum or opium at a druggist's, if he wants to get it, unless there is some suspicion that he is going to use it to poison himself with it?—They must be known—every druggist knows, and they can tell, for they know who are in the habit of taking it. When I was in the Fens making inquiry regarding it, I found out it goes into the districts in carriers carts. Also that though the malaria has nearly ceased, the opium habit is far from uncommon. And with reference to that point, my Lord, I would wish to say that Orissa is a very remarkable illustration of the effects of famine in the district. I can remember Orissa in 1854 and the eight years after that, and I must say that I was under the impression that they were then not under the influence of opium at all; from what I have heard lately. At the meeting at the Society of Arts, it was stated that when the famine was present, indulgence in opium took great strides. That, I can quite understand, was due to the desire of the natives to take the drug to allay the pangs of hunger. With reference to any difference as regards races, I may say that during the whole of my service in India I have seen no difference as regards the effect of opium upon one race as differing from another. The whole difference really lies in the facilities that a person has for indulgence in the opium, and the opportunities of leisure. If he is hard at labour from morning till night, he knows perfectly well that to indulge in opium is to risk that hard labour, and that therefore has kept him clear, and I have little doubt that the difference in the action of the

opium in Burma differing from Orissa is really due to some cause like that—not that there is anything in the Burman that would make him different physically. I am not prepared to say morally—but the question is the opportunity and the leisure that is available to indulge in that which is a stimulant, because where I have seen those indulging in it, it was a habit of idleness, and the hard-working ryot of the North-Western Provinces has no time for idleness. He has to work hard, and he is, therefore, perfectly free from it.

731. You said you were two years in Central India, I think?—In Gwalior, yes.

732. That is not a large opium-using district?—Not as I saw it in a large military cantonment.

733. (*Mr. Pease.*) Do you say that there is no drug or medicine that can be given to these confirmed opium smokers which will cure them of the habit, that when they are confirmed opium smokers it is necessary to continue to give them a certain amount of it to preserve their lives?—I am afraid it is absolutely necessary in cases in which there is a susceptibility to diarrhoea or dysentery, which is only kept in check by the action of opium.

734. You have had some experience of the effects of opium I believe among the soldiers—would you give us the benefit of that experience?—No, I have not among the European soldiers.

735. Among the Sikh and Rajput soldiers?—Among them the only effect that I have seen, is that a man is very carefully watched by his comrades and by his superior native officers to know if he is one who indulges in opium, because it is possible that in times of trust, and in times of responsibility he may, practically unintentionally, from the craving coming on, place himself in a position in which his want of vigilance may be of serious consequence. Any man, or any regiment of men, (with reference to the question which has been put to me) who are dependent upon opium for sustaining their physique, are, in my opinion, my Lord, absolutely useless in the case of a great struggle.

736. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You have not served, I think, with a Sikh regiment?—I have not served with a Sikh regiment.

737. And in the regiment you did serve with I think the men did not belong to a race which was in the habit of taking opium?—Opium was grown in those districts.

738. But it appears very few of them took opium?—40 or 30 years ago in India opium was grown up in the north-west, and many of these Sepoys were recruited in the north-west; and the experience of all who have served in districts where the opium is grown is that where opium is grown the tendency is to use it, and that is one of the reasons why the natives refuse to accept the money advanced, which is after all the point with regard to the cultivation of opium in India. Take away the money advances, and my experience in the North-West Provinces is that the native will not cultivate the poppy; it is too risky for the morality of his household, and it subjects him to the opium poppy search, which is a very powerful organ of oppression in the hands of under-paid officials.

739. No doubt money advance is an inducement to most of these cultivators; if they do not get an advance from Government, they get an advance from a native merchant, do they not?—I am sorry to say that nearly the whole of the cultivation of the Agra and Meerut Divisions is on advances. But then when the lender advances he takes it in kind, and is paid back from the crop; the natives, in their advances for poppy cultivation, receive not only large, but favourable advances. It may be under such favourable circumstances, that it is probable it is the money-lender who compels the ryot, in his state of impecuniosity, to accept this money advance to pay off his debts. But I know that in three districts, the Agra, the Muttra, and the Aligarh districts, the cultivators resolutely refused all advances to cultivate poppy; and yet these were the three districts decimated to my knowledge (for I was in the districts more than once) with a fatal type of fever. So decimated were these districts that the population fell very considerably in the 10 years from this malarial fever due to the irrigation; and yet if there was anything that would lead a native to take opium as a febrifuge, these men had every excuse for cultivating the poppy for the sake of keeping back a little for their own use as a protection against fever.

740. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) When you propose to prohibit the growth of opium except for medicinal purposes,

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do you regard it as a medicinal purpose to supply it in small quantities to those who have previously used it, and who could not do without it?—Only to prevent a fatal issue. I should only be justified in giving opium to prevent what I felt must be a fatal issue if the drug was entirely withdrawn.

741. You do not think that anything of the Burmese system of having a register of those who have been in the habit of using opium should be introduced?—That may be necessary. But in the districts in which I have served I am glad to say that it certainly is not at all necessary, as far as my observation and experience go.

742. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I gathered from you that you looked upon the habitual use of opium very much as we look upon an habitual drunkard?—I am afraid I must have been misunderstood, for I see no point of comparison as regards India, except that indulgence in both is considered a disreputable habit.

743. Well, in that respect, as we regard a drunkard here as being a disgrace, there is no opium smoker who is not a disgrace in India?—No.

744. That is your impression?—Yes; that is my view.

745. So that the habitual use of opium in India is not at all like our habitual use of alcoholic beverages?—Am I to understand, sir, “habitual,” without excess of indulgence?

746. Yes?—There is no such thing as habitual indulgence in alcohol in India, and anyone taking habitually to opium does it with the knowledge that he is jeopardising his position for respectability unless he is willing to be classed among people who have very little respectability to lose.

747. There is another point about the inferiority of opium as a febrifuge or prophylactic. Is it a possible

suggestion on your part that quinine might be supplied to these malarial districts by the Government and diminish in that way their reliance upon opium?—I am very glad, sir, you have alluded to that, because that is exactly the point on which I feel that the action of the Government deserves the greatest credit with reference to the outbreak of malaria over the portions of the North-West Provinces, when Sir John Strachey was Governor. It was my privilege to distribute large quantities of preparations of cinchona gratuitously, and I have no hesitation in saying the credit and the benefit conferred by that was such as really to put any substance like opium being given as a substitute perfectly out of the question.

748. That was during an epidemic?—During a very fatal epidemic of malarial fever more than once.

749. But where there is no special epidemic in these malarial districts is it possible that a supply of quinine could be placed at the disposal of the population?—I think, sir, it is not only possible, but perfectly practicable, with quinine at its present price. It is now reduced to nearly a rupee an ounce, and when I went to India it was sixteen.

750. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Quinine has lately been given in the Punjab; we have provided large quantities of quinine in certain malarial districts?—And given at the very cheapest rates so as to encourage its being taken. If that were done, I think it would remove opium absolutely out of any possible category, either as a febrifuge or as a prophylactic; and there is room for a largely increased cultivation of cinchona, as I am told that in Ceylon it does not pay almost to cultivate cinchona, and if it does not pay to cultivate cinchona there, it would certainly pay the Government with reference to these malarial tracts where quinine is such a marvellous specific for fever, and the natives have such perfect confidence in it.

The witness withdrew.

*Rev. W. S. Swanson, D.D.*

Rev. W. S. SWANSON, D.D., called and examined.

751. (*Chairman.*) I understand that you have been in China in connexion with Presbyterian missions, and you were educated at a Scotch university. I believe?—The University of Edinburgh.

752. You have probably heard some of the previous witnesses?—I have.

753. Therefore you know the nature of the statements to us, and it is not necessary to repeat in full what has already been said. The great point is, that you with your authority, and with your experience, are here to confirm, in so far as you feel justified in doing so, what has already been stated; and of course if there are any new points you will add them. How long were you in China?—Over 20 years.

754. And in what parts of China?—In the southern part of the province of Fuh-kien.

755. Is that a province in which opium was grown in any quantities?—For 20 years of my life there, I never saw a poppy grown in the whole district. I used to go some 70 or 80 miles to the north of the city of Amoy, and 50 miles to the west, and about 60 or 70 miles to the south, and in the last year of my residence there I did see poppies grown.

756. When did you leave China?—In 1881.

757. Well, do you confirm what you heard said by the several witnesses with reference to the physical, moral, and social effects of the opium habit?—I do most fully.

758. And what are the opinions of the people in China themselves on the opium habit?—I have mixed with all classes of the people, my Lord, and I have never found a single Chinaman or a Chinese woman that did not say that opium was evil, and only evil, and that continually. I am thoroughly acquainted with the language of the people and have made myself acquainted with the conditions of their family and of their social life, and we often get the opinion of the people of China in a rhythmical couplet or triplet, and there is one rhythmical couplet that I may quote: “The man who smokes opium begins by selling his bedstead; he ends by selling his rice-bowl, and his chop-sticks, and then the two legs of him run away with one stomach.” Between these extremes everything that a man has goes—house, lands, wives,

children; and I have again and again heard mothers say that when one of their sons begins to smoke opium, so far as they were concerned, he was dead to them. I have never heard any but one opinion; but I am bound to say this, that so far as my own Government is concerned, it has done nothing in China except what was a blessing to it, except in this one particular, and I am perfectly certain that, if this blot were taken away from us, we would have the Chinese people with a friendly feeling to Great Britain that that people possess to no other European country.

759. What action would you desire that the Indian Government would take with reference to the opium trade?—The entire suppression of the export of opium to China.

760. If that recommendation of yours could by possibility be adopted, what effect do you think it would have upon the attitude of the Chinese Government?—So far as the Chinese Government now is concerned, I should not like to say very much; but if you had asked me 20 years ago, I would have said without fail that the Chinese Government would have taken steps to put an end to the trade in their own country. I think even yet it is worth the trial; and it would do two things, it would set us right—the British Government—in the eyes of the Chinese people, and, in the second place, I think that the moral effect of it would be such as to force the Chinese Government to take some steps to protect their own people, because they know perfectly well, that so far as there is any public opinion in China, it is entirely and totally against the use of opium, and that those who are strongest in this opinion are victims of the habit.

761. Have you reason to apprehend that at the present time there is great laxity on the part of the Chinese Government and their officials in regard to the enforcement of rules and regulations limiting or prohibiting the use of opium?—I really could not say anything very definitely upon that point, but I can say definitely upon another point which bears upon it, that those officials say: “What is the use of us doing anything; what is the use of us doing anything so long as we are compelled to receive this large import of opium from India? Stop that, and then we will do something; but what is the use of us doing anything so long as that is pressed upon us?”

762. They are no longer entitled to say that they are compelled to receive the opium?—I do not consider, my Lord, that they are free in any way. If the provisions of the Che-foo Convention are not carried out, then we fall back upon the old treaty. That is the position so far as I can apprehend it.

763. You are aware that Sir James Fergusson has disavowed, on the part of the Government, any intention to use pressure on the part of the British Government to impose the consumption of opium upon the Chinese?—"Pressure" is a word with a very wide meaning. There are several kinds of pressure. I do not believe that there might be military pressure, but there is another kind of pressure.

764. You know what the state of public opinion in this country is on the subject, do you not?—I do know; but I do not think that it is thoroughly awakened on the subject.

765. (*Mr. Pease.*) Have you ever heard the Chinese defend the practice?—I have never heard a single Chinaman, so far as Chinese Christians or heathens are concerned, defend the practice. Every single one of them condemns it; and I may mention for the information of the Commission, that about 12 months ago the Pope sent out a rescript to the Catholic Missionaries enjoining them to condone in no wise the participation of their Chinese converts in the opium habit.

766. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) How do you explain this growing prevalence of the habit accompanied by a general condemnation and detestation of it?—To the weakness of human nature—that is the way in which I explain it.

767. Is Chinese human nature especially weak?—It is especially weak on the point of opium.

768. In your experience of China, did you see any spirit drinking—dram drinking?—I have known of spirit drinking; but the Chinaman never goes to the street when he drinks spirits; he does it inside his own home, and it is a very rare thing to see a drunken Chinaman in the streets of a Chinese city. I am acquainted with three large cities, one that had 500,000 people in it before the rebels visited it; my own city, the city of Amoy with 250,000; and the city of Chin-chew with 300,000. I am thoroughly acquainted with them, and I have very seldom seen in them a drunken Chinaman. I know perfectly well that there was a great deal of drinking of the Chinese raw spirit; but it was always done in the privacy of their own homes. No one in China would compare the two for a moment; the tyranny of the one habit is entirely different from the tyranny of the other.

769. The Chinese raw spirit is, I think, a mild spirit, is it not?—No; it is the very opposite; it is a very coarse ardent spirit.

770. It is made from rice, is it not?—It is made from sweet potatoes to a large extent in our part of the country.

771. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Are there tobacco smokers in China?—The Chinese are almost all tobacco smokers.

772. The tobacco-smoking habit is general in China?—Oh! I would go beyond that—universal I would say.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. D. MATHESON, called in and examined.

790. (*Chairman.*) We know your name well in connexion with Chinese commerce. You have been connected with a Chinese house of business, have you not?—Yes, I have. I went out to China in the year 1837, after a preparatory training in business, with the intention of entering the office of Jardine, Matheson, and Co., and with the probability in due time of being promoted if I was fit for it. The business then was carried on in Canton. A general business was carried on by the firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co. They acted as commission agents in goods from all parts of the world, and besides that, they had a large business in the contraband opium trade. Being contraband, it was outside the Port of Canton. There was a receiving ship at the mouth of the Canton river which received the cargoes of opium from India, and then from the receiving ship the clippers carried cargoes to stations at different parts along the China coast.

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773. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Among women and children?—I have not seen children smoking, and I have very seldom seen women smoking tobacco.

774. (*Mr. Pease.*) Would opium smokers smoke tobacco?—Yes, they do.

775. (*Chairman.*) Has any estimate been formed of the number of Chinese converts to Christianity?—In my own mission, which has been one of the most successful in China, we have about 4,000 persons in the full communion of our church.

776. Do you know what the figures are with regard to the other missions?—I should say somewhere about 50,000.

777. The total for the whole of China?—I should think so. I mean the Protestants.

778. And the Roman Catholics?—I cannot form any estimate of them. The Roman Catholic Mission with us is almost a purely traditional one. It is not aggressive; it has simply descended from previous generations. I have never met with a Roman Catholic priest that preached in the streets of any Chinese city. I have been acquainted with some of them, and have one or two of them amongst my own personal friends.

779. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Are the converts drawn from one class of society, or pretty evenly?—The converts in every case are drawn principally from the agricultural and the artizan classes.

780. The artizan classes?—The artizan classes, yes.

781. Do many of the *literati* come within the influence of the missionaries?—A very few indeed. We would never have any trouble with the Chinese people, but for the *literati* and the mandarins. An ignorant people, they are hounded on by vile stories about our making babies' eyes into opium, and by other stories of that kind; but as far as the people themselves are concerned, I have moved up and down amongst them for 21 years and never was more kindly treated in my own country than I was treated in China.

782. But there are, I presume, some of the merchants, and of the higher shopkeeping class?—Not many with us. Our mission is almost entirely composed of the agricultural classes.

783. And artizans?—And artizans, but more of the former.

784. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) The peasantry?—They are all proprietors, the peasants there, of their own fields.

785. *Mr. Mowbray.* Is that so all over China?—I only speak of my own part of China. I would not dare to speak of any other part of China.

786. I mean the 4,000?—That is within the area which I have already indicated.

787. Exactly; it does not represent all your communion all over China in point of numbers?—We have, fortunately, confined ourselves to one part of China.

788. Well, then, it does practically represent your total strength?—Practically it represents the membership in connexion with the Presbyterian Mission of the Church of England.

789. (*Mr. Pease.*) There is a considerable number of adherents, I suppose?—Oh, twice as many, if not three times as many, and we have about three thousand at least of baptised children.

791. It was a smuggling trade; as described by you it was more or less a smuggling trade, the trade that the house conducted in opium?—It was, in a sense. I was going to explain, because I wish to do all credit to those who were then in business there. The opium was taken by the clippers to the different stations, and then at those stations the Chinese opium dealers came out and purchased the opium and paid silver for it as the most convenient medium. It will be seen, from what I have said, how easily the charge of smuggling was evaded by transferring it to the shoulders of the Chinese opium dealers.

792. They did the act of smuggling?—Yes, it reminds me of *Æsop's* fable about the boys and the frogs. The boys were amusing themselves by throwing stones at the frogs in a pond until a number of them were killed. At last a frog came to the top and said,

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"Stop your cruel sport, for what is play to you is death to us." And so in the same way what enriched the British merchants and the East India Company was death to the Chinese. This is merely an illustration of what was really the fact; it was smuggling, undoubtedly.

793. What is your opinion as to the effect of the opium habit upon the Chinese people?—I have not come to testify so much about that; but rather about the way in which the Government acted in the matter.

794. In the early stages?—Yes.

795. Of course it is of the past, but we would be glad to hear a brief statement from you about the circumstances connected with the seizure of the opium in 1839?—I will be quite brief, my Lord. The Emperor Taou-Kwang in the year 1839 became very uneasy about the spread of the opium traffic. I believe one of his sons had died of opium-smoking; but I am not quite sure if that is the case. The consequence was that edicts were issued all over the country that it should be put a stop to. As this failed, he took the course of sending Commissioner Lin to strike at the root of the evil, by imprisoning the merchants in Canton, and by compelling them to deliver up all the opium that was on the coast. I may say also that at the same time there was an order that all Chinese opium smokers should be punished by death, and I, myself, saw a Chinese opium smoker hanging on a cross in the agonies of death, only a little distance from the factories. We were imprisoned in the factories for a short time, until the whole of that opium was given up—all that was on the coast; and I was one of 16 who were specially marked out as being connected with the opium trade, but we were allowed to go on condition that we should never return to Canton again.

796. Have you anything further to say about the early history of the question?—Soon afterwards, in 1841, Hong Kong was occupied, and all the merchants, foreign and British, went to Hong Kong, and that became the depôt for opium, and the place from which the clippers were despatched to the coast—just as before, to the different stations on the coast.

797. From your experience at Canton and from your experience at Hong Kong, have you any recollection of any particular incidents that influenced the view that you took upon the opium question?—At that time I had not formed any opinion as to the character of the traffic. I tried to do my duty to the partners, and I did not think more about it. But in due time I was made a partner in Hong Kong, and then I felt a responsibility which brought questionings, and convictions upon my conscience that compelled me to say that I could not continue in this traffic.

One of the FIRST INCIDENTS was as follows:—I went in a clipper to visit Fuh-chow, one of the stations, and I was very much struck with this fact, that here were two opium-receiving ships selling opium to the people of Fuh-chow, and on the other hand there was the mission station and several missionaries working away trying to bring the same people to the knowledge of the truth. On going ashore, I was struck with the wretchedness of the people from opium-smoking, and with the two opposing forces—the opium trade on the one side, and the missions on the other. It was almost impossible to have any missionary work there at all, and I lately met with an extract from the letter of Archdeacon Wolfe, now at Fuh-chow, confirming this. He wrote in the year 1891:—"One of the towns held "as a mission station for 20 years or more by an "American Board of Missions has at last to be "abandoned, and, I think, very properly, for the "degradation of an opium-smoking town is of that "peculiar and intensely low and hardened type that, "humanly speaking, it seems almost impossible to "make any impression of a moral or spiritual nature "upon the inhabitants of a place given up to the "degrading vice of opium smoking."

A SECOND INCIDENT was:—I went down to see Singapore, and visited my friend Dr. Little, who was a leading doctor at that time. He showed me some of the opium dens and spoke of the terrible havoc opium-smoking was making among the Chinese population.

798. Is this recent?—No, but it goes on now. I believe the principal revenue for the support of Singapore comes from opium and drink.

799. But what you saw was some years ago?—Yes, many years ago. Then I have often spoken to the Chinese, who have said that the vice is just as bad as

it can be, and I remember one opium dealer coming to me to buy opium, who remarked: "the people say "that the man who is a smoker of opium is making his "coffin." He was doing so himself.

A THIRD INCIDENT was:—When managing partner for a short time I sent a man to Bombay to be an inspector of opium before shipment to China. He was a fine young fellow and we had great confidence in him. He did his work well, but after two years he began to get emaciated and miserable-looking, he was an opium victim, and at last he was obliged to give up his employment, and I do not suppose that he had long to live. I felt it rather on my conscience.

A FOURTH INCIDENT:—In 1847 when I was partner one of our clippers on the coast was boarded by pirates and plundered, and the officers were murdered and nearly all the crew. There was a notice in the newspapers of it, and they said that the opium clipper and the cargo belonged to myself, instead of using the name of the firm. I thought it was rather unfair to do that, but it stung my conscience, and convinced me that as a Christian I could no longer continue in the opium traffic. It was intolerable to me to continue in such a business, and I sent home my resignation to the senior partner who was in this country. I left China finally in 1849.

800-1. What is your recommendation with reference to the policy you would like to see adopted by the Government of India in relation to opium?—Well, it would be very like what others have said. I should wish to sweep away the poppy plantations from the plains of India and to sweep away that unrighteous and paltry revenue of four millions, and then to give India the opportunity of a new career of prosperity, which would also give the same to China and allow of her taking a great deal more of British manufactures than she has been doing in the past. And we have a remarkable illustration of that I think. There is Burmah on the one side of China, and Japan on the other. Opium in Burmah is giving constant trouble now; whereas Japan, in having secured its exclusion by treaty, is pursuing a prosperous career.

802. Are there any other observations that you would like to make?—I did wish to say that when the opium was given up under Taou-Kwang it was a heroic attempt on the part of a Government ignorant of international law, but it was a sad failure. The opium merchants appealed to our Home Government, and a succession of grievous wars began, slaying thousands of innocent Chinese, from 1841 to 1858, when opium was finally legalised by the treaty of Tientsin, and the United States Minister said on that occasion to the Bishop of Victoria, "It is the triumph of successful crime." Let me add that during the first war of 1841 the British nation was struck to the heart by the terrible disaster of the Cabul massacre, and in the year 1857-8—when opium was legalised—the British nation was agonised by that terrible Indian mutiny. I do not make any reflections in the matter, but that is so. Then I just wish to add that Lord Shaftesbury, who took a great interest in the question, said, "The opium "traffic is a sin and a shame to this country. Do not "cease to testify to this. Sooner or later they will "have to give it up. It is a sin and a shame." I was struck with those words and I have never forgotten them, and I trust we shall go on endeavouring to get this matter put right.

803. (Sir J. Lyall.) I have seen it stated that the opium-smuggling system, which you began your evidence by describing, gave rise to a great deal of piracy, and that that was one of the bad features of it; can you explain how that was?—The valuable cargoes of opium were a great temptation to pirates. There was an enormous number of pirates. When our navy was there I think they destroyed about 250 pirate ships.

804. They were looking out for these clippers?—Yes. I wish to say, by the way, which I did not before, that the houses of Jardine, Matheson, and Co. and Dent and Co., who had nearly the whole of this coast business, were honourable men, and that the captains of the clippers and the receiving ships were honourable men. We must not suppose that they were a lot of scoundrels or buccaneers or anything of that sort. The Chinese opium dealers bribed the mandarins always, and things went quietly and smoothly, and the only people that the clippers had to be afraid of were those pirates; and, as I told you, one of those clippers, the "Omega," was plundered and nearly the whole of the crew murdered.

805. Everybody, I think, at the present day is sorry, so far as it is true you know, that force was ever used to open the Chinese market to opium; but do you not think as a merchant that it would be enough to make the Chinese Government now absolutely free to prohibit the import of opium, or do you think it necessary to go further?—I should be very sorry if the Indian Government did not take the first step and endeavour to cease to grow the opium.

806. Part of the opium exported from India is grown directly under the direction of the Government?—Yes.

807. But a great part is merely the growth as it were of the native States, which has been always more or less exported to China and other countries from time preceding our rule even?—But they are also under the Government influence; they must grow so much or so little according as it is wanted.

808. No, they may grow as much as ever they like?—I was under the impression that considerable influence was brought to bear upon them.

809. (Mr. Pease.) If we lowered the tariff that would induce them to grow it?—Yes.

810. (Sir J. Lyall.) We began by putting on a very low tariff upon it originally. It began at 125, it went up to 175, and has gone on gradually to 400, 500, 600, and sometimes it has been 700. Now it has gone back again. Would it not be a very unusual thing for a Government to absolutely stop the export of an article of commerce?—Well, it is the immorality of the thing, that is the question.

811. You think that the immorality of the thing would justify that course?—Certainly.

812. But would not the same ground of immorality then make it obligatory upon the English Government to stop the export of spirits?—There is no comparison; they would not compare at all.

813. No comparison in Africa, for instance?—Oh, well, the natives of Africa have no power of self control.

814. No comparison in Australia and New Zealand, where a population has been actually wiped off the ground by the use of spirits?—I will not allow in my own mind any comparison between spirits and opium. Opium is a curse. Spirits can be used in moderation; opium cannot.

815. We know that spirits have swept populations absolutely out of existence in various parts of the world?—Yes, those poor and ignorant savages.

816. Well then would not the same grounds—I may say the same moral grounds—make it incumbent upon us to stop the export of spirits; and I suppose nothing has done greater harm in India under our rule, particularly in more recent years, than the growth of the habit of drinking wine and spirits among the upper

classes in India?—We know that that is only in moderation; at all events, it is perhaps like the drinking of wine 30 or 40 or 50 years ago—when gentlemen sat down to the table with their wine. That fashion is going out now, and I suppose it is only the same thing in India with the upper classes, but I am not sufficiently acquainted with India to speak with confidence as to that.

817. A missionary gentleman who gave evidence just now said, that the Chinese were weaker in those respects than we are: that is in resisting any kind of intoxication, that if they did use it at all they used it to excess?—I think he meant chiefly the opium.

818. Well, he said it of all, and Dr. Pringle said the same thing of the Indians, that is, he said it was equally the case with them, whether it was wine or whether it was opium, or whether it was hemp, they never took it except to get drunk?—Yes, of opium and hemp.

819. That being the case is there any strong line of distinction between the morality of allowing wine and spirits to be exported from England, and our allowing for instance the Malwa opium to be exported to China?—I think there is a very wide difference. Hemp, of course, does not go with the whiskey, it goes with the opium, the hemp is used to make the opium more deadly.

820. Is there not one incident in which our practice in India as regards, for instance the Malwa opium stands out in a very advantageous light in comparison to the English practice of importing spirits. I mean; I think in England when spirits are exported they are exported free of duty, the duty is not imposed; in India when the Malwa opium is exported it is subject to a very heavy duty?—Well, that does the Indian revenue a great deal of good.

821. Yes, but if that, I mean to say, is morally wrong, surely it is still more morally wrong to export spirits free of duty?—I cannot put spirits and opium together at all.

822. (Mr. Pease.) You are aware, I think Mr. Matheson, that the English Government have recognised their responsibility by prohibiting the importation of spirits in Africa, as parties to the Brussels Anti-Slavery Convention?—Yes, the people in Africa are of course of a very low type.

823. The English Government has placed the restriction upon the importation as parties to that convention?—Yes.

824. I believe by your obedience to your convictions upon this question of opium, you have prejudiced your own pecuniary position to a very considerable extent. That is so, is it not?—Well, as far as that goes it has, but it has not injured my position in society I hope.

The witness withdrew.

Dr. WILLIAM GAULD called in and examined.

825. (Chairman.) You are a medical missionary, are you not? Sir William Roberts has kindly undertaken to conduct your examination?—I am.

826. (Sir W. Roberts.) Where was your experience?—At Swatow, in the Canton province.

827. Is it confined to China?—Well, the last 12 years I have been in London in medical work, in charge of the Mildmay Hospital, Bethnal Green.

828. You have no experience of India?—No experience of India.

829. But you have some years' experience at Swatow?—I was for 16 years a missionary in Swatow, with an interval of two years home on furlough between.

830. Had you a dispensary there?—I had a hospital there with the largest in-patient practice of any hospital at that time in China.

831. It was not merely an outdoor dispensary?—No, I had a dispensary practice as well; the last year I was in China we had over 2,000 in-patients in the year.

832. You were, in fact, engaged in these duties continuously all that time?—All that time.

833. What is your experience in regard to the use of opium; was it very prevalent there?—It was very prevalent in some parts of the district. It was very pre-

valent amongst the literary classes and the Mandarin classes. It was almost universal among the chair coolies, and we could scarcely get a teacher who did not smoke opium.

834. It was what you would call a generalised habit then?—It was very largely prevalent, but not so prevalent as in some parts of China.

835. Scarcely so prevalent as drinking beer in this country?—Not so prevalent as drinking beer, I should say.

836. In what ways did you find that the Chinamen used opium?—They used it chiefly in smoking a prepared mixture of the opium, and I may mention that at Swatow it was almost wholly Indian opium that was used, scarcely any native opium, when I first went to China; it is 13 years since I left. There were times when the Chinese opium smokers could not get their opium, and then they bought pills or morphia to tide them over the difficulty; for instance, one year we sold about 50,000 pills at our mission, ostensibly to cure opium smoking, but I found after a while that these pills were not to such an extent used to cure opium smoking as to warrant me to go on selling them to the Chinese. I never charged anything for any other drugs, but for these pills we charged them, simply because they had the money to spend on opium,

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and we thought it right to charge them for the pills which they wanted to cure it. But we found a large number of these pills were used simply to tide them over a difficulty. I think that is important in connexion with this—it has been a question whether smoking opium has the same effect as eating opium. Now, as a matter of fact, the craving for the opium is allayed by the eating of these opium pills, and by the eating of morphia, and the use of morphia is largely increasing in China. I may say in that connexion that from one of our leading firms of druggists, one of the partners of that firm says 50,000 ounces of morphia are sent out in one year to China.

837. I daresay you are aware that it has been said that it is impossible as to opium, that the alkaloid of the opium—morphia—can be taken in by smoking?—I believe that is the theory. At the same time we know that there are other alkaloids in opium besides the morphia, and the fact remains that whatever of the opium is non-volatile there is still enough left to do the mischief, because that we see before our eyes. The fact that a craving is aroused of such an intense kind by the smoking of opium, which craving is allayed by other preparations of opium, shows that in essence the nature of these is the same; they may not be the same in degree but they are the same in essence.

838. Has it been suggested that it may be partly carried mechanically?—I never heard any statement to that effect.

839. No explanation has been given in fact?—No; but the fact remains.

840. The fact remains?—Yes.

841. Then these habits are really in your view interchangeable?—I believe they are.

842. Morphia eating?—Morphia eating and opium smoking and opium eating.

843. Would you regard that fact as having a bearing on the mischief done by the opium habit?—I do not exactly understand your question, sir.

844. Well this is the question: What is the importance of this in considering the evil of the opium habit?—I have already given my explanation of that in saying that the different kinds of opium have the same effect essentially on the system, and that it is not sufficient to say that because morphia is non-volatile therefore the opium does no harm; something in the opium does the harm.

845. It may be some allied alkaloid produced by the heat on morphia?—Yes.

846. Now what experience have you had of malaria: is Swatow a malarial district?—It is; there is a great deal of malaria in the district.

847. Do you think that the use of opium there is practised in any way as a prophylactic or prohibitive against fever?—As a prophylactic I do not think it is in existence practically, and as a cure for malaria I think it is very little used. The natives use different kinds of drugs for their fevers, and what they do use is so inefficient that they are only too glad to get our quinine.

848. Then in your experience opium smoking is not a prophylactic against malaria?—I do not think so; more than that, I think the opium smoker when he does take the fever is less likely to get well over it than a man who does not smoke opium.

849. What is your opinion of opium smoking on the literary class; you said that a good number of them smoked?—It is very prevalent amongst them. I have a letter which has lately been received from one of our ablest missionaries at Swatow, a man who is not at all given to exaggerated statements, and he mentions one or two facts which it will not take longer than a minute or two to read.

850. We shall be very glad to hear them?—He says: "If you are not tired of facts about opium, I will note one or two incidents of the last few days." (This letter was written on the 1st August.) "1. A young non-Christian teacher of the language was lately employed here. He had been staying away for some days from his work. I sent to inquire the cause, he having sent a message to say that he was ill. The Chinese here did not think his word could be taken for it, 'for he is an opium smoker.'" (That is their remark.) "A man was therefore sent to see. His report was, 'He says he is ill.' I asked, 'Is he ill.' Answer, 'an opium-smoking man, how can I

'tell?' 'Did he seem ill?' 'A man who smokes "opium as he does is always ill.'" (That was the native verdict.) "2. Another teacher, my own writer, who is an opium smoker, has been absent for a week from his work. He is assisting me in Scripture translation, and his Chinese scholarship and tact make him indispensable to me. His illness is the direct and significant result of opium smoking. It is accompanied with a complete lack of rallying power, which is another of the characteristic results of the habit. 3. A Chinese friend, not a Christian, or rather not a Church member, wrote to me the other day, asking me to get the mission to undertake the guardianship of two of his sons, and the management of the funds which he is providing to meet the expense of giving them a good English education. He is not likely to live long, and says he cannot trust his Chinese friends, but has complete confidence in us. The sons whom he wishes to commit to our care are the two youngest, and his chief anxiety is so to arrange matters that the money shall not come into the power of his eldest son; and why does he so distrust the son? Because, although he is not a regular opium smoker, he has begun to take it occasionally." (I think that is an important point), "and 'therefore,' says the father, 'he is no longer of any use, and if he got control of the money would speedily squander it.'" (that is his idea of a son who is only beginning to take it). "For this reason the father deliberately chooses to will the bulk of his money out of the family, and to leave it to the care of the missionaries, as the only way of securing that the youngest boys shall, after his death, get the benefit of it." One instance more: "4. Just as I write a fourth instance occurs. I learn that another teacher on our staff is also absent from illness. When he first came to the mission he was a rather heavy smoker of opium. He was thin and emaciated, with a bad colour. After a time he was induced to break off the habit. With the help of special treatment in our hospital he succeeded in doing so, after a period of struggle and severe suffering. An immediate and very marked improvement in his appearance was the result. He became fatter, and a new look of health and energy appeared in his features. No one who knew him could fail to notice the change. This went on for two or three years until, in an evil moment, he was tempted to resort to opium again for relief from some temporary pain. The habit returned, and his healthy look disappeared again. His health became unsatisfactory and uncertain. He would fain have back his liberty, and speaks of trying to recovering it, but it will cost him a harder struggle even than before. With three teachers disabled in our staff, we ourselves lose much time, and suffer not a little inconvenience. Why then do we employ opium smokers? Partly, I am sorry to say, because it is difficult to find a literary man here who is not an opium smoker, and partly because employment by foreigners, especially in a sea-port town like Swatow, is not much coveted, and men in an independent position will not come. We can only command the services of men to whom the small salary we give is a strong inducement, and such men are nearly always opium smokers, men who have forfeited their independence, and are under strong compulsion to find money wherever they can. The smoker is heavily handicapped." That is a letter written in the beginning of August last.

851. Is it your own experience that the literary classes are a good deal addicted to opium smoking?—Yes, most of the literary men that I came across in my experience at Swatow were addicted to opium smoking.

852. I suppose you could not possibly give us any general idea in per-centages?—No, I cannot give per-centages. I remember on one occasion asking a patient what was the proportion in his village smoking opium. He said "Ten per cent. of the adult males."

853. Have you noticed whether among the opium smokers at Swatow there are some who smoke opium regularly but moderately?—The term *moderate* is misapplied when used in reference to opium smoking. I think that in that respect opium essentially differs from alcohol. I do not think that we would hold wine, for instance, to be a poison in itself, or beer, but I hold that opium is a poison, essentially a poison, and that there is no moderate use of it apart from what is used as medicine, that the moment a healthy man takes opium he has taken something that will injure him.

854. Apart from theory is that your experience?—That is my experience, and there is a peculiar seduc-



tion about opium which carries a man very rapidly into the habitual use of it. I can sympathise with a man because in my own experience, before I left Swatow the first time, to come home, I was ill from chronic dysentery, and for a good many nights I had to take an opiate medicinally. I determined to stop it. The first night I stopped it I remember the perfect misery I was in, the utter feeling of helplessness and misery all over, as if I were going to die. I know what it is in opium smokers, when that was my own experience from one little dose a day for some time.

855. You would not recognise that the effects of opium on one race differs very profoundly from the effect of opium on another?—I do not believe it does; I believe that its effect in different races may differ in degree, but not in essence.

856. In that respect it must differ very much from alcohol?—I think it does differ from alcohol, and that brings up a point which I think my experience of the past 12 years enables me to speak upon with some confidence. It has been said that opium and liquor are of the same nature, and that the one is as bad as the other or as good as the other. Now, I have been working for the last 12 years in Bethnal Green, in one of the worst slums in London, and I have seen what drink is. I am not here to say that drink is a good thing; it is a horribly bad thing there, and I could not speak too strongly upon it, but the difference between the hold which opium has and alcohol has upon the human being is not to be compared. I remember a Chinese graduate coming to me at Swatow once, he was one of the leading men of his village. He came and stayed in the hospital and asked me to try and get him cured of the opium habit. He had been smoking for a long time, and I did my best, but the man, in spite of all my efforts, was brought to death's door and his misery was great. He was evidently dying. I said you cannot go on with this, you must have your opium pipe, or you will die. He got his pipe and he recovered. Again he came to me and said "I want you to cure me of this opium." I said "Graduate, you saw how it was before. You were at death's door, I dare not venture. I will not take the responsibility." "Well," he said, "I will take the responsibility, whether I live or die, try and get me cured of this opium." We tried again, and I am happy to say that by care and nursing and drugs, he did get round; he recovered from his opium habit, but the suffering of that man from intense irritability, diarrhoea, feverishness, and sleeplessness was very great. I do not wish to see again anything of the kind. That is with the opium. Then with regard to the alcohol, I believe I have got down at Bethnal Green specimens of drunkards of the very worst type, men and women saturated with drink. When they come into the hospital, we at once cut off the alcohol—it is as nearly as possible (being right in the slum) a temperance hospital. We only use alcohol in rare cases. We cut off the alcohol at once, and I have never seen any apparent distress from doing so like what I have seen in China

with the opium, and I hold that the opium takes such a grip of the system as alcohol never does.

857. Even in those persons who use opium moderately, habitually, it is difficult?—The smaller the quantity, of course, the less the mischief, but there is mischief, and the longer they use it, the larger the quantity they use as a rule. It shows itself in the sallowness of the complexion and the appearance of the eye, and emaciation eventually. I remember a young man coming to me in a dying state. He died of uncontrollable diarrhoea in a few hours, just simply from excessive opium smoking, nothing else.

858. I suppose you confirm the evidence that we have had before, that there have been no organic diseases like cirrhosis, or other degenerations with opium as with alcohol?—The appearance of the confirmed opium smoker, the hectic look, and the dark blue of his lips, and the jaundiced look of the eye, show that there must be some disorganisation somewhere. I do not think that it has been as yet scientifically gone into. I do not think any medical missionary has as yet gone into that investigation, as to whether there are particular diseases caused by the opium alone, but the opium smoker is more ready to fall a victim to diseases than the healthy man.

859. I presume that you found that your missionary labours were rendered more difficult by the prevalence of the opium habit?—They were so. In the winter time I have very often left my hospital for a time in charge of the native assistants of my own training, and travelled into the country with a brother missionary, a preacher. We used to preach in the open air, in the towns and villages, and almost invariably there would be someone in the crowd who would start this objection about the opium, "You bring us the opium, why do you come to teach us righteousness?"

860. I mean, you did not think it was what you might call a specious or colloquial objection?—No, they really felt it, I believe. The large part of the hatred the Chinese have to us is owing to this opium question. I remember, as an illustration of how they connected opium with the English nation, one day in the street opposite the hospital door there was a man selling beautifully-made figures, all nicely painted, of Chinese warriors and others. Amongst them there was one figure of an Englishman with an umbrella over his head (they usually associate us with the umbrella used as a protection from the sun), and in his other hand he had a large ball of opium. That was the idea of the Englishman in the mind of the Chinese.

861. That was at Swatow?—A ball of opium in one hand, and in the other an umbrella. That was how he was represented to the crowd.

862. I think you said that the opium used at Swatow was Indian opium?—It was Indian opium. I think now it is mixed, but at that time it was Indian opium.

863. Have you any further statement that you would like to make to the Commission?—No, sir, I think that is all I wish to say.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 a.m.

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

### FOURTH DAY.

Thursday, 15th September 1893.

PRESENT:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.

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

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

Sir CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I.,  
*Acting Secretary.*

Sir JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I., Member of the Council of India, called and examined.

864. (*Chairman.*) You have had a long residence in India, I believe?—Yes.

865. How many years were you there?—About 38 years.

866. And you have filled numerous posts, ultimately reaching the very highest posts in the service?—It is hardly an exaggeration to say that I filled pretty well every post that a member of the Civil Service

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Dr. W. Gauld

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could fill, from the most subordinate posts to those of a district officer, and commissioner, and chief commissioner of Oudh, and Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and I was twice Member of Council; altogether I was nine years a member of the Government of India, and for the last eight years I have been a member of the Council of India.

867. It goes without saying that you have been brought into personal communication with all classes of our native fellow subjects in India?—Yes, I ought rather to say the parts of India with which I have been personally acquainted. I have never been in Bombay or Madras except passing through.

868. Still you have had very wide opportunities of being brought into personal communication with the natives of India?—Certainly.

869. Can you give us, before you turn to other subjects, any statistics of the opium revenue, or shall we obtain that through another witness?—I think I can give evidence upon that point regarding the revenue.

870. Your last post in India was in charge of the finance, was it not?—Yes.

871. Well, having been in charge of the finance in India, it has necessarily been your duty to consider the question which is before the Commission in all its bearings, and we should be glad to hear your views on the various matters which are included in the Order of Reference to the Commission. We will take first the general question. I believe your views were comprehensively stated in the memorandum which you wrote on the occasion of the reading of a paper on the opium question by Mr. Batten, which paper was read before the Society of Arts in April last?—Yes; if you would allow that to be read I do not think that I could express my opinion on the general subject more fully than I did then.

872. I know that you have been kind enough to attend to-day at considerable personal inconvenience, and the Commission would be glad to lighten your labours in every possible way; and understanding as we do that that memorandum represents your views on the general question, I think it would be a relief to you and very advantageous to the Commission that the memorandum should be read to us?—Yes.

*Sir C. Bernard* read the memorandum, which was as follows:—

"I passed some thirty-eight years of my life in India, and I should not be very greatly exaggerating if I were to say that, during that time, I held almost every office which a member of the Civil Service in India can hold, beginning from offices of little importance to the very highest posts in the service of the State. I was brought into personal communication with all classes, from the greatest princes to the humblest ryots. I am entitled to say that I can speak with some knowledge of the facts, as they regard the people of India and the policy of the Government. Now, I have always felt in regard to this controversy that the object to be aimed at is to learn the truth and to act upon it. Thousands of excellent people in this country, of whom I desire to speak with all respect, because although I know them to be mistaken, I must fully recognise the perfect honesty and nobility of their aims, believe that we are ruining with a horrible poison millions of Chinese, and that, not content with this iniquity, we are encouraging the consumption of opium among our own subjects in India with similar terrible consequences. If this were true, I should say for my part that whatever might be the results to the Government or to the people, pecuniary, or economical, or political, or otherwise, however difficult or dangerous it might be to find substitutes for the loss that the suppression of opium cultivation in India might entail, there could be no doubt about our duty. I am confident that when Mr. Batten tells us that the total value of the poppy crops of India exceeds 13,000,000*l.* sterling a year, he understates rather than overstates the fact. I know that all that Sir Lepel Griffin has told us about Sikhs and Rajputs—the most martial races of India—and the political dangers that would follow on the attempt to interfere with the consumption of opium, to which they have been accustomed for centuries, is perfectly true. Nevertheless, if I believed that the Government was committing the abominable iniquity with which it is charged, of demoralising and destroying millions of people, I should say that, whatever be the consequences, this iniquity ought not to be allowed to last for a single day during which we can prevent it. But what are the facts? It is impossible for me now to enter into the evidence

on which my conclusions have been based. I can only give the conclusions themselves, which the experience of a lifetime has impressed upon me. I believe it to be proved to demonstration that opium is not this terrible poison. The vast majority of those who consume it consume it in moderation, and so consumed there is no one of the stimulants that enter largely into the consumption of the world that is more innocent. I will go further, and say more beneficial. It is as innocent as the wines of France or Italy are to the people of those countries, or as undoctored beer is to the people of England or Germany. Like all other good gifts of nature, it may be abused, but even when this happens, whatever it may be to the individual, it is less harmful to society than the alcohol, which is the curse of our own country. This opium question has two aspects; one as it concerns the people of India, the other as it concerns the Chinese. As regards the people of India generally, I would ask you first to remember what India is. It is a vast continent as large as the whole of civilised Europe, with a greater population, for it contains some 280,000,000 of people. It consists of a multitude of countries differing from each other far more widely than the countries of Europe differ among themselves. In some of those countries, as we have been told, and as I shall have again to mention, certain classes of the people have from time immemorial consumed opium. But these classes constitute, numerically, an absolutely insignificant proportion of the population of India. Speaking in general terms, the consumption of opium in India is so infinitesimally small, that I may say, without exaggeration, that no opium question exists at all. We are told, however, that the consumption of opium has been rapidly increasing, and that it has been fostered by our Government. These statements are absolutely baseless. The increase of population under British rule has been enormous; but there is every reason to believe that the consumption of opium in India, under native rule, 150 years ago, was actually greater than it is now. However this may be, and without attempting to go back to times of which we know comparatively little, this at least is certain, that, although the population goes on rapidly increasing, the consumption of opium, instead of increasing, has diminished. It is certainly smaller now than it was, for instance, ten years ago. This has been the result of the policy of the Government of India. By a vigorous system of excise, it raises the price of opium as far as is consistent with the prevention of extensive smuggling, and reduces consumption to a minimum. The sole present danger is that this policy may be carried too far; and some authorities believe that this is already happening. The danger is that by making opium too dear and difficult to obtain, we may not only encourage smuggling, a comparatively small evil, but may cause people who have been content with the moderate use of opium to have recourse to cheap and noxious stimulants procurable from weeds which, I may almost say, grow near every man's door. Although, as I have said, the consumption of opium by the people of India generally is infinitesimally small, it has been consumed for centuries by certain classes in Northern India. It is an indisputable fact, as Sir Lepel Griffin has told us, that these classes, especially the Rajputs and Sikhs, are precisely the finest races physically in all India. I have often thought that the best practical answer to those who inveigh against the use of opium would be, if such a thing were practicable, to bring one of our crack opium-drinking Sikh regiments to London, and exhibit them in Hyde Park. There is no more vigorous, manly, handsome race of men to be found, not only in India, but in the world. They are the flower of our Indian army, and one of the bulwarks of our empire, and yet the use of opium among them is almost universal. It has always seemed to me a significant fact that among all the passionate appeals to British ignorance, we never hear one word about the Sikhs. We hear a great deal about so-called opium dens, which, after all, are very few and far between, but we hear nothing about the constant consumption of opium among the finest populations of India. People talk glibly about suppressing by law the growth and consumption of opium in India. I have great faith in the power of folly and ignorance, but I trust that I may not see the day when the attempt is made to deprive Sikhs and Rajputs of—I will not say a luxury—but one of the innocent and beneficial necessities of their lives. I read the other day, referring to this subject, some remarks by a most accomplished writer, who speaks on Indian subjects with high authority—I hope Sir William Hunter

will pardon me for quoting him. He said that a law such as that to which I have just referred could only be enforced in British territories by bloodshed and arms, while in native States it could not be enforced at all. I might enlarge much more on such considerations. They involve issues of political gravity, the existence of which appears to be unknown and unsuspected in this country. I repeat, however, that these classes which consume opium, highly important as they are politically, are numerically an insignificant fraction of the Indian population, and that, so far as the people of India generally are concerned, no opium question really exists. I must now say something about China; but Mr. Batten and other gentlemen, who have spoken with the highest authority, have said so much on this part of the subject that I shall add very little, and I can add really nothing that is new. There can be no greater delusion than to suppose that China depends on India for her supply of opium. If no opium were exported from India, the consumption of China would remain practically unchanged. Indian opium in China is a luxury of the comparatively rich. If they were deprived of it, they would suffer as the richer classes would suffer here if they were deprived of the choicest vintages of Bordeaux and Burgundy, or if tobacco smokers got no more cigars from Cuba. In such a case, in this country, the frequenters of beer-shops and gin-palaces would be conscious of no hardship; and the population of China would be equally unconscious if it received no opium from India. A single province of China produces more opium than the whole Indian Empire. Whole provinces are covered with the poppy; the cultivation goes on increasing, without any interference on the part of the Government of China. Even, therefore, if it were true that the people of China are being ruined by opium, the cessation of imports from India would not diminish the evil. But it is certainly not true. The vast majority of the consumers of opium in China consume it in moderation; and it is, as I said before, as harmless as the wine and beer of Europe. Moreover, as Mr. Batten has told us, if the Government of China should wish to undertake the task of stopping the consumption of opium, and preventing the importation of opium from India, it can do so if it pleases. It can prohibit the importation, or can impose any restrictions that it likes. Meanwhile, there is nothing with which we need reproach ourselves. If, as I wrote myself some years ago, India is, in deference to ignorant prejudices, deprived of the revenues which she now obtains from opium, an act of folly and injustice will be perpetrated as gross as any that has ever been inflicted by a foreign Government on a subject nation. India now possesses the rare fortune of obtaining from one of her native products a great revenue, without the imposition of taxes on her own people; and we are asked to sacrifice the manifest and vital interests of those people, to whose good we are pledged by the highest duties, in hope of protecting others, against their will, from imaginary evils; in other words, to inflict certain injury in pursuit of a benevolent chimera, which must elude us. Truly, to use the words of Condorcet, '*L'enthousiaste ignorant est la plus terrible des bêtes féroces.*' I wish to say only one thing more, and it is that with which I began: what we want is the truth. How, I may be asked, if this widely-spread belief regarding India is erroneous, what is the explanation of its prevalence? My answer is, that the ignorance that prevails in this country regarding everything Indian is enormous. The ignorance about opium is on all fours with the ignorance on every other subject connected with India, and this ignorance is not confined to those who we expect to be ignorant, but extends to the most highly educated classes. It extends to all Indian subjects, history, geography, the condition and habits of the people, the constitution of the Government, in fact to everything. I will give an illustration which always seems to me to have a useful bearing on this opium question. There are many curious delusions about India which it seems impossible to kill. When I hear educated Englishmen talking about opium, I am often reminded of some admirable remarks of Sir Henry Maine on Mr. Buckle's '*History of Civilisation.*' Mr. Buckle derives all the distinctive institutions of India, and the peculiarities of its people, from the fact that the exclusive food of the natives of India is rice. It follows from this, he tells us, that caste prevails, that oppression is rife, that rents are high, and that customs and law are stereotyped. I have no doubt that if Mr. Buckle had been asked he would have said that the same cause accounted for the consumption of opium in India. I sometimes ask my

English friends when they talk about opium what they suppose to be the ordinary food of the people of India. The almost universal answer given, perhaps with some air of displeasure that they should be asked such a foolish question, is that of course it is rice. I believe that nine-tenths of the educated men and women of this country believe this to be true. When they have not learnt such an elementary fact as this, that throughout the greater part of India rice is no more the ordinary food of the people than it is in England, how can we be surprised if they do not know the truth about opium. I cannot pretend to be hopeful that this ignorance will be dispelled before it has inflicted some ruinous injustice on the unfortunate people of India. In conclusion, I would ask those who have accepted these views about the iniquity of the Indian Government in regard to opium, to ponder the words of a wise and benevolent man—John Stuart Mill. He had better means of knowledge and knew more about India than almost any Englishman that I have heard of who had not lived long in that country, and he declared his conviction that our Government there had been 'not only one of the purest Governments in intention, but one of the most beneficent in act ever known among mankind.' This was true when it was written, and it is truer now. I believe that there is no Government in the world that strives so honestly and resolutely to think of nothing but the highest interests of the people it governs. I believe that there is no country in the world in which the men who carry on the administration are more able and upright, or have a more true regard for the welfare of those committed to their care. We who have spent our lives in India are not all fools or impostors. It is, as Mr. Batten has most truly observed, remarkable that no single instance can be quoted of an Englishman who has been directly responsible for the well-being of India, and who has had an important voice in its administration, who has held the views against which I have been protesting. That, as Mr. Batten said, has been left for irresponsible persons in this country, whose want of knowledge is patent to everyone who has studied the question on the spot. When I hear the Government of India charged with the abominable wickedness of poisoning its own subjects, and poisoning millions of Chinese for the sake of filthy lucre, there is only one reason which prevents me from being filled with indignation, and this is that I know that these charges are the offspring of ignorance alone. Unfortunately this does not make them less serious, for of all the enemies to human progress ignorance is the most formidable, and is especially formidable when, as in this present case, it is combined with honest enthusiasm and an anxious desire for that which is right."

873. (*Chairman.*) Sir John, I understand it was your wish that the paper which has just been read to us should be accepted by the Commission as your general answer in relation to the first matter named in the Order of Reference to this Commission?—Yes.

874. Then I understand that it would save you some of the great strain which you might suffer from appearing before us to-day if we could take from you in another general answer the statement of your views with regard to the remaining matters included in the reference to the Commission. Perhaps it may be convenient that I should lead up to your answer by reading over the remaining clauses in the Order of Reference. We are asked to inquire into "the nature of the existing arrangements with the native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated." We are asked "to consider the effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable; (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures; (c) the loss of revenue," and so forth. We are asked to consider "whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom." We are asked to inquire as to "the consumption of opium by the different races, and in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people. The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes; (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures." Upon those matters you are prepared, I believe, to offer us a general state-

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ment, and I think it would be more convenient that you should be allowed to make that general statement, without interruption in the form of questions, reserving our questions until you have made your statement, and we may ask or put questions upon any point which is necessary for the purpose of elucidating the subject?—Yes. Before I begin to answer these particular points, I should like to say that I feel that it is extremely difficult, in fact, impossible, really to say anything on this subject that has not been said over and over again before, and I have learned with much regret that Mr. Batten, who is absent from England, will be unable to give evidence before the Commission, for I think that his paper before the Society of Arts gives a more complete and accurate summary of all the facts connected with this question than anything I know.

875. Then we may take it from you that you support and endorse the view of the question which was presented in Mr. Batten's paper?—Entirely, without a single exception.

876. We shall take care that the paper prepared by Mr. Batten is circulated to the different members of the Commission?—The first of the questions which your Lordship has now put is "the nature of the existing arrangements with the native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated." I am afraid that I cannot say very much upon the first part of the question—for I have very little personal knowledge of those States.

877. No doubt we shall be very fully informed upon those points when we are in India?—Yes, I understand that the existing arrangement under which an export duty is levied on every chest of opium, when it leaves the native States in transit to Bombay, was substituted in 1831 for an arrangement under which the opium-producing States sold to the British Government all the opium produced in those States, but that arrangement was found to work in a very unsatisfactory way for both parties. It involved very great and objectionable interference in the internal affairs of the States and was extremely distasteful to the chiefs, consequently the present system was substituted and agreements were entered into with the chiefs by which they agreed to prevent smuggling, and that all opium intended for export to Bombay should be sent by certain specified routes. I believe that those are the only real points of great importance which are provided for. On the one hand, we have no concern whatever with the cultivation of the poppy or the manufacture of the opium or the consumption of the opium in the native States, and they, on the other hand, have nothing at all to do with the opium after it passes the scales, as they are called, where it is weighed.

878. (*Mr. Pease.*) Could you give us the date of the altered arrangement?—1831, I think it was.

879. I thought the first one was 1831, and that was altered subsequently?—No, I think it has been in force ever since. I believe the existing system under which the transit of the opium is managed is provided for by rules passed under the Opium Act, No. 1, of 1878. In accordance with that Act the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited throughout the Bombay Presidency, and agreements were entered into with the small native States included within the Bombay Presidency, under which they also prohibited the cultivation of the poppy, and they undertook to prevent smuggling and to adopt necessary measures for preventing the illicit importation of opium into our territories.

880. (*Chairman.*) Is the opium brought to its final state of preparation for consumption in the native States?—Yes.

881. The participation of the Government of India in the cultivation and preparation of opium in the native States is limited to the imposition of an export duty, is it not?—Absolutely nothing else.

882. In Bengal the Government occupies a somewhat different position?—Quite different.

883. There the Government is a producer of the article?—Yes, or a manufacturer; virtually you may almost say a producer.

884. A manufacturer?—Yes.

885. Then we will not further interrupt you. Will you kindly proceed with your statement?—The second

part of Clause 2 says, "on what terms, if any, these arrangements can be with justice terminated." Well, with regard to that question I can make no suggestion. The question, I presume, signifies:—Is it possible to make any arrangement by which the production of opium in the native States could be stopped or by which its export could be prevented. I can make no suggestion at all upon that subject, for it appears to me to be quite impracticable. These States have, as Mr. Batten says in his paper, a population of some 22,000,000. They cover an immense area; the habit of consuming opium has prevailed among the people of those States, particularly the Rajputs, for centuries. No restrictions have ever been placed upon the cultivation of the poppy or on the sale of opium within the boundaries of those States, and although it is very difficult to attempt to give any accurate statistics on such a point, the annual value of the crops of these native States has been estimated as being at least 9,000,000 of tens of rupees. I can suggest no means by which, if such a course were thought expedient, the cultivation could be suppressed. It appears to me that political difficulties of the gravest nature would be the inevitable result of any attempt of the kind. I was referring to the arrangements which were in force before 1831. I do not know much about them in detail, but it has been stated that they were in the highest degree distasteful, both to the people and to the chiefs; that they were most harassing to the people; that they involved all sorts of interference in the internal affairs of the States; and I think there can be no doubt that an attempt to suppress the cultivation altogether would lead to results of the same kind but of an infinitely more serious character. I believe, as Mr. Batten has said, that nothing short of an army of British officials scattered over the States supervising agricultural operations could prevent the cultivation. It has been sometimes said that we might prevent the export of opium into our own territories by a customs line, but that customs line would be between 2,000 and 3,000 miles long, and the establishment of such a line would be quite out of the question. We have most ample evidence in India to show the results of the existence of such a line in the Inland Customs line which was formerly in existence for the taxation of salt, and which was only abolished when Lord Lytton was Viceroy. There is no doubt that that line was one of the greatest disgraces of our Indian Administration, and it is quite impossible, I think, that anyone acquainted with the facts could ever wish to see anything of the kind restored.

886. Did they maintain a cordon round the Portuguese territory of Goa in connexion with the salt duty?—Only within the last year or so, I think.

887. Did we take over the salt manufacture at Goa?—Our treaty with Portugal has come to an end, and we have, I believe, been obliged to put a cordon, but that is on a very small scale, and we may hope temporary. The next point, my Lord, is the effect on the finance of India.

888. The effect on the finance of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium?—With reference to this, I think the first thing that I should like to say is that the question of the five or six crores of rupees which constitute the annual net revenue at the present time of the Government of India, is a comparatively small part of the question. I think the real essential question is—what is the value of the Indian crop? The Government revenue is, as Mr. Batten has clearly shown in his paper, a comparatively small part of the annual profits derived by India from the cultivation of the poppy. It no more represents the interests involved than in this country the 26,000,000<sup>l</sup>. sterling that we raise by duties on spirits and wine and beer represent the value of all the liquors consumed in the United Kingdom. I believe the so-called Drink Bill is called 140,000,000<sup>l</sup>. a year. In India, besides the Government revenue and the revenue derived from opium by the native States, there are the profits of perhaps a couple of million cultivators, these are the profits of the land-owners, of the merchants, the dealers, and the middlemen, and it has also to be remembered that although opium is by far the most valuable product of the poppy, it is by no means the only product. Poppy seed and poppy oil contain no opium at all, and are perfectly wholesome products, and they are very largely consumed both in India and in Europe. Mr. Batten in his paper estimates the total value of the poppy crops at about 19,150,000 tens of rupees. As far as I can



judge, their actual value exceeds rather than falls short of that amount. Poppy seed is an important article of trade. It is largely used throughout India as a condiment with food and for making oil, and for the latter purpose it is also used in Europe. The exports of poppy seed from India are valued at nearly 500,000 tens of rupees, and the value of the internal and external trade in the poppy seed is believed to be not less than 4,000,000. I cannot criticise Mr. Batten's figures, but I think it would be a matter of great interest and importance if the Government of India were thoroughly to investigate the question of the annual value of the poppy crops and were to come to some conclusion on the subject, for they have very much better means than any private individuals of arriving at the truth. Until we know something with tolerable confidence on this point it is impossible to say what would be the probable cost to India of suppressing the cultivation and the sale of opium, supposing always such a thing to be practicable and desirable. Meanwhile I can only say that my own belief is that the total value of the crops is probably greater than the amount estimated by Mr. Batten.

889. May I ask whether the 19,000,000 represents the value of the crop in the market? Is that the case; that is its market price?—The profit that is got by all classes out of the crop.

890. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Does that include the profit in the native States as well as the Bengal opium?—Yes. Mr. Batten in his paper gives all the details by which he arrives at his conclusions. Mr. Batten also said, converting these 19,000,000 tens of rupees at the then rate of exchange the equivalent in sterling was about 13,000,000*l.*, and it would be very much the same now; but I should like to say on that point that it seems to me that these conversions of rupees into pounds sterling—the same thing applies when we come to the question of the net revenue—have very little useful meaning. Not many years ago, for instance, these 19,000,000 tens of rupees would have been equal to 19,000,000*l.* sterling. We have been uncommonly near seeing the rupee worth 1*s.*; in that case these 19,000,000 would be worth only 9½ millions sterling instead of 19; and it must be remembered that these immense fluctuations in the gold value of the rupee have not for practical purposes much affected the value of the products of the poppy crop to the cultivators of India.

891. (*Chairman.*) Of course the loss to the cultivator in India in the depreciation of the rupee might be met by an enhancement of the price of their article?—As a matter of fact, during all these great changes in the gold value of the rupee, prices in India have hardly been affected. I think it also is important to remember, as Dr. Watt has observed in his very excellent article in the Dictionary of Economic Products, that this industry has existed in India for centuries, and that from the time of Akbar to the present day it has been recognised and indeed protected by the Government. This revenue that we derive from opium we inherited from the Mogul Government.

The next point in the next clause is the amount of compensation payable, but it seems to me rather idle to talk of compensation for the suppression of such an industry as this. It is conceivable, though I have not the least idea in the world how it could be done, but still it is conceivable that a powerful Government like our own might absolutely suppress the cultivation and the trade in opium; but how compensation could be given for it I cannot conceive. My own belief is—again it is an impossible supposition—that if England were to make a free gift to India of 100,000,000*l.* sterling, it would be no compensation to India for the loss of one of the most valuable of all her natural products, for the destruction of a great industry and the extinction of one of the principal articles of her trade. The next question is, "What would be the loss of the actual revenue?"

892. Yes?—This question, it is not easy to answer with certainty, because the fluctuations in the amount of the opium revenue have been very great. Some years ago it was as much as 8,500,000 tens of rupees, but of late years it has greatly diminished. The principal cause of this, I think there can be no doubt, has been the rapid increase of cultivation in China, and the lower prices of Chinese opium. Other causes have, no doubt, contributed; probably the increased taxation in China has been one cause.

893. In the form of an import duty do you mean?—Yes. A few years ago an additional import duty

was imposed in lieu of the inland *likin* duties as they were called. Then there has been for several years a partial failure of the opium crops in India and that also has led to a great diminution in the sale of opium and in the revenue. The last year for which we have approximate figures is 1892-3. In that year the net revenue credited under the head of opium—I am speaking in tens of rupees always—was 6,371,000 to which have to be added the duties credited under excise 729,000, making a total of 7,100,000, and, this was about the average amount for the five years ending with 1892-3. For the present year 1893-4 we have only the Budget Estimate, and that, including the excise, has been reduced to 5½ millions, but to the extent of nearly 1,000,000; this large reduction is not due to an anticipated great fall in the demand for opium but to the expectation of a better crop and of increased expenditure, which will enable the reserve stock of opium which had fallen very low to be replenished. It must be borne in mind that the fluctuations in the opium revenue are, as in the present year, often due not to fluctuations in the Chinese demand or in the price obtained, but to the greater or smaller outturn of the Bengal crop, and the expense of gathering it. But the immediate prospects of the opium revenue I think are certainly not favourable. In consequence of a succession of bad seasons in India and low prices in China, and the constant increase of cultivation in that country, the quantity of opium exported has been much reduced, and other causes are, no doubt, operating in the same direction, but for present purposes I think if we take the amount estimated in the Budget of the present year of 5½ millions that is as reasonable an estimate probably as we can make for the present. But as I have said before, this sum represents only a comparatively small part of the interest of India in opium. If I am asked whether any means could be suggested, if it were considered expedient, by which the loss of 5½ millions of revenue or even a smaller sum than that—

894. That is not 5½ millions of pounds sterling?—No, I am always speaking of tens of rupees. If I am asked if I could suggest any means by which that could be made good I certainly could suggest no means. I think there is no doubt that it is useless to talk about possible reduction of expenditure. I think it certain that, speaking in general terms, there is no probability of its being diminished, but that it will go on increasing as appears to be the case in every country with an elaborate system of government. In 1881 the Government of Lord Ripon wrote very fully upon that subject, and declared that it appeared to them impossible to suggest any means by which the loss of the opium revenue could be recouped, and I think that all that they said then is quite as true at the present day.

The next clause of the Order of Reference to the Commission is: "Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom."

895. Would you draw a distinction in relation to the moral responsibility of the Government of India between an active participation in the trade as a manufacturer and the imposition of duties on export or charges in the form of license duties?—In answering this question I assume the object in view to be the restriction within the narrowest possible practical limits of the consumption of opium. I think it is certain that no system which could be in British territory substituted for the present system could be so effective in restricting the quantity of opium produced, and therefore in restricting the consumption. I assert very confidently that the Government of India has never been influenced by any desire to encourage the consumption of opium either in China or in India. On the contrary, its whole action has been in the direction of restricting the consumption by imposing the highest amount of taxation which can be imposed without defeating the objects in view. It appears to me that there can be no question that of all fiscal restrictions that can be imposed the State monopoly is the most repressive and severe. I think it is conceivable, though not at all probable, that the abolition of the opium monopoly in Bengal and the substitution for it of a heavy export duty such as that which we now have on the other side of India might if it were practicable involve no loss of revenue, but I think it would inevitably lead to an increase of consumption, and the difficulty of making such a change of system in Bengal would be extremely great independently of the question of the effect on the consumption.

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Bengal is intersected in all directions with rivers, the outlets to the sea are very numerous, and the facilities for smuggling are enormous. The Bengal Government some years ago gave their opinion that they could see no limit to the cost of the preventive establishment that would be necessary. I should think that no country could be found where the difficulty of preventing smuggling would be so great; and I suppose that there is no article which it is easier to smuggle. I am not quite sure of the fact, but if I remember rightly a single pound of opium will last a consumer of opium a whole year. I cannot conceive the possibility of regulating any export duty with that maximum of severity of pressure which is secured by a monopoly; therefore I think, if it be true that the interests of morality are involved, then those interests are best served by the maintenance of the monopoly. Then, as regards China in particular. If the object at which we ought to aim is the reduction of consumption by the Chinese, it appears to me clear that to whatever extent we diminish the export of opium from India, we stimulate the extension of opium cultivation in China, and the substitution of the cheaper Chinese for the dearer Indian opium, and that is a fact that has always been recognised by the Government of India. The Government of India has always seen, assuming what I think is an indisputable fact, that the Chinese will have opium, that a reduction in the supply of Indian opium instead of leading to reduced consumption in China leads inevitably to increased production and increased consumption in that country. The present monopoly system therefore, it appears to me, by which the price of Indian opium is increased to a maximum, not only checks consumption in India itself, but it checks consumption in China also. So far as India is concerned I believe, as I have said in the paper of my own which was read, that really the only question is whether our restrictive measures have not sometimes been too severe, and whether they have not to a very objectionable extent encouraged smuggling, and by making opium very dear and difficult to obtain, whether they have not encouraged the use of drugs which are infinitely more noxious. My opinion, therefore, is that so far from the present system being open to the charge of stimulating the consumption of opium, whether by Chinese or Indians, that no system could be devised by which the consumption could be so severely checked. And as a question of morals, if it be held—which I myself am very far from admitting—if it be held that the consumption of opium for other than medicinal purposes is necessarily a vice, then I think it is clear, as Sir Henry Maine said long ago, in reference to this very question of substituting an export duty for the monopoly: "For moral purposes there is no distinction between what a despotic government does itself and what it permits its subjects to do. What possible difference can it make from a moral point of view, whether they take a part of the profits from the hands of the dealer or the whole of the profits from the monopoly?" Sometimes the objection is made on economic grounds that it is very undesirable for a government to engage in the operations of private trade. I cannot say that I attach any particular importance to that. As a matter of fact, there is no civilised government that for the purposes of raising revenue has not established some monopoly or other, and for my part I see nothing more objectionable in the monopoly of opium than in the monopoly of tobacco.

896. You have exhausted what you wish to say on the fourth article in the Order of Reference?—Yes.

897. Now we come to the question of the consumption of opium by the different races in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people?—The only country—I cannot say of India, because it is not India, it is as unlike India as Algeria is unlike France—but the only country under Indian administration in regard to which it appears to me that any evidence has been produced that deserves serious consideration to show that any considerable section of the people has suffered from the consumption of opium, is Burmah. Now it is indisputable that there has been a great body of opinion as to the injurious effect of opium on the Burmese. Two Chief Commissioners, Sir Charles Aitchison and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, both of them men who are entitled to speak on the subject with the highest authority, have concurred in that opinion, and there is no doubt that the same opinion has been very generally held by the majority of the British officers employed in Burmah. Also

it seems to have been an admitted fact that those views are in accordance with those of the more intelligent classes of the Burmese themselves. "Native opinion," Sir Charles Aitchison wrote, "is unanimous in favour of stopping the supply of opium altogether, and no measure we could adopt would be so popular with all the respectable and law-abiding class of the population. In a matter so intimately affecting the well-being of the community," he added, "these expressions of opinion are entitled to the greatest respect. When practical questions of this kind arise it may become a duty to yield to strong and general desire of the people, even when their opinions may appear unreasonable." Now, although I have myself, I must say, failed to discover the facts upon which this belief in the injurious effects of opium on the Burmese population rests, I cannot deny that it was right to yield to this general consensus of opinion on the part both of the Burmese themselves and of the English officers most competent to form an accurate judgment, and to take measures for preventing the sale of opium to Burmese, and their possession of the drug, and this has been actually done throughout the whole of Burmah. In regard to this question of the consumption of opium by the Burmese, it is, as Mr. Batten says, remarkable that the authorities in Burmah seem to have arrived at the conclusion that opium is a benefit to everyone in the country except the Burmese themselves. I should like to add that while there has been this unanimity of opinion in regard to the mischievous results of opium on the Burmese, there has been an equal unanimity in regard to the harmlessness of the practice among the large foreign population, Chinese and Indian, of Burmah. Sir Charles Aitchison writes: "There are large numbers of the non-Burmese community, constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population, to whom the drug is a necessary of life, and by whom it is rarely abused. It is impossible to say precisely what the numbers of the Chinese and natives of India are, but they are probably not less than 200,000. The legitimate requirements of these people must necessarily be considered and provided for." Sir Alexander Mackenzie's views on that point were the same. He objected to any interference with the supply of opium to the non-Burmese population. "There is," he said, "a considerable non-Burmese population of Shans, Chinese, and others, who are accustomed to the moderate use of opium, and who consume it without ill effects or even with beneficial results." The Chief Commissioner "is not prepared to advise the absolute prohibition of the possession or sale of opium in Burmah by persons of non-Burman descent. Such a step would be an unjustifiable interference with the habits of a large section of the population, and would be quite impossible to enforce. It may be considered as established beyond question that there is a legitimate demand for opium among the foreign residents of Burmah, which would exist whether the Government countenanced the use of opium or not, that if Government decided to declare the sale or possession of opium generally illegal the demand would be supplied by illicit means, and that the result of any attempt to enforce absolute prohibition of the use of opium would be the loss of a large amount of revenue without any commensurate benefit." Although, as I said before, I cannot say that I am satisfied that while opium is harmless or beneficial to Chinese and others it is poisonous to the Burmese, still I cannot dispute the authority by which that opinion is supported, and if it be correct, I know of only one suggestion by which it can be explained. I believe there is no race of men among whom the demand for one form of stimulant or another does not exist, and it has been held by some—perhaps correctly—that while particular stimulants are harmless or beneficial to some races, they are injurious to others. It is possible that opium taken even in moderation may be injurious or a dangerous temptation to Burmese, although it may be innocent or beneficial to Chinamen or Sikhs, and, as many have maintained is the case, alcohol taken even in moderation may be bad for the people of Southern Asia, whilst, similarly taken, it may be good for Europeans. However this may be, Burmah is not India, and it is not reasonable to apply to India conclusions based upon observations made in a totally different country. It appears to me that as regards India, properly so-called, there is no evidence whatever to show that in any part of the country the consumption of opium is anywhere a common and crying evil. Of course I admit

that the use of opium may be abused, but I entirely disbelieve that this occurs to any general or dangerous extent. On that point, as I have said in the paper that was read to the Commission, I think that throughout this controversy it cannot be too constantly remembered that India is not a single country such as we have in Europe, but a great continent, the countries and the peoples of which, beyond all doubt, differ from one another far more than the countries of Europe differ. As I have said elsewhere there is more difference—a great deal—between a Bengalee and a Sikh than between a Scotchman and a Spaniard. I believe that a very large proportion of the prevalent errors about India arise from false generalisations. Sensational descriptions of opium dens in Rangoon or Bombay will not in any way help us to learn the truth about the consumption of opium by Rajputs and Sikhs. Out of the 290,000,000 of people in India, I do not suppose that there are 290 hundreds who have more personal knowledge of these opium dens so-called than people have in England. I do not think that I can usefully say more in detail about the consumption of opium in the various countries of India. In the paper which has been read to the Commission I have stated my own conclusions. An excellent summary of the facts is given in Mr. Batten's paper, and with it are the speeches and papers of some of the most experienced Indian authorities—

898. Who took part in the discussion on Mr. Batten's paper?—Yes. Through the greater part of India it is doubtless true in every province that there are eaters or smokers of opium, chiefly eaters, but, in my opinion, there is really in the greater part of India nothing that deserves to be called an opium question. Certain classes, especially in Central and Northern India, have undoubtedly consumed opium for centuries. They constitute a very small proportion of the 290,000,000 of people in India, but, no doubt, their positive numbers are large. I do not know what they may be, but of Sikhs and Rajputs and others who consume opium the absolute number is large.

899. And they belong to races which have been exceptionally loyal to the British authority?—Certainly. Among the Rajputs and Sikhs in particular the use of opium has always been common, and the Sikhs in particular, who form so immensely important a part of our army, are almost invariably habitual consumers of opium, and, with very rare exceptions, they consume it with just as much moderation as the gentlemen in this room consume their wine and their beer. They regard it almost as a necessary of life, and it is a notorious fact that these Sikhs—and I may say the same of the Rajputs—are physically, I believe I might also say morally, but at any rate physically they are the very finest races in all India. As I have said in the paper that was read, a crack regiment of Sikhs need not fear comparison with any soldiers in the world; certainly they need not fear comparison with a regiment of our own Guards. If opium is so universally destructive, how are such facts as that to be explained? I believe that there is no possible explanation except that although the use of opium may be abused, used in moderation it is not harmful, and I have no doubt that it is much less likely to be abused than the use of alcohol. I do not think, my Lord, on that point I have anything more to say.

900. The last subject in the Order of Reference is the "inquiry into the disposition of the people of India in regard to the use of opium for non-medical purposes, and their willingness to bear, in whole or in part, the cost of prohibitive measures"?—On that point, my Lord, I would ask you to allow me to read a passage from a despatch written by Lord Ripon's Government in India in the year 1881, which gives, I think, a complete answer to the question:—

"It cannot be doubted," they said, "that native opinion in India would strongly resent any additional burdens being placed upon the taxpayer with a view to the abandonment, either whole or partial, of the opium revenue. It is, moreover, more than probable that the views of the British Government on this subject would be misunderstood. 'There must,' a native paper said a short time ago, 'be some selfish motive at the bottom of the movement made in England for the suppression of the opium trade.' No doubt an opinion of this sort is very foolish. The high motives which guide the action of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade cannot for a moment be doubted. However much we may consider that the views they express do not take sufficient account, whether from the Chinese or

Indian point of view, of the practical difficulties connected with the problem they have set themselves to solve, no reasonable person can fail to respect their motives. Without doubt the gentlemen who take an active part in the agitation against the opium trade in England would be the first to protest if they thought the Indian ryots were suffering from any grievous injustice. But, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the opinions foreshadowed in the native print, from which we have quoted above, are prevalent in India; that they would find louder and more frequent expression if it became generally understood that there was any serious intention of moving in the direction proposed by the Anti-Opium Society; that even supposing England were to award a considerable compensation to India, it is exceedingly improbable that such compensation would adequately meet the loss involved in the abandonment of the opium revenue, and that in consequence a sense of injustice would be engendered amongst the natives of this country, who would consider either that their interests had been sacrificed from selfish motives, or, at all events, that in our regard for the Chinese we had done an injustice to our own subjects."

I feel confident that the opinions which the Government of India thus expressed, are entirely accurate. The only criticism upon them that I think possible is that they have stated the facts with too great moderation. Measures such as those suggested would, I believe, be looked upon from one end of India to the other with amazement and indignation, and if they were really enforced they would lead us into political dangers of extreme gravity. I do not think, my Lord, I can add to that.

901. You have made a very clear and comprehensive statement of your views; I should be very sorry to add to the task which we have already imposed upon you to-day by asking you any unnecessary questions. There are one or two points which I would like to ask you about. You have spoken in the early part of your evidence very confidently with reference to the effects of the consumption of opium, I believe, in India. You have said that so far as your knowledge extended you did not think it could be established that the consumption of opium had been generally injurious to those races in India who make use of opium?—Yes.

902. You expressed an equally strong opinion with reference to the people of China?—Yes.

903. Your observations with reference to the people of India would rest upon a large personal experience in India, would they not?—Certainly. Yes.

904. With regard to China, I suppose what you have told us results from the reports which have come before you from persons that you consider are entitled to speak with authority with reference to China?—Yes, I have no personal knowledge whatever of China.

905. We have been told by the numerous witnesses representing the missionary body in China that the Chinese Government are understood by them and by the people of China to be anxious to prohibit the growth and the consumption of opium as supplied from the local growers in China, and we have been told that the Chinese Government have been precluded from taking any effective steps, and would continue to be deterred from taking any effective steps, so long as opium is permitted to be exported from India. What would you say with reference to that statement?—I think that is a point upon which other witnesses—Sir Thomas Wade for instance, whose name I see down here—can give far more valuable evidence than I can. All that I can say upon the point is that I am under the strongest impression that it is a complete mistake to suppose anything of the kind, and that the Chinese Government has no wish whatever to prohibit the importation of opium into China. I believe that if the Chinese Government desired to diminish the consumption of opium, of which I have seen no sign, it is quite intelligent enough to see that the diminution of the import of opium from India could not have that effect. Apart from that my belief is that there is no part of the revenue of the Chinese Government which that Government prizes more highly than the revenue that it derives from opium. This is paid in hard cash into the Customs' department at the treaty ports, and it goes into the Imperial Treasury. I have not got the papers here, but I believe that it has been made perfectly clear that the Chinese Government not only have not shown any desire to stop the importation of opium, but that they would be very sorry to see it stopped, because they

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would lose—I forget how much they get, but I believe not less than a couple of millions sterling a year from it.

906. Now turning to India, I think you have told us that the larger portion of the production of opium in India is raised in the native States?—Probably the largest production, because there is not only the export from Bombay but the large consumption by the people themselves. As far as the export to China goes, the larger quantity goes from Bengal.

907. You have given us, have you not, a strong opinion that to interfere by prohibition in the native States would involve grave political difficulties?—I think very great.

908. And you entertain a similar view with reference to the prohibition of the use of opium by the races which have made use of opium from time immemorial, and which represent a very important element in our native army?—I cannot conceive the possibility of doing such a thing without the gravest political danger.

909. Looking at this question from a revenue point of view, you have expressed your conviction that there would be great practical objections to the prohibition of opium; that we derive a certain revenue from that source, and that you do not see from what other source this could be compensated if this revenue were brought to an end?—Yes.

910. But is it not the case that the revenue of India has shown a decided tendency to growth in recent years?—Certainly.

911. And from all sources?—I may almost say that there is no branch of the revenue which has not increased in a very satisfactory way.

912. There has been a great improvement in the revenue from railways, has there not?—Yes.

913. And you anticipate a further constant growth from that source, I presume?—Certainly. Every branch has improved. If it had not been for the terrible exchange difficulty I should say the revenues of India were in a very prosperous condition; but that, of course, has been a difficulty.

914. If the expenditure had not grown in an almost equal ratio with the growth in the revenue, the Government of India would have been in the enjoyment of a very handsome surplus by this time, would they not?—Certainly.

915. Under the various heads of charge, no doubt there are some heads of expenditure which inevitably arise in connexion with the efforts which we are making to introduce civilisation, and to improve the material and moral condition of the people of India; that is so, is it not?—Certainly.

916. For instance, public works, the supply of water, and many other heads of expenditure of that nature, are there not?—Certainly.

917. The military expenditure has shown a tendency to very rapid growth in recent years, has it not?—Yes, very great.

918. That subject, I daresay you are aware, has excited particular attention on the part of the Indian Currency Committee?—Yes.

919. You are speaking of this subject, of course, only as a civilian, but perhaps you may be in a position to say whether you think that that head of expenditure may be possibly arrested or checked in future years?—The military expenditure?

920. The military expenditure?—I am not able to say whether all the additional military expenditure has been wisely incurred or not, but there is no doubt, I think, speaking in general terms, that it is impossible to suppose that our military expenditure will be diminished. The circumstances which have led to the increase of military expenditure in India are patent to the world. They all may be summed up in the fact of the advance of Russia. It is foolish to prophesy what is going to happen in the future, but I believe for my part—that this is as certain as anything that we can foresee in regard to India—that some day we shall have to fight Russia on our frontier, and if we are not prepared we know what the consequences will be. Although I cannot enter into details and say that this or that branch of the expenditure was necessary, I have not the slightest doubt that there has been no such urgent necessity in India as the increase of our military strength. And we have this to remember also with regard to the advance of Russia towards the Indian

frontiers; we have not only to think of the possibility of having to fight her. The fact of the advance of Russia is felt throughout the whole administration of India. It is impossible to forget that all the native States of India know perfectly well that there is this great European power now approaching, and that we may have to fight for our empire.

921. Assuming that the change which we must have in contemplation is one for which we ought to stand prepared, might it not be possible that the preparation would be made quite as effectually by a general reinforcement of our Imperial army and our Imperial navy as by a local and perhaps excessively burdensome military expenditure in India itself?—With regard to that question, England now gives no help whatever. Every single farthing that is expended on the British troops that come from this country is paid for by India, and will continue to be so, I suppose. I do not think myself that it is fair that it should be, but so it is.

922. It is possible that in the future some readjustment of the burdens of military expenditure, and the preparation for the contingencies that you speak of might be made which would to some extent relieve the Indian Exchequer?—I should be very happy if I could believe that there was any probability of such a thing happening.

923. Then with reference to the question of the revenue derived from opium generally, looking at it from a financial point of view. I assume that you consider that there is a distinct objection to placing undue reliance upon such a source of revenue because of its uncertainty. It depends upon the fluctuations of crops and depends also upon the policy which may be followed by the Chinese Government, who might or might not at some future date adopt a fiscal policy which would operate to the exclusion of the Indian product from the Chinese markets?—Yes.

924. You would be glad, would you not, that the Indian Government should be in the position in which it would cease to be dependent upon this opium revenue for establishing a balance between revenue and expenditure?—Certainly, but not at all on moral grounds.

925. On financial grounds you are speaking?—Certainly.

926. (Mr. Pease.) You mentioned the native States generally. Malwa has also been mentioned—would you give us the names of the native States?—I am afraid that I cannot enumerate them all. The most important ones would be Indore, Gwalior, and some of the Rajputana States, Udaipur, and a number of smaller States.

927. Most of the evidence which we have had given in to us has been with regard to both eating and smoking. I see in your remarks with regard to the Sikh soldiers, you allude to their being opium-drinking regiments?—I think that I ought not to have said drinking. Sir James Lyall could give much better information about that. I believe that the Sikhs generally prefer the decoction called *post*, but I suppose when a Sikh soldier goes upon a campaign he takes a little bit of opium.

928. (Sir James Lyall.) Yes, they do have that.

929. (Mr. Pease.) Do you know what proportions of the men are consumers of opium?—I could not say from personal knowledge, but my belief is the great majority.

930. What is your impression as to the proportion among the Rajputs of those who consume opium?—That I could not give you except as a guess.

931. Surgeon Sir William Moore estimates the proportion after his first inquiry at 6·3 per cent., and after his second inquiry at 11·29 per cent. You have no reason to doubt that that is a pretty fair statement that perhaps from 6 to 11 per cent. would be the proportion of those who take opium?—He has studied the question on the spot, and I should think that his evidence is as good as you are likely to get.

932. And how would those soldiers compare with other sections of the community or to the proportion that were likely to be consumers of opium?—I could give no information upon that point. I have no knowledge of it.

933. You estimated the revenue at Rs. 5,750,000 I see in the Budget Estimate for 1893-4. The value of the net revenue of the current year is put as Rs. 5,061,200, that is something like three-quarters of a million less?—Yes; but that does not include the excise revenue

The arrangement is this, Rx. 5,000,000 is credited in the public accounts under the head of opium; then in addition to that there is the excise opium, the duties which are levied on opium consumed in India. I think I have got the figure; it was Rx. 729,000, which has to be added.

934. Which explains the difference; it seemed a discrepancy?—It makes the grand total Rx. 5,790,000.

935. Which is paid by the Indian taxpayer?—Yes, that is, the Rx. 729,000.

936. Then you stated that the loss to India, as I understood it, was something like Rx. 19,000,000; that would be something like 13,000,000*l.* sterling, and it would not merely be a loss of revenue?—Yes.

937. In estimating that Rx. 19,000,000 you estimated the whole value of the land and the value of the labour, and the services of the merchants and so forth?—Yes. Those figures, as I said, I derived from Mr. Batten, and in his paper he has given all the details by which he arrives at that particular figure.

938. None of that arises at all if the land can be equally profitably employed, if the merchants could turn their capital to some other business, and the labour was equally profitably employed?—With reference to that Mr. Batten makes a remark which I think is very much to the point. He says, suppose you wanted to abolish the consumption of beer in England and were to tell the hop growers of Kent that they might substitute for their hops potatoes and gooseberries, they would not think much of it; and so I think you may say of the opium in India.

939. But it is a matter of fact that the land under opium cultivation has been restricted and reduced without any compensation being paid to the persons whose lands have been growing poppy before?—Certainly it varies very much and has been diminishing.

940. And is it not also true that a great proportion of the cultivators now would not continue the growth of the poppy if it were not for the advances that are made to them for the purpose?—I am not prepared to say. I suppose if the advances were not given, it is extremely probable that the cultivation would be restricted.

941. They would then be placed in the same position as ordinary cultivators?—But to what extent that would happen I really could not say.

942. You think that the cultivators would be considerably prejudiced if they had to cultivate their lands with other crops?—They evidently think so, because it is perfectly voluntary the cultivation of opium; nobody has any pressure put upon him to cultivate opium.

943. You spoke of the policy of the Indian Government having been to restrict the cultivation of opium. Do you recommend a policy of restriction?—No. I do not think I said that it had been a policy of restricting the cultivation.

944. "Which was severely checking"; that was the expression, I think?—I said I thought that the monopoly system was more restrictive than any other system that could be substituted for it.

945. Then do you see any object in restricting the growth?—Well, my own personal opinion is that the consumption of opium is, in the vast majority of cases, perfectly innocent, just as I think in this country that the consumption of beer and wine is. Nevertheless, I do not deny in this country that I think it perfectly right to levy high duties on wine and on beer, to say nothing of stronger drinks. I think it is perfectly right to raise as large a revenue as you can from articles of that kind, and so I would say with the opium in India. Although I believe that it is not mischievous, still I think it is quite right to levy a heavy duty upon it; and also I cannot leave out of consideration the fact that there is a very strong opinion of multitudes of people whose opinions deserve respect, who do not think as I do; and I accept the fact that practically it would be impossible for any Government to encourage the growth of opium to any great extent. It is out of the question.

946. For moral or financial reasons?—No, I mean—

947. Out of respect to public opinion?—As I read in an extract from a paper of Sir Charles Aitchison with regard to Burmah, when you have public opinion very strongly to this effect, even if you think it wrong you have got to pay attention to it.

948. You state, I see in this paper, that "the vast majority of smokers of opium in China consume it in moderation, and it is, as I said before, as harmless as the wine and beer of Europe." Can you tell us upon what you formed that statement, from what information?—All I can say is, that although I have had no personal experience in China, this is the conclusion that I have arrived at from all that I have been able to learn upon the subject.

949. If the facts were different, and that it was a cause of demoralisation in China, would you think that the policy of the Government ought to be any different to what it is?—Certainly, but only if the facts were different.

950. That if there was demoralisation in China, the course of the Indian Government should be different from what it is?—As I have stated in my evidence, my belief is that by diminishing the export of opium from India you do not diminish the consumption in China; as a question of morals, I do not say that it is right to desire to get a profit from the vices of other people. However, I may say upon that point it is certainly no worse than to get it from the vices of your own country.

951. But you think that the Indian Government should be no party to the exportation of opium to China if it was demoralising to the Chinese?—No, I would not say that. If I am quite certain that the Chinese will have the opium, and that by sending Indian opium to China the vice in China is not increased, I would not say that it was wrong.

952. We might as well have the profit of demoralising them as anybody else?—No; I will not admit that that is the proper way of putting it.

953. You stated that there were practical difficulties with regard to the prohibition of the growth of the poppy; is it not so, that it is effectually prohibited in Madras and Bombay at the present time?—I spoke of the means of prohibiting it in the native States. Yes.

954. But is it not the fact that the manufacture in the native States is at present entirely in the hands of English officials?—Certainly not; they have nothing whatever to do with it.

955. Under the supervision of English officials?—Certainly not.

956. I thought that was the case?—No; they have nothing to do with it whatever.

957. When does it first come to the attention of the English officials after it is manufactured?—When it leaves the native States this export duty is levied upon it; but we have nothing else to do with it.

958. It is not true, as we have been told, that during the manufacture it is under the supervision of English officials?—Certainly not.

959. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I think you told us that the growth of the poppy had been prohibited in the Bombay Presidency under the Act of 1878?—I believe it was 1878.

960. And that that applied also to the native States under the Bombay Government?—Yes. I think, if I remember rightly, with the exception of Baroda.

961. It is not, I believe, technically under the Government of Bombay, is it?—No; but there is some special arrangement, I believe, made with it.

962. I only wanted to know whether before that prohibition there had been any cultivation of the poppy in the native States under Bombay?—I could not answer that question. I have no knowledge of it.

963. Now, I should just like to understand clearly where this transit duty on the Malwa opium is levied. Is it levied at certain definite points on the frontier between the native States and the Bombay Presidency?—There are certain points. I could not name them all, but Indore is one—perhaps the most important—Indore, Rutlam, and Ahmedabad. There are certain points on the frontier where arrangements are made for weighing the opium that is brought across. There it is weighed and sealed up in chests in some particular fashion, and sent with a passport. I believe it is sent in special consignments under guards; it is sent through to the Custom House at Bombay for export, and the duty, which is now at the present moment 600 rupees a chest, is levied at the place where it is weighed.

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964. And is it all exported from Bombay, or is it consumed—part of it consumed—some of it consumed in the Bombay Presidency?—Yes, by far the greater part of it is exported to China, but such part—I do not remember at this moment what proportion, but comparatively small it would be—whatever is required for the local consumption of the Bombay Presidency would be sold there.

965. And is this opium sent through the frontier principally by native governments?—No; by native merchants.

966. But, I mean, they act upon their own responsibility, and not as agents for native governments?—No.

967. But these arrangements are all made with the native governments. I suppose, that the opium should pass through these special frontier stations, if I may call them so?—As I have stated, I have little personal knowledge of these matters; but, as far as I understand, the native governments have engaged that all the opium shall go by particular routes, so that there may not be smuggling through either. No doubt there is a great deal of smuggling as it is.

968. You think there is?—Well, it may readily be supposed that with such a valuable article as opium there will be smuggling; but as to what the probable amount of the smuggling is I could not say.

969. But I suppose if we had not these arrangements it would be almost impossible to prevent smuggling?—Certainly.

970. Where does the opium come from which the Sikhs consume?—That is grown in the Punjab.

971. In the Punjab?—For the most part, at any rate.

972. Is that in the native States in the Punjab?—No; Sir James Lyall would know that better than I do; it is grown under license, I believe.

973. (Sir James Lyall.) It is partly grown under license, and on payment of a duty on area, and on condition that the produce can only be sold to the retail vendors, who pay a sum to Government for the privilege of retail dealing.

974. (Chairman.) A license duty?

975. (Sir James Lyall.) Yes; and it is partly grown in the Hill States subject to the Punjab Government, just as the Malwa opium is grown in the Malwa native States, and it comes out also under the same conditions, that it can only be sold to the Government contractor; and a small amount is allowed to come in from Central India and Rajputana on payment of the same pass duty, or very nearly the same, or quite the same, as that which the same opium pays on export to China; and in certain places like Delhi, where there has been a class of people who in former times were accustomed to use the Bengal or Patna opium, a certain small amount of what they call excise opium is allowed to come in and it is taken and put into the Government Treasury and sold to these licensed vendors—a very small amount: it is only from one or two places like Delhi that that has been allowed.

976. (Mr. Mowbray.) Then, in fact, they have in India three systems; really, they have the Government monopoly in Bengal, they have the native-grown opium, paying the transit duty, and they have the Punjab system of growing under license. I suppose that you would not be prepared to recommend the license system in lieu of the monopoly system in Bengal?—No; I do not see that there would be any advantage gained by it. As I said in my evidence, if the object is to put as heavy a tax on the opium as possible, I think that is gained more completely under the monopoly system than any other.

977. Have we any arrangements with the native States which regulate the amount of transit duty which we charge?—No; that is entirely in our own hands; we can fix any other export duty.

978. And it is fixed, I suppose, mainly with the view to revenue?—Entirely.

979. (Mr. Wilson.) You mentioned in your paper, Sir John—the paper which was read to us about the growth of opium in China—provinces being given up to it. I understand that is not from your own knowledge?—No.

980. Can you tell me where I could find the best information on that subject?—I am afraid I cannot answer that question. I think some of the other witnesses will give you better information than I can.

981. Then you made a remark which I did not quite catch—what the bearing of it was. It was something to the effect that out of 290,000,000 of persons in India there were not more than a certain proportion who knew anything about it, or not more that knew about it, in India than in England. I do not know whether you remember the expression?

982. (Chairman.) Yes, it was with reference to the personal knowledge of the evils of the opium dens?—I think what I said was—though I do not think my figures have any value—what I said was. I think, this: that out of the 290,000,000 of people in India I did not suppose there were 290 hundreds, that would be 29,000, who had any personal knowledge of opium dens.

983. (Mr. Wilson.) That is what I did not understand?—But I did not mean to say that that number has any importance.

984. (Chairman.) It is merely a mode of conveying a general impression?—Yes.

985. (Mr. Wilson.) Then I only want to ask you about these Sikhs, to whom you referred, and their consumption. You said something about when they went on campaign they took a bit. Do I understand they do not regularly take it?—They regularly take it, certainly; and I have been told by men who have the most intimate knowledge of Sikh soldiers that you could not, in fact, take them on a campaign without it—that it is absolutely necessary to them.

986. They eat that?—Yes.

987. Do they smoke as well?—I do not think so. No.

988. Have you any idea approximately about how much they consume daily?—I do not know; I could not say; it is a very small quantity.

989. (Chairman.) You have in another part of your evidence said that a pound would represent the consumption of a whole year?—Yes, but I do not stick to that. I spoke in general terms; I do not stick to the particular weight.

990. (Mr. Wilson.) With reference to Mr. Mowbray's question about smuggling, I do not quite understand. Is there something like a Customs line now round these native States?—No, there is no Customs line; but an arrangement is made by which the native States engage that the opium intended for export to Bombay should go by particular routes and shall cross their frontiers at particular points.

991. Yes; but what is the use of an arrangement if there is no Customs line to enforce it?—The native States bind themselves to take care that it is enforced. I do not doubt that there is a great deal of smuggling; but still when it comes to exports of thousands of chests, you cannot smuggle that.

992. (Mr. Pease.) I understand, Sir John, that none of the smuggled opium is exported—that the opium that is smuggled will not come into such circumstances as it can be exported?—No; it could not, certainly, on a great scale.

993. No; it would be consumed in India?—Yes.

994. (Mr. Wilson.) I understand that a great part of the opium is grown on advances?—Yes; in Bengal only.

995. Bengal?—Yes.

996. Advances?—But that is the universal custom in India—to give advances to cultivators of opium and everything else.

997. Does Government—do the authorities provide advances in the same way for any other crop or industry?—No.

998. The other advances to which you refer are made by merchants and so forth?—The Government advances are certainly for nothing else.

999. (Chairman.) It is the only article in which they are engaged as manufacturers. Is there anything that you would like to add?—No; I do not think there is anything else.

The witness withdrew.



Surgeon-General Sir WILLIAM MOORE, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P., called and examined.

Sur-Gen.  
Sir W. Moore,  
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1000. (*Chairman.*) Sir William Moore, will you describe to us the nature of your duties, and the official position which you filled in India?—I have filled many official positions; but perhaps the most important were as principal medical officer, for a number of years, in Rajpootana, and then as Deputy Surgeon-General for five years of the Bombay Presidency, and then as Surgeon-General to the Bombay Presidency.

1001. How many years altogether did you pass in India?—About 33½.

1002. In the course of your service were you led to give much attention to the use of opium?—I first commenced investigating the use of opium so far back as the year 1868, and the results of my investigations were published in one of the selections from the Government of India in the Foreign Department—I forget the number—and I then said that opium using was not so prevalent in Rajpootana as had been supposed (that, I think, was mentioned just now); and afterwards in some other article I said that nearly all the Rajpoots used opium. The anti-opium party took that up as a contradiction; but they were not aware that about only one-fourth of the population of Rajpootana are Rajpoots, the other are Mhairs, Menas, Gonds, Bheels, and various other tribes, so that they made a mistake. It is amongst the Rajpoot population that the use of opium is prevalent. I do not mean to say that all of them use it, but the great majority of them do, and especially the native gentlemen—the Thakoors or Barons of the country.

1003. We have been giving our attention to the opium question from a general point of view. Can you tell us how were the investigations which you made with reference to the use of opium conducted?—Well, in Rajpootana they were conducted—(I was then the Superintendent-General of Dispensaries and Vaccination, and therefore had to travel all over the country)—they were conducted by noticing the people at the different hospitals and dispensaries, by associating with them in their villages, by friendships with the Thakoors and native gentlemen, sometimes staying in their houses; in Bombay by going to the opium shops, by seeing the people there; by sitting down and smoking opium with them; and in the same way at Poonah.

1004. Well, towards what particular point were your inquiries directed?—Oh, purely and entirely to the physiological effect of opium on the constitution—the habitual use of opium on the constitution.

1005. Well, what were the conclusions that you arrived at?—Well, I came to the conclusion that opium smoking was practically harmless, and that drinking umal pawnee, or opium water, was practically harmless, not only harmless, but in many cases productive of very great benefit. A moderate use would brighten the intellect and strengthen the system, render the people more able to go through fatigue, and in seasons of want and scarcity enable them to do with less food. It was also in some degree a prophylactic to the malarious fevers which abounded in some parts of the country, and which I could prove by actual demonstration.

1006. Did you draw any conclusions with reference to the comparative evil effects of opium and alcohol?—I have already mentioned that the evil effects of smoking opium in moderation are practically *nil*, and the evil effects of drinking umal pawnee or opium-water are practically *nil*, but if opium is taken to excess it does an injury, but it does not do so much injury as alcohol. It never produces any disease, excepting in the very last stages of an opium-eater, who may suffer from emaciation and diarrhoea. But that is quite exceptional. It never produces drunkenness, such as alcohol does, in fact the attitude of the opium user is always one of repose. He never quarrels with his neighbour or beats his wife, or makes arrangements to commit crimes, whereas the man with alcohol does all this; and the man who suffers from alcohol will get disease of the heart, fatty degeneration, disease of the liver, the kidneys, and other organs. Nothing of that occurs from opium, excepting, as I have said before, by a very large use of opium—the last stages are some degree of emaciation and diarrhoea.

1007. Now, supposing opium were only obtainable in India as a medical prescription, what would you conceive to be the probable result of such a restriction?—It would be a grievous interference with the social

habits and customs of large sections of the population. I will give you an instance. The Rajput, when he is going to make a journey of 10 or 15 miles, or even 20, or even 30 miles, through the sand on a camel, generally takes a cup of umal pawnee—a stirrup-cup to strengthen him on the road. He would not be able to do that. The Rajput gentleman, after he has had his dinner at night, produces the opium pipe or cup of umal pawnee, whichever he prefers; it is produced just as wine is produced in this country after dinner. He would not be able to do that. The camel-feeder, who goes out into the deserts to feed the young camels, and stays there for months, would not be able to do it on his handful of grain and his camel's milk if he had not opium to add to sustenance. The people who frequent the opium shops—and most of them come to the opium shops because they are suffering from some physical malady—would not be able to go to these opium shops, and would not be able to get the relief that they get from them. The malarious fevers of the country would be considerably increased in severity, and the native chiefs, in whose territories opium is grown, would have grave cause for dissatisfaction.

1008. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Have you, in your travels over India, distinguished between the effect of the habitual use of opium in different races?—No, I have not.

1009. You spoke of the Rajputs?—I spoke of the Rajputs. That is the finest race in India.

1010. They are opium eaters?—They are almost habitual opium eaters.

1011. Then you can speak from your own knowledge that they are generally habitual opium eaters?—Well, I have associated with them in daily intercourse, and at times lived in gentlemen's houses. My tent has often been pitched close to their houses; the Thakoors have come into my tent at night.

1012. You are speaking of the reputable citizens?—I am speaking of the gentlemen, the Thakoors, who are really the barons of the country.

1013. And also the workmen?—Oh, yes.

1014. Well-regulated and well-conditioned workmen?—Yes; many such workmen.

1015. And is it your experience that those using opium in that way habitually were, as a class, healthy people?—As healthy as they could possibly be as a class.

1016. I presume there are no statistics in regard to the death-rate or birth-rate in Rajputana?—No, there are no reliable statistics. There are statistics, but I would not recommend them as reliable.

1017. Have you observed whether there was a tendency in case of an habitual opium eater to the increase of the dose?—As a general rule they do not increase the dose, but some do.

1018. That has been your personal observation?—That has been my personal knowledge—yes.

1019. How many times a day do they take their opium?—Generally at night. Then you must recollect that the Indian labourer who takes his opium has no means of solacing himself after the day's work; he has no theatres, no music halls, no clubs, no societies, no gin shops.

1020. And so far as you know, speaking broadly, there is no evidence that the habitual use of opium in moderation, as you describe it, shortens life?—In moderation I should say there was no evidence whatever. Here is a book which gives you the history of the lives of Bombay opium smokers. I do not know whether you have it. But of course I do not mean to say that the excessive use of opium is not deleterious, because it is. But these cases of excessive use of opium in my experience are quite exceptional.

1021. Then, speaking of Rajputana, at any rate, the excessive use of opium is very much like drunkenness amongst ourselves—an exceptional condition?—Just so.

1022. Taking the total effect of the opium habit, is it your view that it is more beneficial than harmful, or more harmful than beneficial?—It is much more beneficial than alcohol.

1023. That is your conviction?—That is my honest view, after many years' experience and investigation.

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1024. Has your experience been gathered almost exclusively among the Rajputs?—No. I have already stated that I was in Bombay for some time, where I often went to the opium shops and smoked opium in the shops with the people.

1025. Is there a community among whom there is a general use of opium in Bombay?—It is very generally used, and by many people who you would never suppose used it—clerks and omnibus conductors, buggy drivers, tramcar men. A great many of them use it.

1026. Is it used in Bombay amongst the more reputable, the law-abiding citizens?—Not to so great an extent as in Rajputana, because the most of them in Bombay have taken to champagne if they can get it, or liquor if they cannot.

1027-8. There is no generalised consumption?—Not in Bombay; no.

1029. You cannot speak of the consumption of opium in Bombay as we can of the use of wine or beer in this country?—No; I do not think you could, because it is not quite so prevalent.

1030. So that if you were to stop the consumption of opium by any means in Bombay the effect would be very different from stopping it in Rajputana?—Yes, it would; but you would do a great injury to all these poor people who go to the opium dens, as you call them, though they are not more dens than the liquor shop is next door or two or three doors off; you do a great injury to them. One-half of the people who come habitually to these opium shops go there because they are suffering from some painful malady.

1031. And is that the best course that you think they could adopt to get relief?—I think it is, because they have, probably all of them, been to the hospitals and not got relief.

1032. Would one be at all right in comparing these persons, who frequent the opium dens in Bombay, to the classes that have sometimes been called the residuum, or the submerged tenth of society?—A great many of them are of course the lower classes of society. The higher classes smoke their opium at home, or drink their opium at home; they do not go to the shops. It is just in this way. Take a gin-shop in the lower parts of London; you will find the same class of people, comparatively speaking, as you do in the opium shops in the East.

1033. But I understood you to say, Sir William, that you could not regard the opium habit as at all generalised amongst the respectable classes in Bombay?—No, I do not think it is.

1034. It is exceptional?—But still a good many use it.

1035. Would you give us an idea. Amongst adults would there be one in ten who smoke opium?—No, I do not suppose there would be.

1036. Not even one in ten?—No. But I could not say for certain, because men will not tell you what their habits are, and they have a happy knack, if you question them, of often saying what they think you would like them to say.

1037. What is agreeable? Are they ashamed of the habit?—No.

1038. Not in Bombay. I mean among the more respectable persons; those who smoke opium are not ashamed of the habit?—I do not think so; no.

1039. You have not perceived that they tried to conceal it from others?—No; but they will not tell you unless you are friends of them and know them pretty well. They will not come and proclaim it in the street.

1040. Have you been in a Sikh campaign? Have you had any experience of the Sikhs?—Only to a small extent when I have been with regiments; there have been Sikhs in the regiment; but I have never been in the Punjab much—only travelling through it occasionally.

1041. Are there large or considerable populations in India among whom the use of opium is practically unknown?—There are large sections of the population who do not use it; but I could not say that it would be practically unknown, because there would be a small minority of people all over the country who do use it.

1042. And even throughout the country there is more or less consumption? It is not confined, I mean, to certain races?—I do not think it is confined to certain

racés, although certain races are more particularly addicted to it.

1043. How do you explain that? How do you explain that, as we are told, the Sikhs and Rajpoots seem to use opium as a diffused and general habit, as we use wine and beer in this country?—I think the explanation, perhaps, may be, as regards the Rajpoots, that they are the gentlemen, the upper classes of the country, although there are a great many poor Rajpoots, and I think they took to it when it was more expensive than the means of the lower classes allowed them to get. But that is pure supposition.

1044. Quite so; you do not speak very positively?—No, I do not.

1045. And you could not give us information?—I could not tell you why they do it, except that they are the better class; they use it just as we might use champagne.

1046. Then you have no information that you could give us as to the relation of the opium habit to race?—No.

1047. Perhaps you might have some other remarks to offer generally?—Yes, I have one or two other remarks that I should wish to offer. It will not take me long. I should wish to draw attention to the fact that insurance societies do not impose a higher rate on opium eaters. With respect to that they are guided by the medical officers of the societies. They were addressed on the subject some little time ago in Calcutta and Bombay, and they all gave the same answer.

1048-9. Is there a large amount of insurance work done in India on the basis of a large number of facts?—Yes; many of the insurance offices were addressed on the point, and they would not increase the insurance. They are guided by the medical men.

1050. That would refer to natives, would it not—insurance of natives?—No, it referred to insurance of Europeans, and natives, and all classes.

1051. But are we to understand that any proportion of the European community are opium eaters or smokers in India?—Well, I think there are a few. I was one myself.

1052. For a short time; you were not an habitual smoker?—Well, I was experimentally.

1053. But as habitual opium users?—Oh, yes, there are a few.

1054. Only a few?—Only a few.

1055. (*Chairman.*) Is the practice of life insurance largely resorted to among the natives?—Yes, it is; a great many insure their lives now, during recent years.

1056. With European offices?—Yes, there are several offices that take insurances of native lives and European lives; they do not limit themselves.

1057. And there are some native associations as well?—Some of the directors of these insurance societies are natives of course. Then I should like to draw the attention of the Commission to some erroneous statements which have been made. One is, that so much land being taken up in India for opium, enough was not left for the growth of cereals, and therefore famines occur; the fact being that it is only a decimal portion of the cultivable land that is taken up with opium. The famine in Rajputana, which was caused by the total failure of rains one year and the ravages of locusts the next year, was said to be caused by the want of food caused because of the opium cultivation in Marwar. I do not think there is a field of opium in Marwar. On the contrary, to my knowledge, hundreds and thousands of people emigrated from Marwar, and went straight across into the opium district of Malwa, a distance of two or three hundred miles, where they found food for themselves and water and grass for their cattle, when they could not get it in the place where they came from. Then, again, the famine in Orissa, in 1868, caused by inundations, was said to be caused because the cereals could not be cultivated in sufficient amount; whereas there is not an acre of opium land in Orissa. Well, such absurd statements as those are put in print. Then, again, it is alleged that the opium users cannot attend to their business. As I have said before, some of the most shrewd business men take their opium. Clerks and people who have work to do in offices, many of them you would be surprised to find taking their opium. Then it is said that opium smoking is more

deleterious than drinking opium water or even eating opium. This is quite incorrect. Opium smoking is harmless; and, besides, it is not crude opium that is smoked—it is a preparation of opium known as chandul or chandoo.

1058. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) How much per cent. of real opium does that generally contain?—It has never been investigated, but the combustion which the chandul undergoes when it is put into the pipe and put into the lamp must destroy much of the narcotic properties, and it has not yet been ascertained authoritatively what really goes up the pipe-stem into the smoker's mouth. That is a subject which requires investigation. Now, when crude opium is taken, it has a different effect, because it must be dissolved and absorbed by the stomach into the system, and therefore it is liable to produce, in the first instance, constipation, and afterwards, by slow digestion and its probable consequences, diarrhoea. Then, that the effect of opium is to produce torpor and sleep. This is quite incorrect. The first effect of opium is exhilarating and stimulating. I compare a pipe or two of opium to a glass or two of good champagne as regards its good effects, and I compare several pipes of opium to several glasses of brandy and water; drowsiness comes on, but without any argumentative or quarrelsome stage. There is another very silly thing that they have frequently said, that opium is so potent persons must lie down to smoke it; they cannot take it standing up or sitting down as a Britisher would drink his gin or his beer. That is quite incorrect. You can smoke your opium sitting down, only it is custom and habit and convenience which causes them to recline; you see that any day in the opium shops. Then it is said that opium causes immorality. I have stated that in small quantities opium is exhilarating and stimulating. No doubt, as with all stimulants, the passions are temporarily excited, but in larger doses it is exactly the reverse. Another statement is that opium prevents the missionary enterprise of converting the Buddhist and the Hindoo. I will not go into that subject; I have said it already in a lecture I gave, that I do not think there is an atom of truth in the assertion. It may be mentioned that the ban placed on spirits by Eastern religions and the long fasts imposed are potent reasons why opium is used. The effects of chandul, which is prepared opium, have been confused with those of tye chandoo, muddut, and hemp. Muddut is a mixture of inferior opium and bran; tye chandoo is a mixture of the refuse of half-burnt chandul scraped from the pipes, the refuse of opium, ganja or bhang, and bad tobacco. Ganja is the dried flowers of the *cannabis sativa* or hemp plant; bhang is the dried leaves and stalks. The effects of chandul, carried to excess, are blank or sleep, or you may call it the *nirvana* of the Buddhists. The effects of ganja are vivid illusions of the brain which may turn to insanity; and if you refer to the statistics of the Indian lunatic asylums you will find that while hundreds are reported as having come into the asylums from the effects of liquor and bhang only three or four or five or six would be returned as coming into the asylums from the effects of opium. And in the jails in the same way. The deaths from opium are practically *nil*.

1059. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I am only going to ask one more question. I do not know whether it is possible to answer it. How is it that the opium habit does not spread amongst the Europeans in India. I mean the habitual use of opium?—Amongst the Europeans?

1060. Yes?—Because they have been brought up from their youth upwards to believe in beer and liquor, and gin, and other things; and then it is a troublesome thing, smoking opium. It is too troublesome for a European.

1061. You would not admit that it was due to some profound constitutional difference?—No; I do not think so.

1062. But of course you would not be positive?—I do not think the constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it. It is simply habit, and bringing up from childhood. We will say the Rajput child sees the opium pipe from the day of his birth, or as long as he can notice anything; the European child sees the gin or the beer.

1063. But you know new habits have arisen even within recent times. The original habit was the alcohol habit; then came the tea habit, the coffee habit, or the tobacco habit?—Yes.

1064. And the British people did not show themselves

selves at all loth to take up these additional habits. How is it that in India they have not taken up the opium habit?—Well, for one reason it is a troublesome thing to smoke opium. You cannot take it like a cigar, and put it in your mouth and smoke it away; you must have a lamp.

1065. But opium-eating is easy enough?—Well, but that is nasty; it does not taste nice. But I have seen many Europeans eat a sweetmeat in India which contains a deal of opium.

1066. But they have not acquired any habit in that direction?—Well, they do not acquire the habit. I will not say positively why, except that I think it is simply a matter of bringing up from youth upwards.

1067. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I do not quite understand your position, Sir William. If I understand rightly, you think on the whole it is a good thing?—I will not go so far as to say it is a good thing, because I think we should be better, all of us, without any liquor, or opium, or anything of the kind; but I mean to say this, that the use of opium does more good than it does harm.

1068. Then it is a good thing?—Yes; that is a good thing.

1069. We are going to India; would you advise us to go in for it?—I would advise you to try it certainly. Do as I did, go to the opium shops.

1070. I did not say "try it," but "use it"?—Use it.

1071. You advise us to acquire the opium habit?—No; I do not advise you to acquire the opium habit, but I advise you to go to the opium shops and see for yourselves, and all of you have a pipe or two.

1072. You do not quite catch my meaning, I think. I do not quite clearly understand whether you think on the whole it is a good thing or not to take opium?—That depends upon the situation the person is in, and it depends upon whether he has the means of using something else which he likes better.

1073. Would you tell me of a situation in which it is a good thing?—Well, I have already told you several situations where it is a good thing. When a Rajput has to ride 30 miles on his camel through the sand he takes his "stirrup cup" of opium before he starts. They used to bring me a "stirrup cup" of opium when I was starting on a march in early morning in Rajputana.

1074. Well, with reference to the people that you saw in the opium shops. You said they had probably all been at the hospital and failed to get relief?—Well, the great majority of them no doubt had been to hospitals, and perhaps were going to hospitals then.

1075. Do I understand that the greater part of the people that you would meet in these opium places are practically sufferers from some serious disease?—I have given the numbers, I think, in a pamphlet which I wrote on the "Opium Shops of Bombay"; but I should say, at a rough guess, that half the people who are in these opium shops, or, as you like to call them, "dens," half of them have something the matter with them.

1076. Previously?—They have bronchial affections, or nervous affections, or sciatica, or other painful affections, and they go there habitually every day because they find that the opium pipe, soothes them better than anything else.

1077. Do you mean that a larger proportion of the persons in these places are invalids than anywhere else?—Yes, certainly.

1078. And that they resort there for the purpose of relief?—They resort to them for relief.

1079. Have the ailments, then, anything to do with the previous habit of taking the opium?—The ailments have nothing to do with it. The people in those shops have been described as suffering from the effects of opium, whereas they have been suffering from the disease for which they went to the shops to get relief.

1080. Then you said that they would not tell you if they took opium. Is that because they think it is disgraceful?—They would not tell you.

1081. You said you had asked—I think our Chairman asked you, or Sir W. Roberts asked you, about these persons, about other people taking opium—you said they often would not tell you whether they took it or not?—I mean not with reference to the people in the

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opium shops, because their presence there shows that they take it, but with reference to the better classes.

1082. Yes; I understand?—They would not tell you unless you knew them, and became acquainted with them. If you met a man in the street, and said, "Are you an opium smoker?" he would probably say, "I do not understand."

1083. Is it because they think it is disgraceful?—No; I do not think it is because they think it is disgraceful.

1084. Then why? What do they think?—Well, they would tell you if you became friendly with them, and knew them. But they would not proclaim it in the street.

1085. No. But I gather from what you said, that there was an inclination to conceal the fact that they took opium. What is their motive for such concealment?—I do not think there is any inclination to conceal it, because they will tell you if you know them. They will not come and volunteer information to anybody they meet.

1086. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Is it the case, Sir William, in Rajpootana, it was thought a disgrace amongst the Rajputs not to eat opium?—Not to eat it?

1087. Yes, it was the same sort of disgrace which used to exist perhaps two generations ago in England, with respect to a man who would not drink wine?—No, I do not think so. I recollect very well one night, I was in the State of Marwar, the Political Agent of Marwar, and myself, were sitting in our tent with four or five gentlemen—Thakooors—and they were asked what they would have, and two or three of them had some brandy which we had with us, but one gentleman said, "No, he would not take any," and all the others said, "Oh, no; he wants to go home to his wife, and smoke his opium pipe." They used to chaff one another in that way.

1088. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I have only one other question—whether you have any idea of the quantity of opium consumed by these different classes of persons of whom you speak?—The quantity differs very much indeed. I should say, perhaps, that the average of what I have seen of a man who uses opium moderately is three or four pipes—he would probably use three or four pipes.

1089. What weight would that represent?—That would represent a weight of 50 or 60 grains, perhaps, of chandni, made into four or five little balls, which is put on the pipe at the lamp.

1090. (*Mr. Pease.*) You spoke of the persons going out into the desert with their camels, and there taking their opium as sustenance?—Yes.

1091. Do you consider that there is anything nourishing in opium, or that it is only a staying power for a while until he could obtain solid food?—It prevents what we used to call a few years ago eremacausis, or waste of tissue. The young camels are sent out into the desert of Rajpootana for the whole of one season, and then they are sent up to the Punjab for the next season, because they get a different kind of grass there, and they say that if they are not sent up to the Punjab after having had one season in Rajpootana they will never become strong camels; and they go out right into the desert districts, where there is not a village within 20 or 30 miles, and water is very scarce. Perhaps a hundred camels would be accompanied by three or four men, and all these men take their opium with them, and they live on a little flour that they take with them—grain (no rice there), and camel's milk and opium. They would not do that if they had not the opium.

1092. You think that a moderate amount of opium can be taken without any injury to the health. Would you recommend persons in this country to take regular doses of opium two or three times a day, and do you think that it would not be injurious to their health?—No, I would not recommend them to take it, and I would not recommend them to take three or four doses of spirits three or four times a day.

1093. But you believe it would not be injurious to their health?—That depends on what they would take. Some people would take a great deal more than others, just as in the same way as spirits. You cannot lay

down any quantity which a man may take. Constitutions differ.

1094. With regard to a remark that I made when a previous witness was giving evidence, there is no allusion in anything that I said with regard to the proportions of Rajpoots in Rajpootana, was there? What I gave was just your own remark, "From the above, and from the inquiries instituted during the previous year, it would appear that the percentage of people to population using opium in Rajpootana is not so great as I, in common with most Europeans, had imagined." Those are your own words?—Perfectly correct, sir.

1095. There was no mistake in the quotation I made?—No mistake. But afterwards I said, in another article, that most of the Rajpoots used opium.

1096. That I did not allude to in any way?—No.

1097. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Sir William Roberts asked you whether you could give any explanation of why certain races used opium. He mentioned the Sikhs and the Rajpoots. As regards the Sikhs, is it not the case that the reason probably is that their first teacher prohibited the use of tobacco?—Their first teacher prohibited the use of alcohol and tobacco.

1098. I do not think he did alcohol—well, not so strongly as tobacco; he deprecated the use of alcohol?—That may have induced the taking of opium. As I say, I think, in my evidence, "the ban placed against alcohol and tobacco in the eastern religions may have led to the use of opium, against which no ban was placed." But that is purely speculative. I could not say why the different races use it, except that it is a habit and custom, and opium is a country product.

1099. Was not the early use of opium among the Rajpoots connected partly with their constant fighting in which they engaged; did not they drug themselves with opium?—Probably they primed themselves with opium.

1100. When they had to make a desperate assault, or anything of that kind?—Yes, they perhaps primed themselves with opium—or perhaps bhang—more frequently. Bhang is more injurious than opium a great deal.

1101. (*Mr. Pease.*) Just one other remark I would like to make, and that is with regard to the question as to the occupation of the land for cereals and for poppy; is it not the fact that there was a great famine in Rajpootana in which about 1,200,000 people died?—Yes, I was there at the time. I travelled 2,000 miles in Rajpootana in the famine years.

1102. And that a great many of them went into Malwa seeking for food, and they were unable to find it?—No; they found food for themselves and their cattle, and water. There was what we call a "tur" famine in Marwar. There was no rain, no grass, and no water, and the people emigrated by hundreds of thousands—went right up into the Punjab—went up to Goojerat. A good number crossed the desert into Scinde; but the greater part went through Meywar into Malwa.

1103. They were all saved that went into Malwa?—A great number of them died on the road.

1104. There was food for them in Malwa?—There was food for them, and grass, and water.

1105. The statement that was made from Dr. George Smith was, that if the land that was in Malwa had been cultivated with cereals, and those cereals had been sent into Rajpootana, it might have saved the lives of the people there?—But how could they be sent into Rajpootana when there was no grass, and no water, and no railway? Why a camel would not carry more than he could eat. I was in Rajpootana at the time, and I saw all the people, and I can state from my own personal knowledge.

1106. The difficulty in Rajpootana was the want of means of communication as much as anything?—You see a man wanted food and water, and you could not send men, because they could not carry more than they would eat on the road.

1107. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) What sort of proportion of the population of Rajpootana are Rajpoots?—About one fourth. That is where the mistake occurred. The opium habit is not nearly so prevalent among what you might call the aboriginal tribes—the half-castes, mhairs, bheels, gonds, menas.

The witness withdrew

Dr. F. J. MOUTAT called in and examined.

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1108. (*Chairman.*) Sir William Roberts has kindly undertaken to conduct your examination?—Thank you. I shall be happy to answer any questions as far as I can.

1109. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I believe that you have had considerable opportunities of studying the opium habit in India?—The opium question I have, in all its relations, but not so much the opium habit, for I did not come so much in contact with it.

1110. Will you tell us what means you possessed of acquiring an acquaintance with opium?—Yes. I was Assistant Opium Examiner to the Government, I think for a couple of years, when I had to analyse and report upon the value of each batch of opium that was sent down to be exported to China. Then I was appointed Chemical Examiner to the Government. In that capacity every parcel of poisons that were supposed to have been intended for criminal purposes was sent to me for examination, and I had to report what I found in them. I never found opium in any case whatever, because it was not used by any professional poisoner.

1111. What?—I never found opium in any of the parcels sent, or substances which might have been contained in them for illegal purposes. I afterwards was appointed Professor of *Materia Medica* and Chemistry. In that position I had to teach the subject of the nature, composition, and uses of remedies employed in medicine, and amongst them was necessarily opium, by far the most valuable medicine we have, particularly in the tropics. Subsequently I occupied the Chairs of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence, and taught the uses and abuses of opium in their therapeutic and medico-legal aspects.

1112. Then am I to understand that you did not come very much into contact with opium eaters or drinkers or smokers?—I came a great deal in contact with a colony in the Burra Bazar of Calcutta, which consisted almost entirely of opium users. They were up-country men, Marwarees, some of them bankers, some shopkeepers; men of considerable intelligence, really good business men, and the whole community of them were reputed to be opium consumers.

1113. You ascertained that from your own observation?—Yes. Of course I was well acquainted with them personally; they came to me at all times when there was anything the matter with them, any sickness, or other trouble. They were not a large colony; but they were a somewhat fluctuating body; many hundreds of them were coming and going in my time.

1114. Then what was your impression as to the state of health and longevity of these people?—I never in my life saw finer men of their respective classes, more intelligent or more active men, or men who showed less signs of being under the influence of any drug or narcotic than both the Chinese colony and this other community of Marwarees I have spoken of in relation to the Burra Bazar.

1115. Do you consider that you obtained accurate information as to the amount of opium that they would use?—No, because it is like tobacco smoking—where one man uses one cigar another will use ten; and the same with regard to pipes. I do not think that you could establish any exact definite quantity which they used. Mr. Monro, who was Commissioner of Police here, and is now a missionary in India, after being Inspector-General of Police there, has given approximately the quantity used per head of the population in Bengal, but you cannot rely much on it as the doctrine of averages does not apply to such questions.

1116. The “mixture three times a day” is a drachm, I think?—I do not know.

1117. But used you to see these people habitually smoking?—No, not habitually; at various times of the day; they did not use opium all day long.

1118. Recurrently, if you like?—Yes, decidedly.

1119. Nearly all of them?—Nearly all of them in that particular quarter use opium, I believe.

1120. And is it your impression that the habit continues for generation after generation among these people?—Yes.

1121. I hope the opium habit is not so old in India that you can speak of it as going on for generation after generation?—Yes, I can, for long before we went to the country it was in use. Smoking is not an Indian vice.

1122. You can speak of the opium habit in some parts of India as having been practised generation after generation?—From historical evidence I can.

1123. Yet the population continues healthy?—Perfectly healthy; amongst them are the finest populations in India.

1124. I suppose it is impossible that you could state facts proving that to the Commission?—No, because I never made special inquiry into this point. Those were the days before the opium question had become a burning question, and it only became interesting to me from my professional position in the city in the heads of which I lived 13 years. They came to me on all possible occasions to consult me as to their illnesses and their family distresses, and thereby I had a considerable personal knowledge of them.

1125. Did the habit go on increasing as years went on?—No, I saw no difference.

1126. Then you would compare the use of opium amongst these people to the use—the moderate use—of alcoholic liquors amongst ourselves?—Undoubtedly.

1127. And quite as harmless?—Yes, quite, in fact more so, because a man shows a flushed face and many other indications of familiarity with alcohol, but you could detect nothing of the kind in the case of those who used opium. They were all temperate; I never saw, in the whole 13 years I was living amongst them (and I saw them daily); they came to me at the outdoor dispensary, or at the hospital, and as a friend, and I never saw, in all that time, an opium drunkard.

1128. Drunk from spirits, do you mean?—No, from opium.

1129. So that these particular groups that you had experience of had not even a minority of opium “sots,” as they are called?—I scarcely understand your question.

1130. You have heard of the opium sot?—Oh, yes.

1131. You saw nothing corresponding to that amongst them?—Nothing whatever. What they were in the evening, when work was done, and the day was over, and they went to their rest, we had no knowledge of, because they were in their own houses; but there was never a brawl in the streets, there was never a man amongst them brought up before the police for any disturbance of public order, in the whole of that time, and I was in constant communication with the police authorities, for I aided them greatly in that part of the city in which I lived, in maintaining order.

1132. Still, I presume you admit that the opium habit has its bad side?—Yes, in excess, undoubtedly.

1133. Will you explain to the Commission what you yourself have observed as to the evils of the opium habit?—I never saw anyone who exhibited such an amount of misuse of opium, not one in the whole of that time, so I cannot speak to it from personal knowledge.

1134. So that you have nothing to say but praise of the habit?—Given the necessity of a stimulant, so far as my knowledge went, certainly.

1135. Do you confine your opinion merely as based upon your own experience of these two communities?—To these two great communities chiefly, but there used to come to the hospital up-country men who were temporarily in Calcutta. I knew nothing more about them than their nationality.

1136. You did not see any sufferers from opium?—No, not one.

1137. Did they not even suffer from what we should expect, in this country at any rate, constipation—yellow eyes, you know; from embarrassed livers?—I knew nothing about their health until they came to the outdoor dispensary, or to the hospital, to consult me medically; but those were not the effects that were visible in them at all. Liver disease was rarely found amongst them.

1138. Well, would you sum up your experience on this question?—You mean my general experience?

1139. Yes?—I would rather, if you will allow me, tell you my experience of opium in relation to crime and insanity; that is a subject I studied particularly.

1140. We should be very glad to hear your account of that?—Taking the connexion between the use of opium and crime, I collected the statistics, and I have here the report of the prisons of the Lower Provinces



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for five consecutive years, wherein are represented all the conditions connected with the imprisonment of 302,000 prisoners of both sexes and all ages—every detail connected with them, their age, sex, occupation, caste, and other circumstances—all these particulars are contained in this volume, and in the whole of it, amongst that large number of people, there was not a single crime that was attributed to opium, either its use or abuse. Had there been such, they would have been placed on record by the magistrates who sent in the returns.

1141. Is alcohol mentioned?—Alcohol, no; alcohol is not mentioned in my returns. We had a very small hospital at that time for the use of Europeans, but still we had a few cases of delirium tremens and similar affections. I will hand in to you the report to which I have alluded, because to give you even a resumé of the details in it would be very difficult; it is a mass of figures from beginning to end.

1142. That is your account of the relation of opium to crime; now with regard to lunacy, what have you to say?—I was official visitor of lunatic asylums, and I had constantly to visit them, and report upon their state, as to the causes of insanity, their treatment, &c. No figures had then been collected to enable me to judge, but I state generally in a series of papers, which I wrote in the "Lancet" (and which I hope you will allow me to present to the Commission), my views upon the subject.

1143. (Chairman.) Will you hand me over those papers?—Certainly, but there is one which I wish briefly to refer to further on, then I will give them to you, my Lord.

Now, here are the "Admissions to the Asylums of Lower Bengal for Ten Years" (1881 to 1890), printed by the Calcutta Medical Society. There were altogether in 10 consecutive years 2,202 admissions, of which 641 were alleged to have been caused by ganja, 117 by spirits, and 8 from opium. That represents the statistics, on this subject, of 74,000,000 of people, so that the infinitesimal portion of a man that became insane from the abuse of opium is really not worth taking into calculation.

1144. (Sir W. Roberts.) I would like to ask you, in reference to this question, out of that total, were there more habitual users of opium, or more habitual users of spirits, or more habitual users of ganja?—There must have been more of ganja, and there is a Commission now examining into that question in India. The hemp plant grows in every ditch, and it can be easily prepared for eating or drinking. It is a far more injurious drug than opium. These figures very fairly represent the difference in character for evil of these three substances. I have already given you the tables as to crime *within* the jails; now how is it as to crime without, which came under the supervision of the police. Here is a paper on the opium question in Lower Bengal, by Mr. James Monro, who was recently Commissioner of Police here, and who was in the magistracy for a long time in India before he became Inspector General of Police. I shall place this document at your disposal. He says: "Are the tendencies of the people in districts which consume opium more criminal than those of other districts in which the drug is sparingly used? The answer is distinctly in the negative. The division of Orissa, which consumes most opium in Lower Bengal, is the least turbulent and troublesome in criminal respects in the whole province" [that contains between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 of inhabitants]. "In the turbulent districts of Eastern Bengal, such as Dacca, Backergunge, Mymensingh, Khoolna, Jessore, and Puhna, the consumption of opium is trifling. During the years in which I was at the head of the police in Lower Bengal (if a reference to personal experience is permissible), I can testify that the use or abuse of opium formed no perceptible factor in the production of crime throughout the province. No case in which the connexion of opium with crime was established ever came under my notice." This gentleman is now a missionary in Bengal, and a very able one. Then he states here: "I most unhesitatingly assert, on the basis of criminal statistics and criminal experience, that the use or abuse of opium is not, to any appreciable extent whatever, a factor in the production of crime in any of the districts in the province of Lower Bengal." Now in this other paper\* there is a reference which has recently

been made to the Chief of the Police in Calcutta as to the amount of crime committed under the influence of opium. The following questions were asked of the said Commissioner of Police:—"Is there much crime traceable or attributable to the habitual use of opium? If so, what kind of crime? Crimes of violence? Or assault? Or robbery? Dacoity?" (that is house breaking) "Theft? House-trespass, &c.?" In reply to which he says: "The only crime that can be, in any way, attributable to the habitual use of opium is petty pilfering, but even this is rare. A petty thief, who is an habitual opium smoker, occasionally steals a lotah, or other small articles that come handy, to enable him to satisfy his craving for the drug. No crime is known to be an after effect of opium, and police experience goes to show that the use of opium does not tend to any crime of daring or violence." Another question is: "Is there such a thing as the 'drunk and incapable' of alcohol referable to opium?" Answer: "There is no such thing as the 'drunk and incapable' referable to opium." Then there are some questions also put to two native gentlemen. I will not trouble you with that, but there is a great deal of detailed information there regarding the influence of opium on the Native population. One of them says that "the Chinese and Siamese in the Colootollah section of the town are all opium eaters, but are nevertheless very intelligent and smart."

1145. The Chinese in the Straits Settlements?—No, in Calcutta. There is a colony of them. I forget now how many there were, but I think 300 or 400. I, however, saw the Chinese colony of 40,000 at Singapore, where I visited the opium farm and Chinese colony with the Governor, who gave them the highest character for sobriety, intelligence, and abstention from crimes of violence.

Another deposes that "hundreds of men over 70 years of age can be seen amongst the opium eaters of Burra Bazar" (that was the community I was referring to in answer to a previous question) "and they enjoy good health. I know an elderly lady who will compute her 97th year by the end of June, and who has been using opium for the last 55 years. She moves about without help, and eats her food well. She is slightly deaf, but does not suffer from any other bodily infirmity." He further says: "The vices of alcohol are unknown to opium. The police returns show that opium eaters are the most peaceful class of citizens, and the only criminal offence committed by men who take opium is petty theft, committed by the low class *madat* smokers. Alcohol is more expensive than opium. Alcohol renders a man drunk and disorderly, whilst opium makes him solemn and quiet."

1146. And you endorse those views?—Quite. Some of these gentlemen were probably pupils of mine. They are now native practitioners, men of great ability and large experience, who can be thoroughly relied upon for their accounts of the diseases that come under their cognisance. Here speaks another of them:—"The therapeutic value of opium no one will deny—its uses in dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera, rheumatism, neuralgia, diabetes, cough, &c., are undoubted, but its value as a remedy, curative, and prophylactic, in malarious fevers, is not so widely known. I will relate to you a circumstance which illustrates the value of opium in malarious districts. During an epidemic of fever in the Terai districts near Bareilly, in Rohilkund, three compounders were sent with a stock of medicine. Of these three, one smoked tobacco only, and he died there of fever: the second man, who was a *bhang* eater, returned to Bareilly with a bad type of remittent fever; while the third man, who was a confirmed opium eater, returned after the epidemic was over, much improved in health and experience."

1147. That is rather a narrow experience, is it not?—It is a narrow experience, and these are merely typical cases. I do not think much reliance need be placed on these small statistics. Such statistics should be drawn from a much larger field of observation to enable any sound general deductions to be drawn from them; but still, there is quite sufficient in them to show that so far as I witnessed, opium in moderation was not a destructive agent in any sense, of health, morals, or manners, or productive of crime.

1148. (Mr. Wilson.) There was just one thing that you read us out of that book which struck me. One of the persons whose statements you read said that opium

\* The discussion by the Calcutta Medical Society on the effects of the habitual use of opium on the human constitution. July 1892.

makes them solemn. We were told it was exhilarating?—It tends generally to quietude and repose, and they doze off to sleep in most cases; when you wake them up they are intelligent and sharp, and are able at once to go to their work or business. Another question I have heard raised in this room I should like to touch upon. I never found one of those gentlemen (and many of them were bankers, merchants, and men of good position and repute) who was in the least ashamed of being an opium smoker or eater, or made any attempt to conceal the fact. If I were attending them medically, and I asked them whether they used opium, they readily told me; but in most cases it would have been a matter of idle curiosity for me to ask them, as I knew that they were practically every one of them opium consumers. And as to their loss of caste, and all that sort of assertion, I witnessed nothing of the kind.

1149. I understood that you yourself lived between a colony of eaters on the one side, and a colony of smokers on the other?—That was so.

1150. Then as regards these people you have been speaking of, do any of them indulge in both practices—eating and smoking?—I do not think so.

1151. (*Mr. Pease.*) It is the practice, is it not, to mix opium with ganja?—Not amongst those that I witnessed. It is done, I was told, in the Straits Settlements and other places out of India, and there it is said to be extremely mischievous.

1152. You drew a distinction between the action of the two; but I thought they were frequently taken in conjunction?—Not, so far as I knew, amongst the communities I lived in the midst of.

1153. (*Chairman.*) Are there any further observations which you would wish to make?—Allow me, my Lord, to read you my formulation as contained in my papers in the "*Lancet*." I say as follows, in summing up all I know of the subject, both from reading and practical experience:—"I maintain, and have not yet seen any authoritative proof of its inaccuracy, that the habitual use of opium in India is neither injurious, degrading, nor immoral; that it has caused no general mental or physical deterioration of the races of any part of India in which it is in general use since the control of its cultivation and distribution has been undertaken by the Government of that portion of the country which is under its direct rule; that it is not a general incentive to crime or destroyer of reason; that it is a valuable febrifuge and

"prophylactic in the deltas of the great rivers and malarious districts generally; that any alternative which may, and indeed must, follow its compulsory disuse or employment only as a medicine for the enforcement of which no trained agency at present exists would be a resort to much more harmful stimulants and narcotics than opium ever has been, or can be;" [and that has really occurred; where the price of opium has become prohibitory they have taken to alcohol; where the circumstances have been the reverse, they have abandoned alcohol and taken to opium—so that it is no longer a speculative opinion] "that the reasons for its proposed suppression, should such a proceeding be practicable, are unsound, visionary, and calculated to cause much undesired misery and suffering amongst the peaceable nationalities, and would be actively resisted by the more manly and warlike races of India, whose mental, moral, and physical qualities are the best possible proofs of the absolute inaccuracy of the anti-opium contention; that it shares with the many narcotics and stimulants in use in all civilised countries the characteristics of a poison when used in excess, but in a minor degree to most of them; that such excess is exceptional in India; that the revenue raised from its sale in British India, as an excise, is no more immoral or degrading than the revenue raised in Great Britain from the spirit licences and other means of taxation applied to alcohol in its various forms, or to tobacco, which is also in universal use; that the fiscal action of the Indian Government in restricting its use is a really humane and moral measure when contrasted with the spirit licences issued in Great Britain, and is itself in practice and intention a thoroughly moral proceeding." That was the result of my observations, and those remarks based upon the study and use of opium in my practice as a hospital physician represent my firm convictions on the subject. If there is any other question I shall be happy to answer it.

1154. (*Mr. Pease.*) Is it not a fact, as stated at that meeting from the report of which you have made some quotations, that opium is taken for the purpose of exciting sexual desire?—Yes, I believe so; but as a matter of fact it rapidly produces a very different effect, and is said to have a marked tendency to diminish the reproductive powers to such extent as to influence the increase of population. This, I submit, is deserving of further consideration from a Malthusian point of view.

The witness withdrew.

Sir GEORGE BIRDWOOD called in and examined.

1155. (*Chairman.*) How long were you in India, Sir George?—Will you allow me to read my statement? I can get through it quicker in that way. It is taken from the remarks I made on Mr. George Batten's paper read at the Society of Arts in 1892, and is as follows:—"I wish here to speak only of my personal observation of the habitual use of opium during my 15 years' latter residence in Western India. I paid the closest attention to the subject during the whole of the years I was there, and had every kind of experience in relation to it, having at different periods been in medical charge of the Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse, the 8th Madras Cavalry, the 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, a battery of Artillery, the jail and civil station of Sholapore, and the steam frigate "*Ajdaha*." Now with regard to that experience, I would like to point out the difference in the conduct of European troops while on the march as compared with that of the native troops. Whenever I marched with European troops they were a constant cause of anxiety to me, both on medical grounds, and on account of the trouble they gave in their dealings with the natives. I recollect, on one occasion, quite a riot in a village through which European troops were passing; they had broken into the spirit shop, and the young "*Queen's*" officer in command was just about to flog the *patel* of the village for their misconduct when fortunately I was able to stop him by telling him it would be as bad as flogging a mayor in this country. On the other hand, the native troops, when they were on the march, never gave any trouble, either in regard to drunkenness or women. On the line of march this is what would habitually happen with them. When a halt was sounded, they would break themselves up into small groups of four or five,

and sit for a while, and then one of a group would in a quiet way take from his pocket a little lump of opium, and proceed to divide it with those sitting with him; and there they would sit awhile meditating, swallowing the opium and meditating; and by the time the halt was at an end, and the regiment reformed and marched on, they were fully refreshed and perfectly steady. "Subsequently, and for the remainder of my service, I was attached to the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital, Bombay, and was in succession Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and of Botany and Materia Medica, at Grant Medical College. I was also a J.P., and a visitor of the jails in Bombay, and the year I was sheriff I regularly visited them. Besides this, I was probably more intimately familiar with all classes of the native population than any other European of my generation; while, as an ever-active journalist" (I was a journalist from the first day to the last of my service in India), "I was mixed up in almost every discussion of this sort during my time in Bombay. Well, in all the experience—as here precisely detailed, and capable, therefore, of being checked at every point—I thus had of the indigenous life of Western India, I never once met with a single native suffering, or who had ever suffered, from what is called the excessive use, or from the habitual use of opium; and, excepting cases of accidental or wilful poisoning by opium, I never knew of a single instance of death from its use; and I have never met with anyone who, in his own personal experience, has known a case of death, or of injury to health, from the habitual use of opium as practised by the people of any part of India proper." I exclude Burnah; I know nothing of it.

*Dr.*  
*F. J. Mouat.*  
15 Sept. 1893.

*Sir*  
*G. Birdwood.*

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G. Birdwood.  
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1156. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) You exclude suicides, of course?—Yes. “So far as I can remember, in the ‘printed tables used in Indian civil and military hospitals for the entry of diseases, there is no column for the ‘opium habit,’ nor for ‘deaths from opium.’ On the strength of my personal experience I should be prepared to defy anyone to bring forward, from their personal experience, a single authentic record of death, or shortened life, from habitual opium eating or drinking in India. If anyone can, let him, and the means of verifying his or her statement, are always, within the current generation, accessible in India. On the contrary, so far as my experience goes, the healthiest populations of Western India are those distinguished for their so stigmatised excessive use of opium. I refer to the people of Gujerat generally, and more particularly to the people of the Kaira district, and also of the neighbouring district of Broach. As to opium smoking, it is, from my experience of it, as innocuous as smoking hay, straw, or stubble.” I never could perceive the slightest effect from it upon myself, and how it has any effect on other people I do not know. I think it must result from the generally vicious conditions of the lives of the frequenters of the opium dens in China.

1157. Do you not think there may be a special toleration?—Yes, it may be that; but there is the fact that morphia is very readily decomposed by heat, and my presumption is that the morphia is decomposed in the opium pipe before it reaches the lungs. I think this is very probable, from my own experience of the absolute innocuousness of opium smoking. This was stated by me in 1881 in the “Times,” and the Society for the Suppression of Opium engaging in controversy with me on the subject. I had collected, through Messrs. Henry S. King & Co., a large number of opium pipes which had been used, and samples of fresh *chandu* from every port in the East, but when I offered them to the Society for the Suppression of Opium to have analyses made, which would have determined this point at once, they politely declined; and I made over the collection to the Kew Museum.

1158. I do not quite understand how that can settle the question of decomposition of the morphia in the pipe?—If you can prove that the morphia, which is the “magistery” of opium, is decomposed in the pipe, surely it also proves that the evil effects attributed to opium smoking cannot be truly due to it.

1159. They might be attributable to the slight change in the alkaloids?—Yes, that might be so; that is a very interesting question, and it is very desirable to clear it up. As I said, I gave all my pipes, and all my samples of *chandu* to Kew, and there they are; but I do not advise their being analysed now, because the virtue of the *chandu* may have disappeared by this time. But here is a very remarkable fact. The opium that the Chinese prefer for smoking is Indian opium. Now, Indian opium contains only 2 per cent. of morphia, whereas Turkish and Egyptian opium, the kinds used for the production of morphia, contain 7 per cent., 8 per cent., and 9 per cent. of morphia. But since the Government of India began fostering a falling off of the importation of Indian opium into China, Persian opium has taken its place. Persian opium has scarcely a trace of morphia in it, not more than 1 per cent., if so much. From experiments I have made on inveterate tobacco smokers I am satisfied that a great deal of the pleasure derived from smoking that drug is purely psychical. I do not whether there is anyone here greatly addicted to tobacco smoking, but if there is I would almost like to try the experiment now, to blindfold that person, and put a cigar into his mouth, and pretend to light it. I am sure he would enjoy it immensely. Nine out of ten persons on whom that experiment is tried find that they do not know a lighted cigar from an unlighted one.

1160. But would you suggest that a new smoker, if he smoked in the dark, would not be sick?—Well, I only smoked a cigar once in my life, and it was in the dark, and I was dreadfully sick. It may appear rather fanciful, but I myself would like to prepare a consignment of Indian monopoly opium from which the morphia had been extracted, send it to China, and see the result.

1161. Do you not think that is like a proposal to make a beer without alcohol; do you think the British public would take beer without alcohol?—I do not think the British public would have their beer without alcohol,

but I think the Chinese would smoke their opium without the morphia. But the great thing is to have some analyses, two or three, made at different ports of the East, it could easily be done, of *chandu*, and I hope the Commission will do it. Of course a small portion of the morphia may pass over, and that would account for a good deal, but at the same time smoking *chandu* never produced the slightest effect upon me any more than if I had sucked an unlighted straw. “I have, therefore, always presumed that the morphia in ‘the ‘smokable extract of opium’ is all decomposed in the flame of the lamp at which the opium pipe is lighted, before the smoke from it reaches the lungs. This, however, is only a presumption, and in one case, examined by Professor Attfield, morphia was found in the ashes of an opium pipe used by a smoker in the East End of London. But be this as it may, we find in China, as in India, that nowhere are the native populations so robust, industrious, and thriving as in the principal opium-producing provinces of the Empire.” Of course I am not speaking here from my own experience, I am speaking on the authority of the Reports of Dr. Ayres (on the “Jails and Hospitals of Hong-Kong,” a most valuable report), of Mr. Donald Spence, Acting Consul at Ichang, Mr. J. G. Scott, C.I.E. (in his “Report on the Administration of the Northern Shan States”), and others.

1162. (*Chairman.*) Is Professor Ayres’ Report a Parliamentary Paper?—It is a Colonial Office Paper. “I well know the Bombay den kept in my time by a Chinese ‘gentle convertite’ to Christianity. It was the one den in a city with a population second, in the whole British Empire, only to that of London. Yet I never saw”——

1163. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) May I ask what was the date of that observation?—It would be 1865–66 or about that time. “Yet I never saw more than ten or twelve opium smokers there at any time—poor, lost souls, whose miserable, physical, and moral degradation and depravity it would be impossible for even descriptive reporters and sensational photographers to exaggerate. But who were they? The dregs of the lowest outcasts of the greatest emporium of trade in the Old World outside London, and the sink of all the miscellaneous vagabondage of the Indian Ocean. And as for the real causes of their sufferings I will only here say that, so far as I could ever ascertain, they had nothing to do with the opium pipe, which seemed to me to be simply the last palliative of their ‘disnatured torment,’ until enfranchised of it all by death, which generally overtook these cases of complicated and perverted nympholepsy in from three to nine months.” The worst cases were those of smokers who had recourse to opium smoking on account of their perverted nympholepsy. The immorality of the young is a comparatively innocent thing, but all old men know that directly the degradation of nerve tissue begins immorality takes the most perverted forms, and these cases of extreme opium smoking were always of men in the extremity of senile nymphomania, and they took to the habit obviously to allay their torment.

1164. May I ask if the condition resembles what sometimes follows in cases of organic disease of the spinal cord?—Exactly.

1165. And yet no disease of the spinal cord has been in existence?—I had nothing to do professionally with the frequenters of the opium dens, but I was always a very curious observer of such things quite independently of my professional work. I saturated myself during my residence in India with the observation and study of native manners, customs, and institutions, and it was simply in the pursuit of this knowledge that I visited the Bombay opium den. “I, on the contrary, holding that its habitual consumption is essential to the health, wealth, and happiness of a vegetarian tropical people, would freely throw the cultivation and manufacture of it open to private enterprise, and raise as large a revenue from its export from India as it would bear.” Anything that would tend to deprive the native princes of their revenue from opium would be a political error of capital magnitude. The great difficulty of our position in India is the introduction by us of an expensive scientific government beyond the economic capacity of the country to support. This is particularly hard on the native States, and to deprive them of the one revenue which they can raise without causing any discontent would be, as I have said, a political blunder of the very greatest magnitude. All I have to say in conclusion is on the one point of the

new charge that has recently being brought against opium—that it is conducive to immorality—that, in the language of Dr. Maxwell, “it promotes lust.” I think that is a very heedless charge, because it is one which is so very difficult to answer in the straightforward way in which any answer should be given. I propose to read what I have written on this aspect of the question. “This belief that the use of opium stimulates ‘lust’ has recently been revived in Europe, among ignorant people, by Perelaers’ novel ‘The Opium Fiend,’ translated from the Dutch into English in 1888 by the Rev. E. T. Venning, M.A. The belief is an immemorially old one and is still popularly held throughout the East from Morocco to Japan. But it has no justification in any body of well-proved fact. The only secretion that opium is held by scientific observers to stimulate is the cutaneous. It has been said by some to stimulate the renal secretion, but this is not generally accepted, while, on the other hand, opium is recognised as diminishing the sensibility of the ureters and bladder. Of course, through its action on the brain, opium may stimulate the reproductive secretion, as also through its action on the heart and the vascular system generally. But there is no proof of this beyond the fact that during healthy maturity everything serves to stimulate the reproductive instinct, and anything may in which faith, as such a stimulant, is encouraged. The classical instance, of Turkish origin, in support of the Old World superstition, is one to which no scientific credit would ever have been given but for its quotation by Cabanis in his philosophical work on ‘Man.’ It is that of the 8,000 alleged opium-eating Turks who fell in some forgotten field of glory, and were there found after death in a state of mentulinary rigidity—all the 8,000! The story is too droll for serious consideration; but, as it still has influential currency, I may as well add that the phenomenon recorded constantly occurs in *articulo mortis*, and in my Indian experience of the death of healthy adults by cholera was universal; and the tradition is that it occurred at the death of the Prophet Mahomed.” It is a phenomenon that occurs throughout nature. A friend of mine in Bombay, Mrs. Hough, had in her garden a mango tree, remarkable for flowering every Christmas. She was very anxious to find out why it flowered out of season as well as in season; and I found out that the tree had been blown down about 70 years previously to my inquiries, during a great storm about Christmas time, and that in the agony of threatened death it at once threw out blossoms. And a similar thing occurred to a number of yuccas growing on the Esplanade at Bombay, where there was a dense row of these plants half-a-mile long. A monsoon tide on one occasion swept the whole of them down, and within three days they all burst into bloom. It was, the creative force of Nature, asserting itself in death. “Sir Astley Cooper, who devoted much study and research to the physiological effects of opium, quotes with acquiescence the statement of a patient, who took opium freely, that it was absolutely anaphrodisiac. The conclusion at which Sir Astley Cooper arrived has now, I believe, the general consent of the medical profession; and it is entirely borne out by the evidence recently placed before the world in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Alleged Chinese Gambling and Immorality*, appointed 20th August 1891, and presented to the New South Wales Parliament by command, and printed at Sydney by Charles Potter, Government printer, 1892. The extracts bearing on the present question are attached to this statement.” [The witness handed in a document.] “The truth is, no popular, that is to say, unprofessional, oriental evidence on this question can be accepted; and simply because of the archaic point from which it is still regarded by the people of the East. They all, including the people of India, regard the reproductive force in man as a part of the divine creative energy, to be cherished in every way, and utilised to the utmost; and their primary division of the *materia medica* is into drugs which warm or exalt this force and drugs which chill, or as they hold, degrade it; that is, into *gurm* and *tunda*; and the names they give their popular warming drugs and prescriptions are to Europeans most startling. Thus the roots of the *Atropa Mandragora*—the ‘mandrakes’ of the English authorised version of the Bible, and *Atropa Belladonna*, are named *gir-boli*, ‘house-upset’; that is, by the procreative rage of the house-father. The Belgaum Walnut (*Aleurites triloba*), and the drupes of

“*Vangueria spinosa* and *Raudia dumetorum* are named ‘*madanphul*, popularly contracted to ‘*maniphul*, that is, ‘rage-fruit,’ *madan* here being radically the same word as *mada*, ‘wine,’ *madh*, ‘honey,’ *madyam*, ‘magic,’ and *mathura*, or *madura*, ‘a pleasant woman,’ the name given to the two well-known Indian cities of Mathura and Madura from their traditional association with the free loves of Krishna and the *gopis*. Several other drugs, most of them perfectly inert, are named *madan-must*, literally ‘rage-rage,’ meaning ‘furious-rage’; *must* here being radically connected with the Latin *mustum* and *mustum*. The descriptive, as distinguished from the astral, name of the month of February, in Bombay, is *must-mahina*, ‘sap-month,’ or ‘rage-month,’ on the 14th day of which is held the great phallic festival of the *Maha Siva Ratri*. One of the best known aphrodisiac prescriptions of the Hindus is named *vejai*, ‘victory’; its components being nutmegs, cloves, cubebs, which are spices indeed, and niger seed, celastus seed, cowhage beans, caltrops, pellitory, mastic, safflower, and red oxide of mercury,” simply because it is red.

1166. There is no opium in it?—No opium in that prescription. “But the great classical Indian aphrodisiac prescription is named *madana Kam-Ishvara*, literally, ‘Rage Love-God,’ and meaning ‘Ornipotent procreative rage,’ and its constituents, besides opium, are musk, nutmegs, cloves, talc, camphor, red oxide of mercury, and safflower. The dose is three grains, each dose containing one-sixth of a grain of opium. Such prescriptions can only act in the way imputed to them through the imagination, and the truth is that the names of these Indian drugs and prescriptions, and the specific virtue attributed to them, are not based on any knowledge of their physiological effects, but simply on the old, exploded doctrine of phallic signatures, whether in form, texture, or colour.” It is a doctrine that was held by all the ancients, and the Hindoos are still the ancients of the world, for they have preserved their beliefs and traditions almost intact from the beginning of historic times down to the present day. “A good deal of this superstition is still lying latent in the folklore of the West, but in the East it is in rampant evidence everywhere. I remember at a *durbar* held by Sir Bartle Frere on his remarking to a native Prince who had just introduced a son to him, ‘Have you any other son?’ the Prince at once indignantly protesting, ‘and is it nothing to have this one son; and oh, if you only knew the trouble I was at to procure him, and all the prescriptions I took’; and so he went on, without any possibility of stopping him, before the whole *durbar*, loudly detailing all the philtres he had had to swallow before his one and only son was born to him. Sanskrit scholars hold that aphrodisiacs played an important part in Indian mythology and literature from the oldest times. The antithesis of the ideas of the East to those of the West on the present point and which should be carefully kept in view in inquiries such as will engage the attention of the Royal Commission on Opium, is still more emphatically illustrated by one of my earliest professional experiences, and every medical man who has practised will have had some similar experience. I was attending a very high-caste Hindoo, suffering from a specific local sore. I was permitted to see it, but on proceeding to approach it for the purpose of cauterising it, he at once started back in pious horror, thrusting out his arms with outspread palms against me, and exclaiming—‘*Ishvara, Ishvara!*’—the God, the God!’—meaning ‘Stand off, stand off, oh profane one!’ In almost the same breath he called out for his daughter, who, on coming in from the front garden, was directed by the father to make the simple manipulations which enabled me to properly apply the lunar caustic.”

In regard to the question of the abolition of the opium trade, supposing this was accomplished, what would happen? Already I see, in the last number of the “Bombay Gazette,” the effect of the restriction on the output of the monopoly of opium has been, to increase the exports into British Indian territory from the native States. The import of Persian opium into China has also increased; while China has actually commenced exporting opium into the Shan States and the Straits Settlements. And another very interesting fact is brought out in connexion with the shutting of the *chandu* shops in Bombay. It was a proper thing to do, and I only wish the Government here would do the same with the corner public-houses in

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London; but the effect of shutting those few *chandu* shops has been to establish (and there is a gentleman in this room who can confirm this from letters he has received from Bombay) about 100 private clubs for opium smoking in Bombay, which, of course, has given an immense impetus to opium smoking.

1167. (Sir W. Roberts.) Have you anything further to say?—No. I rely, as a scientific man, only on the facts that have come within my own observation, and which I have detailed to you. I wish no weight whatever to be attached to my speculations and opinions; they are interesting to me personally, but as a scientific observer I regard them as of no value.

1168. (Mr. Wilson.) I understood you to say, generally, that you thought it quite harmless, as harmless as unlighted straw, I think was your expression?—I mean to say, as far as I am personally concerned. I do not understand how opium smoking can be injurious. I believe the statement is made that the Chinese are injured by it. This is to me a very interesting puzzle, and I would like to have it cleared up; and it would be a great thing to this end to have analyses made of the *chandu* smoked in different parts of the East.

1169. Yes, that may be very interesting as regards yourself, but we are speaking about the people of India and China. You do not, I suppose, suggest that it produces no more effect upon them than an unlighted straw?—Well, I do not know anything about the Chinese; but here I have Spence's evidence, and Scott's, and Ayres'. Ayres says: "As a habit I cannot find it so injurious as tobacco smoking is in some cases. I am an inveterate tobacco smoker myself, and as far as I am concerned, it has never done me any harm, but I have seen many cases of its evil effects on other people. I have not been able to find even this much in the case of the opium smoker." This is written by a man who has been in charge of the hospitals and jails of Hong Kong, for, I believe, 20 years. "Very few people have got through their first pipe or cigar without feeling very sick, even if they have not had a violent attack of vomiting; but I have tried opium smoking on many novices, and could find nothing approaching the effect of tobacco; though the smoker does not inhale the smoke of tobacco, the effect of the nicotine in the case of a novice is visible to anyone. But though the opium smoke is always inhaled deep into the lungs, no effects of morphia are visible at all, and I doubt very much if this principle ever reaches the lungs at all. As will be seen in Mr. McCallum's report, there is about 6 to 7 per cent. of morphia in the opium sent out by the opium farmer, yet the old opium smoker, who has had the habit for over 30 years, and was one of the best Chinese Government servants in my department, could not detect the difference between the opium farmer's opium, containing 7 per cent. of morphia, the same opium with an additional 15 per cent. of morphia added, and the opium farmer's opium with all the morphia abstracted." Now I only saw that to-day; but it exactly confirms my suspicion that the morphia is decomposed before the smoke enters the lungs, or is to a great extent decomposed.

1170. I only wanted to be sure if I had properly condensed the general effect of your evidence—that opium smoking is harmless. You do not go so far as to say that it is beneficial, but you say it is harmless?—Yes, that is what I say. I would add that opium smoking in Bombay is only indulged in by riff-raff Chinese and others—who come from abroad, at least that was my personal experience there. In my time there was only one opium smoking shop there—since then the number may have increased—and it was only the lowest of the people who used it for opium smoking.

1171. I only want to ask you one other question. You spoke of the good conduct of native troops on the march. It is a fact, I believe, that opium smoking shops have to be shut up whenever a regiment passes. Do you know why that is?—I do not know how that may be. I know nothing about the licensing system in India—it is a matter in which I take no interest. I speak as a sociologist and a medical man.

1172. But you spoke about the contrast between the British troops and the native troops?—Yes, the contrast presented on the line of march respectively by spirit drinking and opium eating habits. The British troops were a source of all sorts of anxiety and trouble

to their officers; whereas the native troops on the march were never a source of any anxiety whatever.

1173. You do not know anything about those opium shops being shut when the regiments were passing through?—Not up-country. I never heard of such a regulation.

1174. (Mr. Mowbray.) Do your remarks apply equally to opium eating as to opium smoking?—Oh, no, I draw a distinction between the two. I was only speaking of opium smoking when I said the opium habit was, in my experience, absolutely harmless. Opium eating, of course, one can easily understand may be harmful, undoubtedly so; all I am saying in regard to it is that the opium habit in India is not nearly so harmful to the people as the alcohol habit in this country.

1175. But could you give us your opinion as to the effect on the Indian people of opium eating?—It has no bad effect within my observation. The healthiest people I knew, the best people, the wholesomest people, and those you trusted most in their work, were always the opium eaters: invariably.

1176. But you consider that eating opium is a stronger form of taking the drug than smoking it?—Quite so, because of the morphia it contains. Nothing can be more hurtful, for instance, than the morphia habit now so prevalent in America. Of course, in speaking of the effects of a drug or any substance, one must remember that the least difference in composition, or even in structure, makes the greatest differences in its physiological action. For instance, water, crystallised as snow, instead of allaying thirst aggravates it.

1177. But your general opinion is that in neither form does it do any harm?—Well, I will tell you what my opinion is: I would like everybody to lead an ideal life, to live upon the fruits of the earth, and to take no stimulants whatever but water and milk; but taking human nature as it is, I would not for the world disturb the opium habit of the Indian people, because I know that if they ceased to use opium our merchants would pour alcohol into the country in its place. Our distillers would be quick to see their new market, and would rush and make it all their own; and you would not dare to prevent them; and, in times of epidemic or famine, alcohol would decimate the people of India before you were aware of it.

1178. (Sir W. Roberts.) Referring to that singular observation of yours about the opium pipe, I daresay you have seen it stated that, even with regard to the nicotine of tobacco, which is volatile at a high temperature, it is not nicotine which reaches the lungs, but two allied alkaloids derived from it?—Yes, formed in transit. That is a very interesting scientific point, and with reference to opium can be determined only by an analysis of the smokeable extract, or *chandu*.

1179. (Mr. Pease.) You are of course aware that the policy of the Indian Government has been to keep down the consumption of opium, and still to endeavour to maintain the revenue?—I think the Indian Government has acted very weakly, with criminal weakness, in yielding to the pressure put upon them by the Anti-Opium Society through Parliament. I have no right to criticise them, but I utterly disapprove of their want of conviction, or it may be of courage in this respect.

1180. Indeed, I believe you have expressed the opinion that you would personally approve of the opium trade being thrown open to private enterprise?—Yes.

1181. I suppose you are aware that witnesses have stated that opium eating is a very deteriorating vice, and shows marked effects on the consumer?—That may be so in China, but within my own personal observation most assuredly that is not the case, and as I have said, I believe there is no European who knows all classes of the natives in India more intimately than I do.

1182. (Chairman.) To sum it all up, as regards the effect of the use of opium, I presume it is like other things a question of quantity, and you hold that the moderate use is not injurious, indeed I think you say it is beneficial; but that an excessive use of it will have a pernicious effect?—It may be so, but I have never seen any pernicious effect from the habitual use of opium in any form. We have most of us seen how rapidly the use of alcohol leads to its abuse, but I never in India knew any case in which the habitual use of opium had proved injurious.

The witness withdrew.



Mr. H. N. LAY, C.B., called in and examined.

1183. (*Chairman.*) You were for many years resident in China, were you not?—Yes.

1184. How many years were you there?—Seventeen.

1185. And during that time what posts did you fill?—I entered the Consular service as supernumerary interpreter. I was for some time attached to the Magistracy at Hong Kong as interpreter in the Cantonese dialect; I then became an assistant in the Consulate at Canton; and afterwards interpreter and vice-consul at Shanghai. I was then appointed British Inspector of Customs in succession to Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Wade, and in 1858 I was attached to Lord Elgin's Mission, and by Lord Elgin's express wish became Inspector-General of Chinese Customs.

1186. How many years were you in the service of the Chinese Government?—Nine years. I was in intimate relations with the highest officials of the Empire at a time when they were in great distress and difficulty, and when they did not know what to do; I was in fact really their adviser.

1187. Well, you have had many opportunities of forming an opinion with regard to the question which is before us?—Yes, my Lord, I think I have.

1188. Sir James Lyall has kindly undertaken to conduct your examination.

1189. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You have written a note, Mr. Lay, entitled "Note on the Opium Question, and Brief Survey of our Relations with China." So long ago as 1589, and again in 1615, opium appears in Chinese tariffs as an article paying import duty?—Yes.

1190. Have you seen those papers (the tariffs), or on what authority have you made that statement?—Yes, I have seen the tariffs, and the very use of the word "opium" (which in Chinese is called "a fee yong," derived from the Arabic word U-fyun) proves that we did not introduce opium into China, but that the Turks did so in the first instance. Opium was introduced into China in the eighth or ninth century from Persia, Syria, and Turkey, under the term "afuyung," which was corrupted into "opium."

1191. I think Indian opium was first introduced by the Portuguese, was it not?—I believe it was.

1192. I see you say in your note, also, that in 1722 an import duty on opium was fixed by Imperial Decree?—Yes.

1193. On what authority is that statement made?—The authority is the Blue Book, where it is distinctly stated, and further on in my note I think I can quote you a passage where the fact is recorded.

1194. Again you say that this duty continued to be collected from that time, and that the import of opium was first prohibited by Imperial Decree in 1799?—Yes; but it was carried on just as before, notwithstanding the decree.

1195. Have you seen that decree of 1799?—No, I have not. I have seen the tariff of 1722, in which the article is admitted as an import, and a duty is fixed of three taels (or 1*l.* sterling) per picul (133½ lbs), but I have not seen the decree of 1799.

1196. You further say in your note that the motive of the decree of prohibition in 1799 was in consequence of the drain of silver from the country. On what authority is that?—That is also to be found in the Blue Books.

1197. Yes, but how did you ascertain that it was in order to prevent the drain of silver from the country, and not on moral grounds, that the decree was passed?—Because it omits any reference to moral grounds.

1198. What, the decree?—Yes, the decree does not contain any reference to moral grounds.

1199. I thought you said you had not seen the decree?—I have seen the reference to it in the Blue Book. I have seen all the Blue Books on the subject. I get my information here mainly from the Blue Books.

1200. The old Blue Books?—Yes, between 1809 and 1840.

1201. A Blue Book, probably, would not mention any moral ground, would it, upon which the Government of China might have acted?—No, but it would quote the decree—portions of it, at all events, or possibly the whole of it. I have not the books here.

1202. You say that after the decree of 1799, and down to the events preceding the war of 1840-41, the opium trade was allowed to continue, as before, by the Chinese governors and mandarins, and that no article paid its import fees more regularly than opium did?—Those are the words of Captain Elliott.

1203. Do you understand by the word "fees" that the Imperial duty fixed in 1722 continued to be levied, or that the mandarins exacted other fees, such, for instance, as transit duties?—I think they always, from the first, exacted more than the legitimate fees.

1204. Do I understand that, in spite of the prohibition of 1799, the Imperial duty fixed in 1722 continued to be collected?—I have no doubt of it myself, but I have, of course, no evidence that such was the case; but if you will refer, sir, to my note dealing with the year 1725, you will find that "the first Customs tariff for foreign trade was proclaimed. Yung Ching, the reigning Emperor, directed it to be strictly observed by the local authorities. Those directions were disregarded. Arbitrary and excessive charges were imposed by the authorities, who, moreover, sought to obtain heavy bribes by the arrest and imprisonment of merchants, and the vexatious detention of shipping."

1205. If the import trade in opium continued, unaffected by the prohibition, and fees or duties were levied quite regularly, how do you account for the coming up of the smuggling trade which you mention sprang up?—Well, the term "smuggling trade" is really, as we understand it, a misnomer. There never was any opium smuggled into Canton at all, the smuggling took place upon the Canton River, between Lintin and Canton, after the admission of the opium.

1206. Well, was the port at Lintin then?—No, the port was at Canton.

1207. Is Lintin above Canton?—No, some distance from Canton. The river is 90 miles long.

1208. Is it, I mean, below Canton or above it?—Below Canton. My note on this part of the subject says: "In consequence of the exactions levied upon opium after its admission, a smuggling trade had sprung up at points upon the Canton River, which is nearly 90 miles in length. Upon the Viceroy's recommendation a decree was issued from Peking in 1834, enacting the severest penalties for its repression. Thus we have the importation of opium expressly recognised by the Imperial Government no less than 35 years after the interdictory decree of 1799."

1209. I do not quite understand, and I should like you to explain, if you can, why, if opium continued to be quietly imported as before, and duties or fees paid on it, there should be any smuggling trade. What kind of smuggling trade was it; what was the object of the smuggling trade?—The object was to avoid the excessive charges put upon opium by the authorities. They added very much more than 1*l.* per picul—perhaps multiplied the duty a hundred times, or a thousand times. It thus became a constant struggle to get the opium into Canton from Lintin, free of these excessive charges.

1210. Get it into Canton, or into the country generally?—Get it into Canton; it all went to Canton.

1211. The difficulty was to get it into Canton without paying the "squeeze"?—Without paying the "squeeze" to the local officials.

1212. The "squeezes" were all paid outside Canton?—Within the limits of the port, but some distance from Canton.

1213. And this smuggling trade was carried on by Chinese, and I understand also by English, or other foreigners?—Principally by Chinese, but of course there may have been here and there a European watching his own opium. Everyone would cheerfully have paid a small, moderate fee of 1*l.* sterling per picul, or 133½ lbs. Anyone would have paid that without demur, but excessive charges were imposed. The Emperor instructs the authorities to get these charges. As Captain Elliott observes, the officials at Peking and the officials at Canton divided the profits, and the decree in question was a positive recognition of the trade.

1214. This river smuggling greatly promoted piracy—that is, river piracy—piracy of other kinds too, I suppose?—I should doubt it. There was no inducement to piracy so far as foreigners went, and I never

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heard of any of our people being engaged in piracy at all, there was no motive whatever for it.

1215. I suppose a lot of armed boats fighting with the mandarins and police of the country, and perhaps very often successfully fighting with them, was very likely to lead to a kind of piracy, was it not?—It is not recorded, even in the “Middle Kingdom,” a book by which all the anti-opiumists have been utterly misled. This book was written by an American. The Americans of that day were very hostile to us, and we were not as wise then as we are now, and did not attach the same value to a friendly feeling between the two peoples; and this book, from which the anti-opiumists derive all, or the greater part, of their arguments, is full of contradictions and mis-statements. It does not give a true account at all. This note is from the official documents on record, without omitting any.

1216. You say in the note, I see, that in 1830 the cultivation of the poppy was already widespread?—Yes.

1217. “Half the province of Che-kiang was covered with the poppy, which was also extensively grown in the provinces of Kwei-chow and Yun-nan.” But that is rather contrary to some of the evidence which we heard yesterday and the day before from some of the Chinese missionaries—contrary to their impressions. I should like to know what is your authority for those statements?—The authority is the Blue Books; you will find it in the Blue Books between 1809 and 1840.

1218. (Chairman.) Of course the conditions might be different to-day from what they were at that time?—The conditions are very largely different to-day; but they had begun to grow opium years before—I believe concurrently with the early introduction of opium into China. This is admitted again and again by Chinese officials.

1219. (Sir J. Lyall.) I suppose Cheh-kiang is a province quite close to the sea, is it not?—Yes.

1220. I suppose if the province of Cheh-kiang was growing opium in 1830, and it was not doing so at a subsequent time, it must have been repressed by some Government order?—I do not think so. The Chinese Government have nominally repressed the cultivation of opium, but practically they have allowed it to go on. I shall submit evidence to you presently that it is now cultivated in every province in the Empire, and was cultivated in every province so long ago as 1864. I visited Peking for the last time in 1869, and saw poppy-fields in flower right up to the wall of the city.

1221. In the Tai-ping Rebellion did not the rebels attempt the suppression of the opium cultivation; they stamped it out for a time, did they not?—No, they never had sufficient mastery of the country. The Chinese Government, at the time of the Tai-ping Rebellion, tried to put down opium cultivation, in order that they might get a large importation of Indian opium, because, whereas Indian opium paid (since our treaty at all events) 30 taels per picul, native opium paid much less because it was so easily smuggled; it was not like millet, grain, or rice, but being portable in small parcels, the Customs barriers could easily be evaded.

1222. Has it not been stated that the policy of the rebels was to put down opium cultivation?—Well, I saw a good deal of the rebels, and I never heard any of them put that forward. There are a good many arguments put into the mouths of the rebels, and of the officials, which were never employed. You asked me just now, sir, about the Imperial duty fixed on opium in 1722. At page 4 of my note, September 7, 1836, you will find it stated that: “In the reign of Yung Ching and K’ienlung (1722 to 1736) it was included in the tariff of maritime duties, under the head of ‘medicinal drugs,’ and there was then no regulation against purchasing it or inhaling it.”

1223. The general purport of your note seems to be that the Chinese Government declared war first in 1839, and forced on the war?—Certainly. The war has been misnamed an “opium war”—altogether misnamed. The war arose out of the hostilities of Lin, commenced four months after his demands had been met, and continued for five months when he declared war. He seized the opium in March 1839; it was not till April 1840 that Lord Palmerston took action.

1224. You quote in your note something which Captain Elliott said to the effect that the foreign smugglers were becoming so desperate and lawless as to force the Chinese Government to take some strong action?—Where is that?

1225. I read it just now somewhere in your paper, quoting Captain Elliott, I think?—Yes, sir, I have it. It is at page 5: “The manner of the rash course of ‘traffic,’ (meaning the opium trade on the river, sir, as I said, not the forced introduction of the article from abroad) ‘within the river had probably contributed most of all to impress on the Chinese Government ‘the urgent necessity of suppressing the growing ‘audacity of the foreign smugglers, and preventing ‘their associating themselves with the desperate and ‘lawless of their own city. It was the opium trade ‘within the Bocca Tigris, not the mere existence of ‘the trade, which had exasperated the Peking Government.’” The fees which were levied on opium were very large indeed. Opium was extremely valuable, and they mulcted it to an extraordinary extent in those days. The authorities used to charge it *ad libitum*. In 1837 (at page 5, second paragraph) the Chinese Government determined to legalise opium of their own accord.

1226. That was in what year?—1837. Opium was legalised throughout the year 1837.

1227. What was Lord Palmerston’s attitude in 1838 to 1840 with regard to the prohibition of the opium trade?—At the end of 1837 the Chinese Government again altered their policy. They had been wavering for a long time between forbidding the import of opium and interdicting the export of the precious metals. They were actuated purely by fiscal considerations, not by any moral sentiments. Opium further served as a handy weapon against the foreigner, whom they hated; but, if you look at all the despatches, the real point is the interdiction of the export of silver. They would have continued to let opium in but for the drain of the Sycee silver. Captain Elliott informed Lord Palmerston that at last the Chinese Government had made up their minds to re-enact the prohibition against opium, and upon the receipt of that information Lord Palmerston on June 15, 1838, wrote: “Her Majesty’s Government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country in which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts.” Upon this I say in my note: “This despatch, standing alone, refutes the charge made that England has forced opium on China. The moment Chinese prohibition is announced, instructions are issued to ‘respect it.’ And those instructions were implicitly obeyed by Captain Elliott throughout.

1228. Then what was the reason that the war actually did break out, if it was not upon the opium question?—“The Special Commissioner, Lin” (I am reading from page 6 of my note), “arrived to carry out the change of policy. Ignoring her Majesty’s Minister, Lin addressed the foreign merchants at Canton direct, requiring them to surrender every particle of opium on board their ‘storeships.’ He laid hands upon Captain Elliott, who was Her Majesty’s Minister, he barricaded the factories, took away all servants, and cut off provisions. That was on March 15th, 1839, and within 14 days Captain Elliott had surrendered all that we had, and the transaction was closed. Lin violated his promise that when the opium was given up permits for ships and subjects should be given. Captain Elliott gave up the opium on March 28th. On that date he sends Lin delivery order for 20,283 chests of opium, and asks to be set at liberty according to promise. Lin replies same day, declining to accede to his request.” Captain Elliott was detained a prisoner for seven weeks. On April 6th Captain Elliott tells Lord Palmerston: “The late frequent changes of policy of the Government in relation to this trade left it a matter of perfect doubt to the very day before the Commissioner’s first edict appeared, whether the avowed purposes were to be depended upon or not, or whether the object was merely the extensive check of the trade by subjecting it to heightened temporary inconvenience, and exacting some considerable fees as the price of its future relaxation.” He mentions ‘the great impulse it had so lately received by the public preparations of the Imperial Government to legalise it,’ and adds: ‘Up to a very late date, my Lord, no portion of this trade to China has so regularly paid its fees to the officers of this and the neighbouring provinces, high and low, as that of opium; and under all the circumstances I am warranted in describing the late measures to be those of public robbery, and of wanton violence on the

"Queen's officers and subjects." "The utmost conceivable encouragement, direct and indirect, upon the one hand, and sudden violent spoliation on the other, are the characteristics of the Chinese measures concerning opium."

1229. Well, I mean to say, what was the actual cause of war, if Lord Palmerston was determined not to support the opium business. Was it because the merchants were imprisoned, or was there anything else?—No. The opium had been surrendered in March, and Captain Elliott had been released in May. On June 21st, Captain Elliott addressed a letter of remonstrance to Lin for his breaches of faith, which Lin answered by organising a force to drive Captain Elliott out of the Portuguese settlement of Macao; whither he had retired. Lin directed Captain Elliott's expulsion, and a second time cut off his supplies and withdrew his native servants. (In those days the Chinese officials had much more power over the natives than they have now, at all events in the place where Captain Elliott then was.) In the meantime Captain Elliott kept writing to Lin entreating him to enter into friendly relations with him, but Lin declined, and having threatened Macao at the head of 2,000 men, compelled Captain Elliott's retirement to Hong-Kong, whence he wrote, September 24, to Lin, detailing elaborate recommendations for the prevention of the introduction of opium into China, and offering his assistance to effect that object. He says: "All opium has been delivered up, all vessels engaged in the trade have been required to depart. The flag of his country does not fly in the protection of a traffic declared to be unlawful by the great Emperor, and therefore, whenever Chinese officers desire to examine all or every particular ship or vessel suspected to have opium on board, Elliott will take care that they are accompanied by officers of his establishment, and if after strict search any be found, assuredly Elliott will not presume to offer the least objection, though the whole cargo be immediately seized and confiscated. He will not oppose expulsion from the country of offending merchants." He proposes that no English firm shall in future be permitted to transact business, or to reside in China, till Elliott shall have forwarded to the high officers a plain declaration signed by each member thereof, and countersigned and sealed by officers of the English nation, setting forth their solemn determination to have no concern, direct or indirect, with the opium traffic, neither to permit or knowingly sanction any persons under their control to have any, and further, their full knowledge of the new regulation" (you observe, it is "the new regulation") "that they will be forthwith expelled from the Empire if it shall be proved to the satisfaction of Chinese and English officials that they have broken faith in the least degree . . . . Every vessel arriving shall make solemn declaration that she has no opium on board, otherwise she shall not be permitted to trade, &c."

1230. Then Lin refused that, and declared all trade closed, did he not?—Yes; that was in December. He ignored that proposition altogether. On October 9th, Captain Elliott again appeals to Lin that British subjects may be allowed to return to Macao; in reply to which he issued orders to attack some of our ships.

1231. What was Lin's object in refusing Captain Elliott's overtures?—Hatred of the barbarian.

1232. He wanted to expel us altogether?—He wanted to expel us altogether. The moment you prostrate yourself before a Chinese, his answer is the knife. It is no use whatever giving way to them; you must insist on an equal and a proper footing with them, and the moment you depart from that attitude they become aggressive and overhearing.

1233. I see that after this war of 1840-41, in the Treaty of Nankin, opium was not mentioned?—No, sir; there is no mention of it in either of our treaties of 1842-3 or tariff of 1843. I should say that in reply to Lin's communication to British merchants, calling upon them to deliver up the opium, they said: "If you do not wish to have it, we will pledge ourselves not to bring in any opium in future." That was on the 25th March 1839.

1234. 1839, just before the war?—Long before the war—12 months. War was not declared by us till April 1840.

1235. I suppose one reason why the Chinese preferred not to have opium mentioned in the treaty was that it

was understood among the Chinese people that the war arose about opium?—No; I think not at all.

1236. You think not?—Not at all. They had broken faith with Sir Henry Pottinger in the first instance, and been guilty of great treachery. When he introduced the subject of opium the Chinese Commissioners professed their disinclination to enter upon the subject; they were perfectly indifferent to the importation of opium. That is proved by the fact that in the following year, 1844, they entered into a treaty with the United States Government, who fancying it would please them, added a clause making opium contraband. The Chinese never gave effect to the stipulation, though the Americans were as great importers of opium as we were.

1237. Does not the fact that the Americans entered into that undertaking seem to show that they thought it would be gratifying to the Chinese?—Yes; the surmise was that it would be—it was intended as a slap in the face for the English.

1238. Do you think that if the Chinese Government had considered, at the Treaty of Nankin, that they could safely, and without danger of getting into further quarrels, and possibly war, with ourselves, have prohibited the import of opium, they would not have done it?—No; I think they were utterly indifferent; they did not care one jot about it.

1239. You think they cared about the loss of their "squeezes" and duties on the opium smuggled up the river, but they did not care about the prohibition of the import of opium?—Yes. That Lord Palmerston was inspired by the most friendly intentions towards China is proved by the precise instructions he gave Lord Napier in 1834, as is confessed in this book, "The Middle Kingdom" (Vol. II., p. 470): "You will adopt no proceedings but such as may have a general tendency to convince the Chinese authorities of the sincere desire of the King to cultivate the most friendly relations with the Emperor of China, and to join with him in any measures likely to promote the happiness and prosperity of their respective subjects." If, therefore, the Canton authorities had met Lord Napier in a proper way, if they had ever spoken a word against opium, their representations would have received immediate attention, there is no doubt. During the whole time of my official connexion with China I never heard any Chinese official or otherwise complain of our action in regard to opium. Of course if you go to a Chinese—it takes a man seven or ten years to acquire the language sufficiently to be able to get at or near the mind of a Chinese—if you say to him, "Opium is a dreadful thing," he will say, "Oh, yes, opium is a dreadful thing." But if you say to him, "Why, you grew it years and years before we imported it; you have been growing it for 200 years," he will, it is safe to say, answer, "Oh, it is all fudge about opium being a dreadful thing; these people like to ask us that question and get the answer suited to their own views, and to please them we give it."

1240. I think that is a common characteristic of all Oriental peoples?—Yes, with all Orientals. It requires some skill to know what is really in their minds.

1241. I understand that after the war and after the Treaty of Nankin the trade in opium continued quite quietly down to the beginning of the next war, the time of the seizure of the "Arrow"?—Yes, till the seizure of the "Arrow." But first there is a passage which I would like to read from, "The Middle Kingdom," which confirms what I have been saying. It is in Vol II., p. 500: "No one was more desirous of putting a stop to this destructive traffic than Captain Elliott, but knowing the impossibility of checking it by laws he naturally wished to see the many political and commercial evils growing out of smuggling done away. It was, indeed, much to be desired, that the Chinese would take this course; and it is very remarkable that the great reason why the Emperor and his advisers did not do so was because it would be detrimental to the people." The Chinese are thus avouched to have acted with open eyes and without constraint. The amount of fairness which this book deals out to us is illustrated by its perverse animadversion upon Lord Palmerston who, the moment he heard that the Chinese Government wished to stop opium, issued positive instructions, which Captain Elliott carried out.

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1242. That is going back to the old war?—At page 502, Lord Palmerston's despatch of June 15th, 1838, is instanced as "a most paradoxical but convenient" position for this 'honourable' officer of the English "Government to assume!" An utterly prejudiced comment, I submit.

1243. Then what was the cause of the second war?—The cause of the second war was the question of the seizure of the "Arrow." It had no relation to opium at all. One of the man-of-war brigs had left a few days before. The "Arrow" carried the British flag, as she was entitled to do. After she had been lying there for eight days—

1244. I do not think we need go into that?—Very well, sir. She had nothing whatever to do with opium; she was not an opium ship, nor was she carrying a pound of opium. No apology could be obtained from the Viceroy by our Consul, and the matter was put into the hands of the Admiral, Sir Michael Seymour. Hostilities then ensued, into the details of which I need not, perhaps, enter.

1245. Opium, then, was formally recognised in the tariff that was drawn up after that war?—Yes. Lord Elgin went up to the north, and at Tientsin a treaty was concluded. The word opium was never mentioned at Tientsin upon our side or upon the Chinese side, although at that very time the American Minister was, as he told us afterwards, at Shanghai, offering the armed assistance of the United States to put down the traffic. The United States adopted that line, as they did a similar course when they made opium contraband by treaty in 1844, to curry favour with the Chinese. But what was the result? The omission in the new treaty of the provision of the treaty of 1844! In our treaty, the 26th and 27th articles, it was agreed that the tariff should be revised, and that an officer of the Board of Revenue should be deputed on behalf of the Chinese Government to meet officers deputed on behalf of the British Government. The only remark I would make here is this: An officer of the Board of Revenue! If our motive had been to force opium on China we should have dealt with the Imperial Commissioners themselves; but this fact proves that we had no such intention—that all we cared for was to have someone (any official they pleased) sent down to Shanghai to consider the tariff with us.

1246. Lord Elgin's instructions, I suppose, were that you were not to raise the question of opium?—He never gave me any such instructions, and throughout the whole course of my connexion with the treaty negotiations opium was never mentioned.

1247. But in drawing up the tariff you must have thought of opium—such an article as opium could not have been altogether absent from your mind?—Yes, but that was five months after the conclusion of the treaty. The treaty was signed at Tientsin on June 26th, the tariff was considered at Shanghai five months later, when the forces were all withdrawn.

1248. Yes, quite so; what I meant was that with regard to the tariff it would have been impossible to have overlooked the subject of opium at Shanghai?—Yes. The 27th article of our treaty reads: "it is agreed that either of the high contracting parties to this treaty may demand a further revision of the tariff, and of the commercial articles of this treaty, at the end of 10 years; but if no demand be made on either side within six months after the end of the first ten years then the tariff shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years; and so it shall be at the end of each successive ten years." Now, the point of that is that our treaty having been made in 1858, the Chinese were entitled to revision of the tariff in 1868, 1878, and 1888. Why did they not ask for it?

1249. Well, I see you say they did not raise any question about opium, but I think I have seen somewhere that at an interview with Sir Rutherford Alcock that question was brought forward, and that rather a moving appeal, as he said, was made by the Chinese Commissioners on the subject of omitting opium from the tariff schedule, to prohibit altogether its import?—They made no appeal whatever in 1858. In 1868 they sent Mr. Burlingame (the United States Minister at Peking) home to this country as the chosen exponent of their views and sentiments, and he never mentioned opium at all. In the following year we find Sir Rutherford Alcock suggesting, I suppose, to the Chinese Ministers to address him on the subject, the result of which was that he undertook, I believe, a

self-imposed mission to the Government of India on the subject. That was in July 1869; they wrote a letter to Sir Rutherford Alcock, in which they say—

1250. (Mr. Pease.) Who are "they" who write?—The Chinese Ministers—the members of the Foreign Board, Prince Kung and others. There are a number of them. "The writers hope that his Excellency will memorialise his Government to give orders in India and elsewhere to substitute the cultivation of cereals or cotton. Day and night, therefore, the writers give to this matter most earnest thought, and overpowering is the distress and anxiety it occasions them." But the distress and anxiety notwithstanding, within three months they sign a Convention (which I hand in) with Sir Rutherford Alcock, under which they obtain an increase of the tariff duty on opium equal to 60 per cent., showing the reality of the Chinese objections.

1251. (Sir J. Lyall.) Well, but from Sir Rutherford Alcock's account I understand that the British Commissioners as it were received this in a way which showed that they did not at all like the proposal?—Which Commissioners?

1252. The Englishmen who were meeting the Chinese Commissioners. When this proposal was put forward by the Chinese Commissioners they were silent, and showed that they did not like it?—There could have been no reality on the part of the Chinese in penning such a letter, when three months afterwards the duty was increased 66 per cent.

1253. It shows that they were not very earnest, but it shows that if they could not get one thing they would take the other, does it not?—It was all fustian, their objection was manufactured to meet a supposed invitation for it. The treaty concluded with the United States, 11 years before this date, attests incontrovertibly the real views of the Chinese Government. The United States Minister offered armed assistance to stop the import of opium. What was the Chinese reply? To deliberately omit from the Treaty of 1858 the provision of the Treaty of 1844, which had declared opium contraband.

1254. Another thing a good many witnesses who have appeared before us have said is that at that very time the Chinese Commissioners hinted broadly that if that was not done (that is, if the British Government did not join with them in putting down the Indian opium,) the Chinese Government would be driven to a policy of withdrawing all the restrictions from the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in China, in order to kill out the import there and then and deal with the other trade with a free hand. Do you think that that is correct?—No, I think that is an utterly untrue assertion. There is no evidence whatever to support it. In 1864 (that is eight years after the treaty of 1858) we have the Inspector-General, my successor, addressing the Commissioners at the several ports and asking them as to the growth of the native drug.

1255. Which year is that?—1864, five years before the date under consideration. It was grown, you will find from the return made to him in that year, in every one of the provinces. In my note I say it was grown, in 1858, in 16 out of the 18 provinces. That was due to no interposition on our part; we had no voice in the matter at all. I will lay that return before the Commission if you please. I should like, were I to be allowed, to comment on one of the documents in the "Friend of China." I think it is a good sample of the sort of evidence presented by them.

1256. Whom do you mean by "they"?—The Anti-Opium Society. They have continually assailed us; they have been reckless in their mis-statements with regard to our action on the opium question. There were no men of higher character than Sir Henry Pottinger or Mr. John Robert Morrison. Then there was Lord Elgin, and as to the subordinates under him, not one had any wish whatever to support opium; and the anti-opiumists have no right to use language like the following, which I offer as an illustration of the kind of statements they make: "The foulest stain upon our Imperial history is the way in which, at the point of the bayonet and at the mouth of the cannon, we have forced the Indian poison upon the unhappy Chinese. No words are strong enough to describe the cowardice and diabolical cruelty of our wars with China." This language is as disgracefully unjust as it is utterly false.

1257. (Mr. Pease.) Where is that statement made, may I ask?—It is in the "Methodist Times," written,



I suppose, by Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, who seems to have taken up the championship of the anti-opiumists for the last four or five years.

1258. (*Sir J. Lyall*.) Is there anything more you wish to say as to the history of opium in China? We have now brought it down to the attempt to revise the treaty in 1868?—I may observe that when Mr. Burlingame came to England in 1868, it is a very singular thing that, if the Chinese had felt this strong pressure alleged to have been exercised by us in the matter of opium, they did not charge Mr. Burlingame to complain to Lord Clarendon. Mr. Burlingame was silent on the subject. He negotiated a treaty with the United States, the articles of which I lay on the table, but in that treaty there is no allusion to opium.

1259. What did Mr. Burlingame come here for?—As Chinese Minister, to represent Chinese views, and to announce that “China finds that she must come into relations with this civilisation that is pressing up around her; feeling that she does not wait, but comes out to you, and extends her hand.”

1260. The object was to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Tientsin, was it not?—Yes; they appealed to Lord Clarendon to give them time; but that was mere pretence. Why did not Mr. Burlingame think of opium? There is a pile of evidence to prove that we never at any time forced opium, or used the slightest pressure whatsoever with respect to it; and I should like to be cross-examined so that I might bring out the evidence I am able to produce.

1261. (*Chairman*.) I think your general statement will be sufficient. Under the Order of Reference under which the Commission is constituted we are not called upon to pronounce a judgment upon the matters which have been in issue between you and the writers to whom you have been referring; and it will be sufficient for our purpose to hear what you have said in general terms. I do not think we should go into any greater detail?—Quite so, my Lord; but is it not of the highest importance to our national credit that we should be delivered from the stigma unjustly fixed upon us?

1262. You have had the opportunity of tracing the history of these questions in the statements that you have been making to Sir James Lyall, and we accept what you have said as a statement of your views of the real course of policy which has been pursued?—There is one omission which I should like to supply. The *Le Hungchang* states, in answer to the Anti-Opium Society, “China views the whole question from a moral standpoint; England from a fiscal” (which is a downright misrepresentation). “The ruling motive with China is “to repress opium by heavy taxation everywhere; whereas with England the manifest object is to make opium cheaper, and thus increase and stimulate the demand in China.” They have encouraged our opium, and we, by allowing the Chinese to overtax it, have stimulated the growth of the native article enormously in every province. I think that the most short-sighted policy that ever was pursued on our part. In the Agreement of 1876 they ask Sir Thomas Wade to move his Government to agree to an arrangement the effect of which was to increase enormously the charges on Indian opium, and yet in the face of this affirm that they act from a moral standpoint while we act from a fiscal standpoint, whereas it is from a fiscal point of view alone that the Chinese Government have treated the article from first to last, as the evidence is cumulative.

1263. That is all the evidence you have to give?—That is all the evidence I am permitted to give. There is one matter I should like to produce, and that is the evidence of Mr. Selby, a missionary, who writes in the “*Methodist Times*,” of the 8th June last. “He is hopeful that if the Indian growth was forthwith suppressed, China would be glad to carry out her own proposal.” Where is her proposal? Has she ever addressed a proper proposal to our Government?

1264. (*Sir J. Lyall*.) You mean a proper form of proposal?—Yes; to join in putting a stop to it.

1265. May I ask what you think would be the result if we made a proposal now to China?—It has come 200 years too late.

1266. As a man of great knowledge and experience of Chinese officials, what do you think would be the result?—Nil. They would do nothing. It is grown in every province, and they would do nothing.

1267. But supposing we offered to prohibit the import of opium?—They have declared they would not

entertain it. You will see what they said in answer to Sir Thomas Wade (p. 16 of my note): “Meantime, in 1881, Sir Thomas Wade made a special application to the members of the Chinese Government for a declaration of their policy in regard to opium. The Minister addressed, Sir Thomas Wade states, replied ‘that the question was not an easy one to answer; he did not think that the central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all.’ This so recently as 1881, after all the talk of their having been forced to take our opium! ‘Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account; the only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the Government of the Empire.’ Sir Thomas Wade then put the question ‘whether a gradual diminution of opium import from India, until the trade was abolished altogether, would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government.’ The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion ‘such a plan would be useless; as long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere.’”

1268. It is rather inconsistent with your view, is it not, that certain leading Chinese officials have appeared who have taken very strong measures indeed to stop the growth of opium?—I am not aware that they have.

1269. Did not that man who reconquered Kashgar take such measures? It has been stated so in evidence to us?—It may be so, just locally; but as a Government they have never done anything of the sort. I was in the most intimate relations with the Chinese Government, and if they had said to us, “Can you not help us in the matter of opium?” I should have told Lord Elgin, who would doubtless have made an attempt to meet their wishes; but they never mentioned it at all. This gentleman (Mr. Selby) adds correctly: “The grounds for that hope” (the hope that China would suppress the poppy in her own territories) “are not satisfactory, for the Emperor has given his sanction to the cultivation of the poppy.”

1270. (*Mr. Pease*.) You, no doubt, are acquainted with this Yellow Book of 1889: “Opium: Historical Note, or The Poppy in China”?—I do not know, I am sure, whether I have seen it or not.

1271. There is a statement in it that the first prohibition was in 1729, and that moral grounds were assigned for the prohibition?—(On being shown the pamphlet) I have not seen it.

1272. This Yellow Book says, at page 35, “In the year A.D. 1729 an edict was issued on opium smoking, prohibiting the sale of opium.” This is Dr. Edkins’ Yellow Book, published at Shanghai in 1889?—Well, it is contradicted by this statement, in page 4 of my book, copied from the Blue Book: “In the reigns of Yung Ching and K’ienlung (1722 to 1736) it was included in the tariff of maritime duties, under the head of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing or inhaling it.”

1273. It is also stated in an article by Dr. Legge, in the “*Pall Mall Gazette*” of August 16th, 1893, that the importation of the article was stopped in 1764. He says, “We find the following case in Auber’s ‘China,’ pp. 176, 177): His Majesty’s ship ‘Argo’ arrived in the Canton Waters in 1764 with treasure, and it was suspected with opium also. In consequence of the disputes which arose between the mandarins and the captain the trade was stopped for four months. With reference to this collision the Court wrote for information. ‘They had been informed that opium had been shipped on her, and other private trade, and desired a full account to be sent home of the matter, as opium was prohibited, and the importation might be most detri-

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"mental to the company's interests"?—I have never seen that article.

1274. In 1782, Mr. Fitz Hugh, a merchant of Canton, wrote remonstrating against the East India Company engaging in the smuggling trade?—No, I have not seen the letter.

1275. You have stated that various incorrect charges have been made against you by the Anti-Opium Society, and you gave one instance, which proved to be a statement not made by them at all. I do not know whether you have any others?—They have declared that we have engaged in two cruel and unjust wars in order to force opium upon the Chinese. Both secretaries of the Anti-Opium Society have stated that in the press, and Mr. Storrs Turner stated that in 1880 we were then engaged in forcing opium on China. As I was responsible under Lord Elgin for the insertion of opium in our tariff, with the voluntary assent, I may add, of the Chinese Minister, I consider that it is gross defamation of the characters of officials to advance charges so untrue.

1276. Well, we have statements made by the Chinese authorities, but those, you say, were fustian?—I did not say the documents you have just referred to were fustian.

1277. No, but the statements made by the Chinese authorities?—The pretence that we have forced opium on the Chinese is fustian, and they are only making those statements for the purpose of damaging the English. There is no solidity or substance in their complaints, and that can be proved to the hilt.

1278. The matter arises as to the credibility of statements made by different persons, and the respective value of their opinions?—No, it is a question of historic evidence entirely, and my opinion, or that of anyone else, is a matter of no moment whatever. It is the historic facts from which they cannot escape, and they must order their utterances now in accordance with those facts, which we can prove.

1279. Then there has been another suggestion made, that the Chinese Government are rather afraid to open this question, because they think that the Indian Government will not be prepared to relinquish so important a source of revenue, and that therefore, if they enter into negotiations with the idea of giving up that source of revenue they would do so with the idea of getting that recouped in some other way, which the Chinese Government would object to still more. Do you think that that is the case?—No, sir, I do not. They had an excellent opportunity of dealing with the question at Tientsin, when the American Minister made his offer of assistance. Dr. Williams, the author of the "Middle Kingdom," who was stubbornly anti-English and pro-Chinese in his views, was present as Chinese

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

## At the House of Lords, Westminster.

### FIFTH DAY.

Friday, 15th September 1893.

PRESENT:

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

Sir JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E.  
Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D.  
Mr. R. G. C. NOWBRAY, M.P.

Mr. ARTHUR PEASE.  
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

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

Sir THOMAS F. WADE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., called in and examined.

Sir  
T. F. Wade,  
G.C.M.G.,  
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1283. (Chairman.) Sir Thomas Wade, it is a matter of common knowledge that you have spent many years in China?—40 years.

1284. And during the latter portion of your service you were British Minister at Peking?—Yes.

Secretary to Mr. Reed, who concluded a separate Convention with the Chinese formally legalising opium, and said it had received their willing assent. Why did they not impart to their friends then that they were opposed to opium?—Why, Mr. Reed would have come to us at once. Mr. Reed was bitterly opposed to us under the influence of false impressions, and he kept us at arms' length at Tientsin; but when he came to Shanghai he became most friendly. He came to understand us and the Chinese better. There are many of our friends the missionaries who do not understand the Chinese in the least, and they go upon all sorts of rubbishy evidence which men who know the facts laugh at.

1280. (Sir W. Roberts.) I was only thinking of asking you if you have observed what are the effects of opium smoking on the Chinese, with regard to their morals and health?—Well, I think most extravagant charges are made as to that. In my first introduction to Hong-Kong I was a pupil of Dr. Gutzlaff's, who had a number of men who wished to be Christians. I should think about 250 to 300 of them, and from them my "teachers," as they were called, were taken. They were all opium smokers, with rare exceptions, and they did not appear to suffer at all from it when taken in moderation. I had other teachers later on; they suffered when they smoked to excess—certainly it makes a man suffer when immoderately indulged in; a powerful narcotic, taken in excess, must have a weakening effect on the system, I should say.

1281. Generally speaking, do the Chinese use opium smoking in what I may call persistent moderation?—Yes, a good many do. There is no finer race, in physique, than the Chinese. They are beating, as the Americans and Anstralsians have found, the white people altogether. In the mid-provinces and the southern provinces there is a great deal of malaria. There a man's food consists entirely of a vegetable diet, and the ground is manured by human ordure, the odour from which is terribly offensive. The people live not in the hill country but in the low country. There is a large boat population too whose lives are spent over bilge water; but for opium as a febrifuge, they could not live. I never heard from any officials or others who smoked opium that they suffered evil effects from the habit.

1282. (Chairman.) Now, to sum it up in a sentence, I suppose you would wish it to be considered that the general purport of your evidence may be taken to be this: that in all the negotiations with which you were concerned in China, and the wars which occurred during your residence in China, it was not the object of the British Government to force the Chinese authorities against their will to receive importations of opium from India?—Quite so: emphatically so.

1285. You are doubtless aware that this Commission was appointed primarily to consider the opium question as it affects India, but we have been allowed to exercise our discretion with reference to the question as it affects China, and we have thought it our duty

to receive some evidence from those who are chiefly interested in the opium question as it affects China. I may say that much has been urged before us by the witnesses who have appeared before us from China, which goes to show that the excessive use of opium is a widely extending vice in China, and is doing great injury to the population. I do not know that I can convey to you better what has been put before us by the witnesses to whom I refer than by reading to you a passage from the memorial recently addressed by the Anti-Opium Association to the Earl of Kimberley. In that memorial the following passage occurs, "In China, the results to be anticipated from the stoppage of the export trade in opium from Calcutta and Bombay are thus stated in a letter received by us, about a year ago, from one of the most competent and experienced observers, the Rev. Griffith John, D.D., of the London Missionary Society, who has been for upwards of 35 years a missionary in the great commercial centre of Hankow." Mr. John writes "Let China see that we are capable of sacrificing millions of pounds annually for her good, and that of our own free will, in obedience to the dictates of conscience, and from a sense of humanity, and she will not be slow to acknowledge the worth and dignity of the act. Nay more she may begin to glorify God in us. Our intercourse with the people will become more friendly. Commerce will extend and develope, one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christ's kingdom in the land would be removed." Then he proceeds to ask, "Have the Chinese the ability to put down the vice," and then he urges, "As long as the Indian trade in opium exists, the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralysed. They can simply do nothing, but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned, the Chinese would, I firmly believe, make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the event would eventuate at once in a diminution of the evil. It might eventuate ultimately in its complete suppression. But whether the Chinese Government can put down the native growth or not, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity." I have read that passage to you, Sir Thomas Wade, that you may have a general impression of the testimony which has been put before us by those who have appeared as missionaries in China and of the arguments by which their recommendations have been supported. Having heard so much on this subject, we felt that we should not be discharging our duty if we did not seek the counsel and information which we know you are so competent to give us. Can you give us a general view as to the history of the introduction of opium smoking in China, and can you give us what you know of the antiquity of the use of opium, and generally speak to us on that aspect of the question?—I should like to premise that I find myself in a very disagreeable position in relation to this question. No man who has lived the time that I have in China, and who has been in contact with Chinese of all kinds, can deny that the excessive use of opium in that country is an exceeding misfortune to that country, and I myself have stated that proposition, perhaps more positively years ago than I should be prepared to do at this moment. That is to say, that without at all pretending to abate the statement that many people,—many thousands of people—do suffer from the excessive use of opium, it is to a great number of people precisely what the use of alcoholic stimulants to people in our country, taken moderately, is; that is to say, that it will cheer the workman just as our workman is cheered by his glass of beer. You will find people who are engaged in the most intellectual employments, and people who are engaged in the very commonest employments, using opium with impunity, and using it for years with impunity; and the difficulty I refer to is this—that without being at all a dreamer, I hope being really disposed to do all that in me lies, and to see my countrymen do all that in them may lie, to abate what evil there is, the treatment of the question by the Anti-Opium Association engages me on the other side.

I think there are various contentions of the anti-opium people to be combated. And first, as regards the question which your Lordship has just put to me, that is most completely answered by the work of a most respected missionary, Dr. Edkins, who by desire of Sir Robert Hart, of whose literary staff he is a

member, prepared a historical review of the subject by collecting a number of extracts from the greater histories of China and from lesser works. From this, to make short work of it, it will be seen that the introduction of opium is not, as the anti-opiumists,—several of them,—I have heard, frequently contend it is, to be set down to our charge, but to the charge of Asiatic neighbours and Asiatic merchants. Without assuming with Dr. Edkins that they were directly beholden to the Arab and the Persian, it is incontestible that they became acquainted with the poppy—as a medicine—very early in their history; as much as, say, ten centuries ago; and as for the practice of smoking it, according to Dr. Edkins's data, this was very possibly introduced from Manilla *via* Formosa; and that, at a comparatively recent date, I will not say before our trade commenced, for I should be afraid to assign a precise date to the commencement of that trade, but certainly before our trade had at all developed itself. From early in the last century, they were beholden to their own production of opium even for a supply, which they in the opinion of the Government, or of certain Government officials, so abused as to call forth interdicts on the part of the Government, or those officials. All that you will find in Dr. Edkins's statements. But as regards the introduction of opium, we have a further corroboration of my statement that it was not introduced first by us from a source which is certainly unassailable, the testimony of the Grand Secretary Tse Tsung-tang, the Chinese official who was credited with the reconquest of the far west dominion in China, that is to say who reoccupied that country, after Yakub Khan had been poisoned. He was in the first place a furious anti-opiumist himself; he took the credit of having suppressed all poppy cultivation in the west of China; a sheer fiction; he was a furious hater of English and French, though he patronised some other foreigners in his employ. He told my German colleague, in 1881, that it was brought in by the Portuguese towards the close of the Ming dynasty; that is before the middle of the 17th century. The Ming dynasty expired in 1644. As regards our own connexion with the supply at all, I will not trouble you with a reference to the statistical tables which all those interested in it would find easy of access; but at the time that we began to send anything like thousands of chests from India, we were even then supplying so small an amount that it could not have supplied one per cent. of the population with opium if they had been all opium smokers; and further on, later, whilst I was in China, I read in a published paper by a missionary—I do not mention his name, because I am not perfectly sure that it was he—that the then—it must be between 30 and 40 years ago—that the then supply would not be sufficient for 2 per cent. of the whole Chinese population, whom we are reported to have been poisoning for all these years. Now the use of opium to the disadvantage of the population from their own supplies was noted long before our opium troubles began. You will find in the State Papers forwarded by Captain Elliot, magistrates complaining that it is in use, and one censor declaring, that it was then grown in four or five provinces. (See Blue Book 1840. Correspondence relating to China, p. 171.) I had not in my early days studied these Blue Books, as I have since, and without any knowledge of what any Chinese official authority had said to the above effect, I set to work myself, in 1847, when I was studying at Canton, to acquire information on the subject. I was aided by a young Chinaman of a most respectable family, who was much connected with trade,—no opium smoker himself, indeed a strict Roman Catholic—he obtained for me information from various mercantile friends of his, which showed that the poppy was being cultivated in no less than 10 provinces of China. Now remember that was in 1847. Our war with China, our first war, came to an end in 1842. For many years before that time we had had no access, except during the troubles contraband access, we had had no access as a trading people to any port in the empire but Canton. Now one of the quotations I had heard, and that so far back as 1842 or 1843, was a quotation of the extent and value of the opium—I mean its value as a drug, not its pecuniary value, its power,—one of the quotations was from the far north-west of China, certainly 3,000 miles from Canton, where the opium was quoted as being very nearly as good as Indian opium, very nearly as powerful. But the fact that it was then cultivated in 10 provinces is certainly worth remembering, the more so that my friend gave me—I have the paper here which I compiled from his data—

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my friend gave me all the data for its preparation and its value in the market.

1286. Perhaps you would like to put that document in?—With great pleasure.\* (*Memorandum was handed to Chairman.*) Farther, and as Captain Elliot observed, so far back as 1837 (See Blue Book 1840, p 154. Captain Elliot to Viscount Palmerston, 2 February 1837. See also on true position of opium trade, pp. 137-138.) it was as regularly taxed in certain localities as any other import, which was brought in, in the regular native trade; and without then having seen Captain Elliot's observation above quoted, I made precisely the same remark to Lord Elgin when he first contemplated approaching the question. I think that as far as relates to our connexion with the introduction of opium you will consider that I have said enough, and as regards the native supply I do not think it would be necessary for me to add more. As regards the nature and the extent of its effects upon smokers, I also said sufficient perhaps in my preliminary remarks. I have known people of every degree, I may say, using it with impunity. I have seen most deplorable victims of it in every degree just as I have in my own country of the use of alcohol. I have seen for instance, in the Army, brother officers driven from the Service by the use of drink; and I have seen the unhappy private brought to punishment by the same cause. I have been into an opium den and I have been, on rare occasions, into a gin-palace, and the spectacles of the two are singularly alike. I do not say that the one is to excuse the other. I do not say that our having such a vice as general drinking, and the deplorable scenes that one has witnessed in the gin-palace, are in any way to excuse the other thing; but, in my opinion, experience of that sort should bar gentlemen from turning upon their own countrymen to denounce this or that particular practice, or this or that particular prosecution of a particular trade as if it was a thing exceptional and so frightful a sin that we are bound at once to make the kind of expiation for it that we did, say, for the negro traffic. And I am bound to add this, that when I find statements and arguments on the part of the anti-opiumist people, orally sometimes, sometimes in the little periodical which they publish, neither more nor less than what I must characterise as exaggerated, and when I find them putting in doubt the truth of men like myself, or other people giving testimony, I am compelled to think that a cause that requires any such propping up cannot have under it so secure a basis as these gentlemen are disposed to imagine.

1287. You have given us a very interesting sketch of this question in relation to the antiquity of the user of opium in China, and you have given us your general view as to the nature and the extent of the effect of opium smoking upon those who have indulged themselves in that habit. Does that exhaust what you wish to say in your evidence-in-chief on that subject?—I think so.

1288. Well, then, Sir Thomas, you have had, as we all know, a very intimate connexion with the negotiations which were carried on for many years between our Government and the Chinese Government with reference to this and other matters, and you were serving in China for many years at a time when our relations with China were far less friendly than they are at present; and, therefore, you are in a good position to tell us how far our wars with China were connected with the opium question. We shall be glad to hear your view on that point?—Well, it is a point which I naturally could not pass by, for I know no point upon which what I am compelled to consider exaggeration on the part of the anti-opiumist pleaders is more conspicuous. You will hear,—at least I have heard more than once on public occasions,—gentlemen talking of the first opium war, and the second opium war, and then the third opium war. The first war, unhappily, will always inevitably be described as the opium war, for the seizure of the opium by Commissioner Lin was an act which led to the disappearance from Canton of our then representative, the superintendent of trade, Captain Elliot, and of the English community. In their absence from Canton there was a collision out in the outer waters,—a collision, perhaps, in itself insignificant; for I fancy it was a drunken brawl of sailors—in which a Chinese was killed; and you had following upon that the persistence of the High Commissioner Lin in a demand for A. or B.—it did not matter which,—of six people, who were supposed to

have been present, who were indeed found to have been present on this occasion, but to not one of whom was the homicide traceable. The upshot of that certainly was a declaration of hostilities, and the result of it,—seeing that the Chinese negotiators who treated with us came forward and went backward and retreated more than once from agreements which were supposed to have been concluded,—was that the war was prolonged, you may say, up to its termination in August, 1842, when the Treaty was signed at Nanking. But I consider,—reading the whole of the history of our relations, say from the middle of the last century, but at all events for the period immediately preceding this which is known as the opium war,—I consider that those wars were directly traceable to the insolence and injustice of the Chinese in their,—I was going to say, relations with us, but I should more correctly say in their determination to ignore relations with us altogether. I am sorry to have to go so far into historical detail; but it must be remembered that when our Government had made up its mind to abolish the East Indian monopoly, in 1834, the Chinese were given to understand in 1831 that it was about to be abolished; and that thereupon there came from the Chinese chief authority at Canton a communication on that subject. In those days he issued edicts. His only relation with the East India Company's officials was as if they were below his servants. He issued an edict to the effect that if the British Government was going to undo the East India Company's establishment it must send someone to control British subjects who might be in China. That "someone" was sent in the person of Lord Napier, in 1834, but the local government declined to have anything to do with him—declined to recognise him as a public servant; went out of its way, in the petty Chinese fashion, (which is even yet not impossible, I am sorry to say) to belittle him by using offensive characters for his name, and in other ways to insult him. Lord Napier,—read his despatches to Lord Palmerston,—Lord Napier was ready at once to proceed to hostilities. If he had had a force he would have proceeded to hostilities. For what purpose? Not in the interests of the opium trade,—not in the interests of trade at all,—but in order to put relations on a footing which would be tolerable. He had no force to support him. He was, you may say, fairly driven out of Canton, and dying sick and broken-hearted, he was replaced, first of all by Sir John Davis, whose name must be known to everybody interested in China, and later on by Sir Charles Elliot, who for three or four years certainly strove hard if ever a man strove hard to avoid war; to avoid a quarrel. You will find throughout that period that whenever the question of opium crops up,—his word, if anything, is against it. Sir Charles Elliot, it should be remembered, was simply a species of chief magistrate,—for we had our experience to acquire,—he was chief magistrate for the Port of Canton; and to the best of his ability he did endeavour to keep down all irregularities in that port. Powers to go beyond, or force to go beyond, he certainly had not; but he strove to repress irregularities within his jurisdiction. He condescended,—for it was a condescension and nothing else,—he condescended to accept a continuance of correspondence with the chief authority in Canton, which placed him in the same position as that in which the East India Company's servants had formerly been placed. You will find that his chief, Lord Palmerston,—reputed a most belligerent Foreign Minister,—not only reprobates the trade in opium; he not only reminds Sir Charles Elliot that those who engage in it are accepting entirely their own risk; but you will even find later on that when, amongst other insults which they were then in the habit of heaping upon the community, the Chinese had brought down an opium smoker and strangled him in front of the British factories as a simple insult to that community, Lord Palmerston does not recognise it as an insult. He wishes to be "informed whether the foreigners to whom you allude in your despatch as having resisted the intention of the Chinese authorities to put a criminal to death in the immediate front of the factories were British subjects only, or the subjects and citizens of other countries also. I also wish to know upon what alleged ground of right these persons considered themselves entitled to interfere with the arrangements made by the Chinese officers of justice for carrying into effect in a Chinese town the orders of the superior authorities." (See Viscount Palmerston to Captain Elliot, 15 April 1839. Blue Book 1840, p. 325. But see also p. 193\* his Lordship's Despatch 20 September 1837 and of p. 258 Despatch of 15 June 1838.) You will by-and-by find, my Lord,

\* See Appendix VI, for this Memorandum.

Lord Palmerston holding very different language. And why? Because it was borne in upon him that the relations of the British representative with the Chinese authority were simply intolerable. But now that hostilities, one may say that war, had really begun, what was the announcement from the Throne in 1840? What was the scope of our expedition as defined by Lord John Russell? "It was to obtain reparation for the insults and injuries offered to Her Majesty's superintendent and Her Majesty's subjects by the Chinese Government; and in the second place, it was to obtain for the merchants trading in China an indemnification for the loss of their property incurred by threats of violence offered by persons under the direction of the Chinese Government; and in the last place it was to obtain a certain security that persons and property in future trade with China shall be protected from insult and injury, and that their trade and commerce be maintained upon a proper footing." You must remember that when Captain Elliot was compelled, in order to save the lives and to secure the persons of the British community at Canton, to surrender the opium, he protested throughout against the violence that was employed and the general treatment of the community. I contend that the war even of 1839,—the misunderstanding which led up to it,—would never have occurred had there been relations, even such relations as Sir Henry Pottinger subsequently obtained. We had no access whatever of an official character to the Chinese authorities at Canton. The only channel was the association of the Hong monopolists, many of them hostile to us, many of them our bankrupt debtors, having an eye to securing the monopoly of their trade, but also having an eye to that which was so dear to the Chinese mind as then informed,—having an eye to the fact that the barbarian was a barbarian and that he must be kept under control. I say that it was owing entirely to that disposition that the first war came about. There were no means of negotiation or adjustment. What was more, as Captain Elliot, (with the sincerest desire to prevent all irregularities,) complains in one of his letters to Lord Palmerston, it was vain to call it smuggling opium. And why? Because all the officials were engaged in it. Now, remember, that there is a wide difference between that position, whether of a trading community or of its official chief, and the position of people who are endeavouring to force a trade into a country *vi et armis*, as it has been alleged we did in the first war, and have been doing ever since. As I said before, the seizure of the opium is the salient incident of that war. But it is by no means the whole war, it is but an incident of it, and in support of that I quote a gentleman not likely unduly to favour England. In the year 1841, John Quincey Adams, a sufficiently well-known name, a distinguished member of a distinguished political family in America—

1289. What volume are you quoting from, Sir Thomas?—This is a missionary publication, the "Chinese Repository," which ran for 20 years in Canton, and was, at the time I speak of, edited by Dr. Elijah Bridgman, an excellent American missionary, who gives Mr. Adams's lecture *in extenso*. I shall read a short extract. There are also some notes of his, the editor's own, which I wish to read. He printed Mr. Adams's lecture in 1842, but it was delivered before the Historical Society at Massachusetts in December 1841. It is hardly necessary to quote more than a short passage of it. After tracing historically what had occurred up the year 1841, he says:—"And here I might pause:—Do I hear you inquire what is all this to the opium question or the taking of Canton? These I answer are but incidents in that movement of mind on this globe of earth of which the war between Great Britain and China is now the leading star. . . . The justice of the cause between the two parties—which has the righteous cause? You have perhaps been surprised to hear me answer Britain—Britain has the righteous cause. But to prove it I have been obliged to show that the opium question is not the cause of the war. My demonstration is not yet complete. The cause of the war is the kotow!" I do not mean to say that anybody was asked to kotow; pray let me impress that upon gentlemen who are very exacting of verbal accuracy; but that the cause of the war was the kotow, "the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind, not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal."

Dr. Bridgman, after an ample recognition of the title of a man of Mr. Adams's experience, proceeds judiciously with the following comments:—"While, however, we differ from the lecturer with regard to the influence the opium trade has had upon the war, for it has been without doubt the great proximate cause, we mainly agree with him as to the effect that other remoter causes springing from Chinese assumption, conceit, and ignorance have also had upon it. . . . We do not see how the war could have arisen had not the opium trade been a smuggling trade. We think it would never have gone on as it has, were the Chinese better acquainted with their own and others' rights. . . ."—"Chinese Repository," Vol. XI., pp. 288-9. Dr. Bridgman cannot, of course, be expected to take so lenient a view of the opium trade as Mr. Quincey Adams; that I do not in the least wonder at. Dr. Bridgman had been resident for many years in Canton and Macao and he had had a personal experience of the evil attending the excessive use of opium which Mr. Quincey Adams could not have had. But when he urges that but for the opium the war would not have arisen, my view, I confess, is more nearly Mr. Adams's. The origin of the war lay in the fact that we had no relations. The origin of succeeding wars lay in the fact that our relations were very imperfect, and still needed perfecting. How many wars have we had with China? We had the war known as the opium war terminating in 1842. We immediately established ourselves within the walls at the different ports, but at Canton we were still not admitted into the city. It was the only place at which there was a high authority to whom the British Plenipotentiary could appeal. This was an Imperial Commissioner sent down to Canton to reside there *vis-a-vis* our Minister Plenipotentiary, who resided at Hong Kong. He was inaccessible to our Minister. We were not admitted into the city, and the promise that we should eventually be admitted was put off and put off, and a succession of outrages occurred during the five years succeeding the peace of 1842, the consequence of which was that Sir John Davis, perhaps with more zeal than discretion, in the spring of 1847, went up with a few ships of war and demanded a settlement of the city question. Kiating, the then Imperial Commissioner engaged that it should be settled in two years. In 1849, accordingly, the two-years' term having expired, Sir George Bonham approached Kiating's successor. The high authorities at Canton said they must refer to the Emperor. They ascertained that we were not going to strike, and then came a grand fulmination from the Emperor and a grand approval of the attitude of the Cantonese; and we were shut out of Canton once more. Throughout those events, if there was anything to find fault with on our side, it certainly was the weakness we displayed; but as regards the charge I am endeavouring to rebut, be it remembered that not one of our grievances had anything whatever to say to opium. This decree of exclusion from the city was issued in 1849. After an interval of some few years, we established at Hong Kong,—which had of late considerably developed itself in consequence of the influx of Chinese, driven thither by their own rebellion or trouble of one form and another,—we had established a system of registering vessels of Colonial build, of Chinese make, which should run between Hong Kong and the open ports. One of these vessels, the "Arrow," had entered the Port of Canton. Allow me to say, first, that a Chinese translation of the Ordinance which was passed for the purpose of empowering the Colony to give papers to vessels of this kind had been forwarded by Sir John Bowring, then Governor of Hong Kong, and Minister Plenipotentiary, to the then High Commissioner, Yeh, months before. The whole Ordinance was forwarded to him; he was perfectly in a position, if he liked, to protest against it as an order of proceeding possibly likely to interfere with the arrangements of the Empire. He simply took no notice of it whatever; but early in October —

1290. Of what year?—Of 1856. I beg your pardon. Early in October of 1856, on the 6th of October, 1856, one of these vessels, by name the "Arrow," having gone into the Port of Canton, having been duly entered by the Consul (Mr. Parkes), had lain there for eight days. On the eighth day, the day unfortunately that Her Majesty's brig "Bittern" disappeared on a cruise from the inner waters, the Imperial Commissioner's executive pounced upon that vessel, tore down the flag, carried the people into the city, and alleging that they were pirates refused to return them. Of course this brought on a very hot discussion; and though at an

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I. F. Wade,  
G.C.M.G.,  
K.C.B.  
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G.C.M.G.,  
K.C.B.

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early stage of this, he ceded in part, and finally went to greater lengths, Sir John Bowring insisted upon the opening of the city as a guarantee of better relations. His plea implied or expressed was simply that we had no access to the one authority appointed by the Emperor to deal with foreign affairs. If anything occurred at one of the ports it had to be referred down to Canton through the Plenipotentiary. I may say, except a visit of ceremony on his arrival, the Plenipotentiary never had a chance of seeing this great man. Our Plenipotentiaries went up or sent up, on more occasions than one, to the mouth of the Pei-ho to communicate with Peking to endeavour to establish a better order of things. What did the Court of Peking say? "Go back to Canton; consult the Imperial Commissioner,"—whom we could never see. That was our position; and in the usual way this led to a collision which, in the usual way, was largely misunderstood and misrepresented.

1291. It was not a war arising out of a desire to force opium upon the Chinese?—The opium had nothing earthly to do with it; no more than tobacco. But I will be candid. It is very possible that these men were precisely what the Imperial Commissioner described them as being. In the drifting population of Hong Kong, through which, at that time even, some 200,000 people came and went annually, who did not reside there,—with a coast such as is opposite Hong Kong,—you could not fail to have piracy in all directions, and at one time piracy was rife, and we were continually engaged in putting it down; because the Chinese would do nothing whatever. There is another thing I should be prepared to admit. There had been very possibly some smuggling of salt, which was and is a prohibited import. All these things may be admitted. But the great fact remains that Mr. Quincey Adams had insisted on as the cause of the first war, and which I contend was equally the cause of the second war. What was wanting was *relations*. There was no possibility of getting grievances redressed, or of coming to an understanding upon any given point. The result of that was war. Though there was no declaration of war, there were hostilities which were as like a war in character as hostilities could be; and, the result of that was Lord Elgin's mission to China, and, of course, the discrediting of Sir John Bowring. Now, it has been said that Lord Elgin received instructions from Lord Clarendon to do I do not know what with the opium question; but I have heard the statement made as part of an argument that this war, like other wars, was for the purpose of pushing trade, and particularly the opium trade. The instructions, if read at length, it will be seen, point particularly to residence at Peking; they point particularly to the improvement of relations. When they come to opium, which it would be scarcely possible to avoid coming to, with the knowledge of the extensive irregular traffic that was being carried on,—what does Lord Clarendon say?—"It will be for Your Excellency when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese Plenipotentiaries to ascertain whether the Government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade which the high officers of the Chinese Government never practically enforce. Whether the legalisation of the trade would tend to augment that trade may be doubtful as it seems to be carried on to the full extent of the demand in China with the sanction and connivance of the local authorities. But there would be obvious advantages in placing the trade upon a legal footing by the imposition of a duty instead of its being carried on in the present irregular manner." That is the sole allusion in Lord Clarendon's instructions to Lord Elgin. I was attached to Lord Elgin from the moment that he arrived in China, in the summer of 1857, and until the spring of 1859. I may say I was almost in daily contact with him; indeed, except for two or three broken months, I was always on board the same ship with him; and it is very natural that with a person attached to him in the capacity of Chinese secretary, which was my position, he should talk very freely about everything. I can safely say that for the first eight, nine, or ten months he never referred to opium as a possible item of negotiation at all. He referred to it as a thing deplorable, from what he saw,—from what he saw in the streets; from the emaciation and wretchedness of the opium smokers he came across. He could not understand—I remember his observation on one occasion,—he could not understand how it was that such a practice should be so general and yet not universal, because while he saw very respectable people who did

not smoke at all, he saw also some who did smoke who were perfectly respectable too. But to the best of my recollection he never alluded, during the whole time that I speak of, until a date which I shall mention,—which was rather more than a year after his arrival,—he never alluded to it as a subject of negotiation. We left Shanghai for the mouth of Pei-ho in April, 1858, and after a collision we got up to Tientsin, and at Tientsin we and the French and the Americans and the Russians concluded Treaties. Mr. Reid, the American, withdrew from his Treaty a certain clause prohibitory of the opium trade which had been in the earlier American Treaty of 1845; he withdrew this clause to oblige Lord Elgin. (See Mr. Reid's letter in Blue Book, China and Japan 1857-1859, p. 394.) I forget precisely how any discussion led up to this act on his part, but as a fact he certainly did it. But a few months later in the excellent letter above referred to,—this same letter being prompted by a letter from one of the leading American merchants, also given in the Blue Book,—he urged Lord Elgin to regularise the trade, that is to say, to legalise it. And why? For the very same reason that Lord Clarendon gives:—It is an irregular trade, which everybody knows and everybody ignores; and it was upon that, more particularly, that Lord Elgin formulated his propositions regarding the legalization of the opium trade. Now, I think Mr. Lay has remarked, and it is perfectly just, that the one thing that the Chinese showed any real concern about—the one thing they felt any real concern about was the residence of a Foreign Minister in Peking. They had a most distinct objection to that; and as soon as Lord Elgin had gone away from Tientsin in July, they had set to work to undo the concession. Lord Elgin went over to Japan to make a Treaty, and was absent there two or three months; but the moment he returned to Shanghai, the two high officers who had negotiated this Treaty were sent down to Shanghai as Imperial Commissioners, ostensibly to settle tariff and trade regulations. But settlement of the tariff was a kind of work that would not have devolved on two mandarins of their position at all. It had been quite understood that the Chief Superintendent of Customs at Shanghai, who was the mandarin with whom Mr. Lay was associated as Inspector of Customs at Shanghai at the time, was to take it in hand. The coming down of these men boded something else. And what did it bode? It boded revocation of the clause that would establish a resident Minister at Peking; the one important provision, in my opinion, of the whole Treaty. As to the opium duty, when it was proposed, it would be almost a farce to say,—it would be an abuse of words to say,—that there was any negotiation at all. There was certainly no objection raised to its insertion as a dutiable article in the tariff. This was put in the hands of two mandarins of more than ordinary position with Mr. Lay as their natural co-adjutor, he being Inspector of Customs; while, on the other part, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, Lord Elgin's private secretary, and myself, represented the Ambassador.

1292. (Mr. Pease.) Was Mr. Lay in the Chinese service may I ask?—Yes, Mr. Lay had been Consular interpreter at Shanghai. He was then made Vice-consul, and when in 1855, after nine months, during which the Customs Inspectorate was on its trial under myself and a French and American colleague, I retired, Mr. Lay was put in my place, and for the three years following, that is up to the time of Lord Elgin's arrival, he had been in the above office. At my instance he was attached to Lord Elgin, when the mission went north from Shanghai in April 1858. I have no hesitation in saying I think—it may not be exactly relevant, not in the direct order of these proceedings,—that if it had not been for Mr. Lay's presence, for the confidence that the Chinese naturally had in him as their own employé, and for his own admirable command of the spoken language, I doubt whether Lord Elgin would have got a Treaty at all; at least not a Treaty with the provisions it contains. The mere commercial matters which the Chinese conceded, with scarcely verbal deviations to the other Powers, to the Americans and the Russians, and finally to the French, were to them a matter of indifference. What was of real importance, was what we really went to get and what that war of 1856-58 was really about; the improvement of relations with the Chinese. They hesitated, not merely on account of their pharisaical upliftedness, that affectation of precedence over all nations, which is one of their greatest misfortunes, but they hesitated, as a Chinese in my confidence informed me, because once we were alongside of them, they would not be able to get away, and



instead of making a buffer of the Imperial Commissioner at the other end of the Empire, whom a Foreign Minister was never to see, they would see us face to face, and be compelled to talk things over. This was humiliating to their pride, no doubt, but they also felt a material inconvenience in the change before them. I contend that without that change we should have been just where we had been before when the insults to Lord Napier were first offered, 20 years before; and that the one thing for which we did make war was the improvement of relations. About the means to that end there were differences of opinion. Lord Elgin was not keen, when he had seen the whole position, for the establishment of a Minister at Peking. Sir Frederick Bruce, who knew orientals both in China and elsewhere, declared that there was nothing else worth having. He said, "Our difficulty has been with these people all along the 'imperfectness of relations. What do you mean by 'relations'? How are you going to have relations perfect?" You cannot have relations perfect (he argued, quoting classical authority), unless there is a recognition of equality. And what really occasioned that war, that lasted from 1856 to 1858, was the fact that there was no equality—that there was no recognition of relations. Well, the following year, Lord Elgin's brother, Sir Frederick Bruce comes out himself, as Minister, and he finds the river blocked. He is not to go, except under impossible conditions, up to Peking. In the interim, what had happened? As I have said, these High Commissioners came down to induce Lord Elgin to revoke the concession of residence, and he did undertake to make residence conditional. He modified the provision to the effect that there should be but an annual visit to Peking, and that so long as the Chinese conducted themselves in a way satisfactory to us, we would not claim the permanent residence there. When we came up in June 1859, it appeared that the admission into Peking for the simple purpose of exchanging ratifications was so limited that it was not to be accepted without humiliation. Mind, the Chinese had a splendid opportunity of proving that we were wrong in that assumption, for we arrived at the Pei-ho with a French and with an American Minister. The French Minister's position was precisely the same as our own. But we said, "We have a right to go in, and go in we will." We did attempt to go in, and we were fired upon and beaten. The French and ourselves were thus thrown back, but the Americans, who remained there as neutrals, and against whom the fire of the forts was consequently never directed, did accept what was offered. Their Minister, Mr. Ward, was taken up to Peking; but under what conditions? Under conditions that were positively, I should say, rather worse than those with which Lord Napier had found himself dealing when he arrived at Macao in 1834. He (Mr. Ward) was carried up to Peking in a common conveyance; while he was in Peking, there were guards placed around his residence; both he and his suite were prevented from going anywhere. As one of the Romish missionaries residing in Peking in disguise at the time, wrote to his Minister, "*humilissime intravit*"; and he went out as he had come in. Now, if the Chinese had had any sense they would have put us in the wrong by conceding to Mr. Ward a reception that he could not have complained of. But they did not; and they simply let us see that we were perfectly right in insisting upon admission into Peking under circumstances of which we should not be ashamed. The result of their conduct was the third and last war; in order, then to force our way into Peking; in order once more, to secure enduring relations.

1293. That war closed in 1860, did it not?—I was just going to say, sir—

1294. The second war?—Well, I consider the second war, the war which arose out of the "Lorcha Arrow" affair—

1295. That was in 1856; Lord Elgin arrived in 1857?—Yes. Hostilities had been going on, you may say, from the moment the Chinese seized the "Lorcha"; at least, from about twenty days after her seizure.

1296. And the close of that war?—I consider the close of that war was when Lord Elgin signed his Treaty in 1858.

1297. (Mr. Mowbray.) The Treaty of Tientsin?—Yes; the Treaty of Tientsin. Then (in the following year) we went up to be admitted into Peking, and we were shut out and defeated.

1298. (Chairman.) And that gave rise to the third war?—That gave rise to the third war; to Sir Hope

Grant's expedition of 1860. We did then make our way up to Peking, the Emperor flying to beyond the Great Wall when we advanced upon Peking. From the day we were established in Peking, from that day to this we have had no more wars.

1299. Well, Sir Thomas Wade, you have given us a very interesting sketch of these unfortunate wars with China, and you have made it clear to us that in your view those wars were largely if not mainly traceable to the insistence of the Chinese in refusing to enter into friendly relations with us, and you contend that those wars were not prompted by a desire to force the Indian opium upon China?—Not even to force trade.

1300. You remained in China a considerable number of years after the last war was brought to a close, and were concerned in the most responsible positions with the many negotiations which were carried out between the British Government and the Chinese Government. Now would you say to us that in those negotiations it was not in the contemplation of the British Government to compel the Chinese authorities to receive importations of opium from India against their will; that in those various negotiations other important matters were in view, but this particular object of forcing the importation of opium was never an object with the British Government?—On the contrary. You may say that the first time that it (opium) came up again at all in formal discussion was in 1868. In a casual way I have myself often talked the opium question over with different high officers,—one of them being a great opium smoker himself; but so far from there being anything like a suggestion that the opium trade, or that the opium taxation, should be re-arranged to our advantage, the first time that it appears after the war of 1860 is when Sir Rutherford Alcock was revising the Treaty in 1868.

1301. And under what circumstances does it reappear?—A suggestion was made on the part of Sir Rutherford Alcock to the Indian Government to increase the duty upon it. You will find that in the papers recording Sir Rutherford Alcock's revision of Treaty; in fact, it was one of the two causes which broke down his revised Treaty. There were two conditions, one affecting silk and one affecting opium. The Indian Government objected to that affecting opium, and both the French and various of our own merchants objected to that affecting silk. As regarded the opium, that was I think the only time that it came formally before negotiators until I took it up in 1876. And why did I take it up in 1876? Simply because at Shanghai a judgment had been given in respect of the taxation of opium which I considered to be unfair to the Chinese Government, our engagements with it considered. The article agreed to by Lord Elgin supplementary to the tariff which was signed in 1858 says that opium shall be saleable only at the port, and Lord Elgin, I cannot quote his despatch, but I can state his observation, repeated again and again to me, that his opinion of opium was such that he would not be a party to obtaining for it a participation in the favourable conditions of other articles of import. All other articles of import were subject in those days to a great deal of irregular taxation which one clause of his Treaty was intended to regularise; but he said: "I will not be a party to flinging opium broadcast 'through the Empire,' and for that reason he would not claim the transit duty certificate which, by an additional payment of half the tariff duty, was to secure our general import trade against this abnormal taxation inland. It must have been about the year 1874 that a case was tried at Shanghai between the agents charged with collecting opium revenue, or estimating it,—charged consequently with visiting the stocks and estimating the revenue in the interest of the Chinese Government. On the occasion referred to they came into collision with a body raised and paid by foreign residents, the quasi-municipal police, which takes care of Shanghai, greatly to its advantage, and the case being examined into by judicial authority, the judicial authority decided that as according to Lord Elgin's Treaty opium was saleable at the port, therefore we had in fact a right to hawk it about at the port. I held precisely the contrary opinion; Lord Elgin's appeal to the Chinese Government, in 1858, put in a few words, was this: "It is an irregular trade of which you have 'the fullest cognisance. regularise it, and put what 'tariff' you like upon it; and I will not ask for the 'limitation of inland duty upon it. Once it passes 'from British hands we shall have no more to say to 'it.'" Well, I consider that that being our engagement,

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a decision which would justify the quasi-municipal police in interfering with the Chinese overseers of opium revenue to the prejudice of the inland duty collection was not fair to the Chinese; and for that reason I volunteered in the Che-foo agreement—an agreement primarily concerned no doubt with what it known as the Yun-nan outrage; but incidentally, as my despatches show, made to include other matters,—I volunteered a suggestion that just as the foreign inspectorate now collects the tariff duty of 30 taels, (30 ounces of silver) upon the drug when imported, so it should be empowered to collect also the abnormal inland revenue to which the Indian opium *in transitu* was liable. Of this we had very imperfect information. We knew that it was exceedingly onerous to all trades, but I knew also that the Central Government was itself very imperfectly informed regarding the amount collected. It was vain therefore to endeavour to get accurate news from the provinces, but what I wanted to accomplish was not simply a regularisation of the trade,—the regularisation of the trade in opium as an import was not my business,—but I did desire to insure to the Chinese Government a defence against the foreign importer; a defence that I consider the Chinese were legitimately entitled to. Thus you will see opium, in my belief, was never alluded to in negotiations, except upon the two occasions that I have referred to; first, in 1868, when Sir Rutherford Alcock was revising his Treaty, and proposing an augmentation of the tariff duty on opium, and last in 1876, when I signed the Che-foo agreement. I will not be absolutely certain, but I believe that Sir Rutherford Alcock's proposition was much of the character of my own in 1876, to wit that the Chinese Government should have secured to them the revenue to which they were by Treaty entitled. Beyond that there has been no pretence to treat; opium taxation has never been, as I say, even alluded to, and I confess that I feel something passing common irritation when I am told that we introduced opium into China, that we taught the Chinese the way to smoke it, that we poisoned the nation,—that we made war in consequence of it, and that we finally forced it upon them with British bayonets in our hands; when I hear, as I heard Mr. Samuel Smith, the Member for Flintshire, inform 200 undergraduates at Cambridge one evening, that at last China overborne was obliged to take to producing it in her own defence. It is scarcely possible for me, I confess, to measure terms when allegations of that sort are made. Think how utterly unfair it is to our own friends, to our own countrymen, what a reflection upon them it is. However, I am not here to entertain you with my irritabilities.

1302. We were very anxious to have the position of the past cleared up, and we have been interested in what you have told us, Sir Thomas; there was one point upon which the Commission would wish to have your opinion, and that is, as to our position at the present moment. We have had brought before us repeatedly in the course of our inquiry an important official statement made by Sir James Ferguson in the House of Commons, which was to this effect, that the fiscal arrangements, the discretion as to the imposition of Customs duties or the discretion, as to the total prohibition, if they thought fit, of importation of opium from India into China, are now entirely free with the Chinese Government; Sir James Ferguson made it clear to the House of Commons that there were no conditions in the Treaties now in existence between ourselves and China which prohibited the Chinese Government, if they thought fit, from dealing in any way which they thought desirable with the opium trade. We understood the statement of Sir James Ferguson was to the effect that if the Chinese Government thought fit to do so, they could, after giving twelve months notice, raise the tariff on the importation of opium from India to China to any amount that they thought fit; or if they thought fit, might prohibit the trade altogether. Now that statement of Sir James Ferguson has not been accepted by all the witnesses who have appeared before us. They have contended that, that statement notwithstanding, the Chinese Government are not free to deal as they may think fit with the opium trade between India and China. Can you tell us how the matter really stands?—Well before referring to negotiations since my day, I wish to premise that partly owing to my own, I will not say *laches*, but still owing to me, the ratification of the Treaty hung fire for a long time. The causes independent of me were, I think these, that the financiers of the Indian Government were naturally alarmed, for I had not prepared them for a proposition regarding

opium at all in 1876; and in the next place, though there was not a formal intimation regarding opium from other Governments, there was evidence enough that they were not disposed to accept arrangements affecting it for different reasons. They were not disposed, some of them, to approve my Agreement at all, and they were in a position to neutralise its opium provisions, because with a very little organization they could have imported opium and if they had not accepted my arrangement, the Agreement stood in danger of falling through. As regards the statement of Sir James Ferguson, I am not prepared to make answer at this moment. I mean to say that I do not venture to affirm that there is nothing on record to the effect that the Chinese might if they chose raise the duty, or that they might take this step or that regarding opium. With the relations that we now have, no step of the sort, I should imagine, would be undertaken without preliminary negotiations. And allow me to say that I conceive it to be the farthest thing from probability that they will initiate anything of the sort under existing circumstances. In the amount which it was agreed between (I think) Lord Salisbury and the Minister Tseng should be levied, they have got rather more, or certainly at least double what I would have conceded. I had reason to believe (in 1876) that they collected as *li-kin* taking the ports all round, something like 40 ounces of silver in addition to the 30 ounces leviable by tariff; that they collected about 40 ounces upon every picul, every hundred Chinese pounds of opium. Now I would have conceded them more than that, though even of the 40 [which their native collectorate ought to have collected] they were not perfectly secure. I would have conceded them more than that in order to set the question at rest. However, as I say, the settlement hung fire, and Sir Robert Hart did not agree with me that what I thought fair was a sufficient sum to impose upon opium. He said that it would bear a total of 110 ounces taxation, tariff included, without any danger from the smuggler, and in his position of Inspector General of Customs, he was bound I think to advise the Chinese Government in that sense. If the Chinese Government were minded to-morrow to raise the duty or to make fresh arrangements regarding the revenue, there is not a shadow of doubt that we should not,—as in former days when there were no relations at all,—meet them with a direct negative, we should not refuse any proposition they might make without consideration; but I repeat it is to the last degree improbable that they will do anything of the sort. I should like before I close to supplement my answer to the question which your Lordship put to me just before this one, as to the action taken by the British Government. I said there were two instances in which the question of opium had come up, one in 1868, when Sir Rutherford Alcock was Minister, and one 1876 when I was Minister myself, and I mentioned the two propositions that had been made, both favourable to the Chinese, first by Sir Rutherford Alcock, and then by myself. I omitted, however, to mention a very much more important provision, in my Agreement, and that was that there should be a commission to regularize the trade of Hong Kong. About this naturally the Inspector of Customs was particularly anxious, because Hong Kong, being situated as it is, was in a position to export not only Indian but all native-grown opium right and left along the coast, without paying any duty whatever. We had paid some, without a doubt; but that a large portion of it would go into the pockets of employés, in fact that it would be a branch of irregular trade, no one could doubt for a moment. The Chinese very often argued, always with an allusion, more or less unpleasant, to the peculiar position of Hong Kong,—as they very frequently contended that they were entitled to tax every ounce of opium that came to China, that is to say, geographically speaking, to Hong Kong as well;—and I was prepared to concede, although it was not very pleasant to the Colony, that they were perfectly entitled to watch the trade between Hong Kong and their own shores in order that they might levy the duties that would legitimately accrue to them. For that reason I suggested that there should be a joint commission between the Chinese and ourselves to arrange to regulate the trade, more particularly the opium trade at Hong Kong. The result of that is that Hong Kong is now within the area of the Imperial Customs Inspectorate supervision. Allow me to say that, when we talk of forcing trade upon them with bayonets, those two last concessions in trade are some-

thing to set against any such allegation. If you think that I have taken upon myself, not as Mr. Lay has put it, to increase the war-tax,—to enable the Chinese to levy the war-tax through the hands of the Inspectorate,—but to secure to them that enormous increase of revenue which they now receive, which they never could have touched but a fraction of, had it not been for my intervention; and that I secured to them the regularisation of the trade of Hong Kong, I think that those two acts, on my part alone, may be set against the allegation that we have forced opium into that country at the point of the bayonet.

1303. There is one last question that I should like to ask you. You made an important speech on this subject at the Society of Arts, and that is before us. I take it from you that, so far as it went, that correctly represents your general view as at present entertained on the subject which has been before the Commission. There is one statement which you made in the course of that speech which I should like to hear a word from you upon, and that it is with regard to the attitude of the Central Government of China with reference to this question. Have you reason to suppose that the Chinese Government are sincerely anxious to put an end to the opium trade?—Well, the sincerity of parties is always more or less a delicate question. I attended, some four or five years ago, a meeting of clerical gentlemen who were also associated with the anti-opium, let me say, crusade—I do not use the word in any invidious sense—gentlemen associated for the purpose of abating what they considered the great evil of the opium trade, and they asked me straight, “Do you consider the Chinese sincere in their denunciation of opium?” Well, I could only meet the question by another: “Do you consider us sincere in the denunciation of a large number of practices which we do condemn both in society and in trade, and otherwise?” You would feel very ill-pleased if you were told that you and your countrymen were insincere. The Chinese notion of sincerity does not carry them as far perhaps in that direction as ourselves, but I should say a large number—a majority I will not say, for I am not in a position to judge—but I should say a large number are sincerely opposed to the opium trade, a very large number. I am very glad indeed that your Lordship has asked me the question, because I read on the occasion referred to a memorandum of an interview with the Ministers of the Tsung-li-Yamèn, that has been dealt with also in a way that I do not exactly like.

1304. You spoke in the Society of Arts in April, 1892, on Mr. Batten’s paper?—Yes, my Lord, but did I give the date of the interview at the Tsung-li Yamèn?

1305. Yes, you read the memo. of an interview on 16th January, 1881. You say that, “As regarded opium, certain points had been suggesting themselves to Sir Thomas Wade upon which the opinion of the Yamèn would be valuable. In the first place, as the Ministers were of course aware, the trade in opium, native and foreign, was regarded in different lights by the high authorities of different provinces, and their mode of action was dissimilar. Some were for stamping out native opium altogether, and restricting the sale of foreign opium by placing prohibitions on the consumption of it. In other provinces it was regarded as a source of revenue, the habit of opium smoking was not checked, but the drug was heavily taxed, the vice being turned to account as a means of enriching the exchequer. As these modes of procedure were diametrically opposite, Sir Thomas Wade would be glad to be informed what was the policy favoured by the Central Government. The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all.”—Yes. But the sequel is much more important, my Lord, Shall I read it?

1306. Yes, what I have read to you will lead you up to your answer, no doubt?—I should inform your Lordship that the paper which I read on that occasion was one of a collection which I have marked “Conferences on Opium.”

1307. Perhaps you would put that in?—Yes. I do not see that I might not. But on the occasion on which I read it, I did not mention the name of the Minister who made it because, as I observed at the time, Chinese Ministers do not delight in having their names carried about; they are not so indifferent to it as we are; and for that reason I concealed the name of the Minister

speaking; and I have seen in the Anti-Opium periodical that he is referred to as an anonymous Minister. Will the proceedings be published necessarily?

1308. No; we might perhaps look at it?—Well, I merely wish your Lordship to understand that this is a collection of conferences on opium at the Tsung-li Yamèn, the Chinese Foreign Office, during the years 1880, 1881, and 1882, and my usage, during the latter years certainly of any tenure of office, was to enter a formal report of all conferences at the Yamèn on anything more than an ordinary question in a journal. Furthermore, it was my usage to be accompanied by some of my interpretorial staff or others. On this occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Hillier, now Consul-General in Corea, and there were present four Ministers whose names are given in the memorandum before you. The Minister with whom I had the conversation just quoted, was at that time virtually the Foreign Minister. Our real Foreign Minister must have been considered the Prince of Kung, the Emperor’s uncle. He was some two or three years after I left Peking degraded on one of the common charges in China, corruption, and with him fell the Minister who was speaking (on the 16th January 1881). He was one of the very ablest men that in all the years I was in China I ever met, and one of the fittest certainly to be a diplomatic Minister. He is now rising again, after the fashion of the Chinese, and is at this present moment at the head of an enormous government which is overgrown with opium. “The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all. Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium-smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account. The only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the government of the Empire. Sir T. Wade went on to say that many persons, notably the foreign missionaries in China, had been urging on the British Government through various channels the advisability and the equity of abandoning their connexion with opium. Suppose, for as yet it was a pure supposition, that the British Government were eventually to effect a gradual diminution of the opium trade from India, by limiting the import to an increasing degree, year by year, until the trade was abolished altogether, did the Minister think that such an arrangement would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government? The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion such a plan would be useless. As long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere. Any serious attempt to check the evil must originate with individuals. As long as men wanted to smoke and insisted on smoking, they would smoke, and a spontaneous abandonment of the habit on the part of the people would regulate the supply. Nothing short of this would do any good, and philanthropic efforts to check the evil in the manner suggested by Sir T. Wade would affect the revenue only, without in any way reaching the root of the mischief.”

1309. Is there anything further that you would like to say?—There are one or two things bearing upon the sincerity of the Chinese in the matter. It must be admitted by all those who have been in touch with this question for fifty odd years, that there is an amount of inconsistency on the part of the Chinese respecting it that puts their sincerity very much in question. There are several of them, as I said, that are perfectly sincere. The son-in-law of that great Commissioner Lin, whose violent action was the immediate cause of the first war, the son-in-law of that man was a few years ago Governor-General of the three provinces of which Nanking is the centre. He put down,—not opium smoking—he could not do that,—but all public opium divans. And now and then you will find individual officers taking a

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step of that kind. But it is rare. You will find all over the country prohibitions against opium planting and opium smoking; and yet, as a letter from a missionary which I saw in a paper shortly before I left Peking, in 1882, stated, he had just passed through a field of poppy with the proclamation planted in the middle and the white poppies growing round the posts of the board on which the proclamation was posted. And you have more than that; you have the regular taxation of it, and you have now, if I do not mistake, in fact, I am sure of it, you have a regular quotation of the revenue derived from the native cultivation of different parts. But what I was about to call attention to as something of an argument on the side of inconsistency was the Will, as it is called, of the old Emperor against whom we made war in the first instance. The old Emperor was reigning as Tao Kuang. He was supposed, logically, to be pronouncedly opposed to opium smoking. In the year 1836, that is three years before our first hostilities, a censor of high reputation, Hū Nai-tsi by name, proposed that opium should be legalised on a duty of 8 per cent., and he was not at all without supporters. But his opponents were more powerful, and it ended in his being exiled to the far west of China as a punishment. It was almost immediately after that that the rigorous measures against the opium traffic and the opium smoker were revived. It should not be forgotten that all those who denounced it, denounced it to the full as much upon financial as moral grounds. What alarmed the Court? I cannot think that the small quantity imported alarmed the Court so much as the evidence that silver was being carried out of the country to pay for it. But the old Emperor was justly supposed to be a pronounced anti-opiumist; and it is therefore very remarkable that in his Will the misunderstanding which lasted from 1839 to 1842—our opium war—should be treated in the way that it is there treated. These Wills, as they are called, are prepared very much as our Speeches from the Throne are prepared—by the highest authorities; but these same high authorities must have also prepared the extremely lofty decree and the arrogant papers which were issued after we were excluded from Canton in 1849. The Emperor died just at the beginning of 1850, at the end of February 1850; and then there appeared this document, which, as I say, is very much like one of our Speeches from the Throne. It is in effect a review of his reign. After praising himself for his vigilance and his industry, his thrift and frugality, he comes to the rebellion of 1826–1828, a very serious movement in his Mohammedan Colonies, and then to the war with England.

"When the poor fools [the Mohammedans] that dwell beyond the western frontier had been chastised by our troops," he says, "for many years we presumed not to vaunt our martial prowess, until a quarrel arose out of a question of commerce upon the eastern coasts." [These are the terms, observe, in which our war of 1839–42 is alluded to.] "Even then, being as the good men of ancient times who held humanity to be the chief of virtues, how could we hear that our innocent babes should be exposed to the cruel wounds of the sharp-pointed spear? It was for this cause that we put away our annoyance and entered into an important compact [the Treaty of Nanking]. Giving comfort to our own dominions we showed tenderness to those from afar. And thus in the course of ten years the hurtful flame has expired of itself; our people and the barbarians trade together in peace, and all may now perhaps comprehend that in this policy we were actuated by the constant fondness of our people felt in our inmost heart."

There is not a word of reference to opium in that. After his successor had ascended the throne, he immediately, as is usual, asked for counsel of his advisers. The result was the presentation of some 50 odd papers, which I have here, either in translation or in précis. I do not think that opium is mentioned twice in the whole of them. I say that these are certain arguments to prove, well, if it be not indifference, certainly a not very active feeling in reference to opium.

1310. (Sir J. Lyall.) Sir Thomas Wade, in the evidence before us, and in the memorial to the Prime Minister signed by a great number of influential people, reference is made to what is called the "affecting appeal" made by the Chinese Commissioners for the revision of the Tientsin Treaty, in 1869, to the English Government to alter its policy with regard to opium. Will you kindly tell us what your view of that incident is, and how far was the appeal sincere; that is, were the Chinese thinking of prohibition, or were they

aiming at an increase of revenue?—I was not at Peking at the moment; I was on leave, and did not return until after Sir Rutherford Alcock's revision was completed. But I remember an account of his last conversation with the Prince of Kung before he started, in which the Prince had said that the only two troubles of China were opium and missionaries, and I should say (in answer to a question asked me) that this remark did not indicate a desire to increase the revenue; that it would rather be the other way, because the Prince of Kung's right hand at that time was not the Minister whose remarks I have been reading to you, but a very great man; great in this way, for though he was narrow, he was a singularly patriotic, clean-handed, Minister—very; and he was himself a tremendous anti-opiumist. He carried his antagonism to this point, that on one occasion when he was ill, and pressed to take laudanum, he would not touch it because it came from the poppy. He would have been a very likely man to suggest such a remark as that quoted. At the same time I was informed, on the very best authority, that when Sir Rutherford Alcock's proposition (and the whole of the negotiations were then over when this conversation that I speak of took place), Sir Rutherford Alcock's proposition, which promised an increase of revenue, came before the Minister in question, he chuckled very undisguisedly over the prospect of the revenue's improvement.

1311. With reference to that statement as to the action of the United States Minister, at the time of negotiating the Tientsin Treaty, I wish to ask how you would explain the fact that in two Treaties recently concluded between the United States and Russia the importation of opium is prohibited. Do you think the Chinese asked the insertion of the clause, or that the United States and Russia suggested it for any motive?

Well, I do not know myself about Russia, I had overlooked the fact of Russia's participation in the matter, but as regards the American proposition, I was informed at the time (I think that was in 1881), that it was put forward by the Americans in the hope that by the proposition they might in some way balance what they were taking away. In 1868 they negotiated a Treaty about emigration on both sides, which was the doing of Mr. Secretary Seward and Mr. Burlingame, the American Minister [then, however, representing China]. This laid down that the President of the United States, recognising no less than the Emperor of China that every human being has a right to change his domicile, &c., &c.—Well, in less than ten or twelve years after that, for reasons more particularly affecting the State of California, the Americans found that they had more Chinese than they wanted; in fact, that there was a very decided set of the labour people, the Irish of California more particularly, against the Chinese, and they wanted to undo that Treaty; and I rather think that I have seen it in my own despatches recently, that I reported that the proposition regarding opium did come spontaneously from America, as a kind of *quid pro quo*. The Chinese set no kind of value upon it, because America was not an opium-producing country, nor, in general, although on occasion when it suited them, an opium-carrying people.

1312. Another reason, I suppose, would be that I believe there is a certain anti-opium party in the States who have a religious belief?—Oh, necessarily; there is pretty sure to be; indeed, quite sure to be. They have, I should think, as strong an anti-opium party in the States as our own.

1313. There is one question that goes a little beyond the question that Lord Brassey put, and perhaps you may not be able to answer it; but I should like to put it. You have said that a large number of respectable Chinese are sincerely opposed to the opium trade; but do you think that the Chinese Imperial Government, if now formally asked by us, would say that they wished us to prohibit the import of Indian opium into China? Can you answer that?—I think that you would merely draw from them one of those generalisations, such as the Grand Secretary Li-Hung Chang and the late Minister Tsêng and others put forth when they were approached by well-intentioned bodies in this country. In the same way, no people have a greater happiness in the composition of documents tinged with morality than the Chinese; but it would never enter their heads that the step was seriously contemplated. I should think their first impression would be to doubt your sincerity in the matter; but their answer, I think, would simply amount to this: Supposing that the British Minister, or a body of British anti-opiumists, were to approach the



Chinese Government, saying, "The Indian opium trade is an awful curse to your country; implore the British Government to give it up or to exclude it," they would answer, "The remedy appears to us to be in your own hands; if you do not like to export it, give up exporting it." They would meet you in that sort of way. But, as I said before, I think they would be inclined to doubt your sincerity. And even supposing now that there was in this country the popular feeling against it that there was, say, against negro slavery, and that there was such a feeling in the country that it was decided to have done with the export of opium to China in the interests of the Chinese, I can only say that you might just as well pull down this edifice that we are in here in order to put out a fire in Whitechapel. Because you have got in China a large opium-producing and opium-consuming country, accustomed to the use of opium long before any troubles with us began. And allow me to add one thing more, *apropos* of Mr. Griffith John's remark, that the opium traffic once abandoned by us, we should be on beautiful terms with the Chinese, and that there would be the greatest possible improvement, particularly in respect of missionary enterprise, and in fact all round, I venture to say that I doubt it exceedingly, because I remain true to what I have urged before, our difficulties with China are of an entirely different character. The Chinese have still got to learn, as a nation, that we are their equals. The Central Government has accepted this fact, and a very unpopular concession on the part of the Central Government it was; but as to the improvement of relations, and particularly as regards the preachers of religion—I do not want to commit your Lordship and the Commission to the hearing of an Essay on Missionary Enterprise—but what you have got to do in that country is largely to reinforce your missionary body with a very different description of missionary from those whom you generally enlist. As the Minister Tsêng observed to me on one occasion, "Your missionaries are getting at the lower people, but you are not approaching the higher. Why did Buddhism make the way it did in our country," asked he, "because the works on Buddhism translated into Chinese (from the excellence of their style) appealed to the educated section of the community," and not only to a part but to all the literary men. Nor must we necessarily commence with theology.

1314. (*Chairman.*) That lies outside the purview of the Commission?—Quite. I was speaking simply in answer to Mr. Griffith John's remark.

1315. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You said, I think, that when you were negotiating the Che-foo Convention, it had to be borne in mind that, if the other Powers did not agree to the arrangements we might make to regulate and restrict the opium traffic, they might easily organise an import trade of their own. I want to ask you where do you suppose that those other Powers would get the opium to import; from our people?—There were people talking already, when I returned to China in 1879, there were people talking of changing their flag and carrying opium under flags not British.

1316. I mean to say, do you think they would get it from India?—That would depend on the Indian Government. I am not prepared to say. But remember that though they import mainly Indian, they also import Turkey and Persian opium; and, furthermore, there were foreign representatives who were prepared to support the step contemplated, because it would have been a weapon in their hands; it would have been something to give up to China.

1317. (*Mr. Pease.*) Perhaps you are aware that the secretaries of the Anti-Opium Society, if not the members, always avoided speaking of the introduction of opium into China as having been first introduced by the English?—I was not aware of it.

1318. That has been very carefully done?—I can only say that verbally I may include wrongly some people in the Anti-Opium Society. But anti-opiumists have made that statement.

1319. But the Society has repeatedly repudiated it, although at one time the quantity of opium introduced was very small. You have said that your views had been to some extent modified with regard to the personal effects of opium. May I take the statement that you made in 1871—shall I read it?—as being generally your feeling at the present moment?—It was earlier; I think it was in 1868.

1320. "China.—No. 5 1871"—is, I think, the paper. "It is impossible to deny that we bring them that quality which, in the south, at all events, tempts them the most, and for which they pay dearest. It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky-drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured, in every case within my knowledge, the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker, and it is, so far, a greater mischief than drink, that it does not, by external evidence of its effect, expose its victim to the loss of repute which is the penalty of habitual drunkenness."?—It is in my Report on Sir Rutherford Alcock's Treaty Revision project submitted to Lord Clarendon, by his desire, in 1868. Yes; I have modified those views, as regards especially the question of cure. As I said in the course of my address to you just now, I have known,—I will not say many instances,—but I have known a certain number of instances where the cure has been complete, and that in one case which is always specially before me, in the case of a man who filled a position of considerable responsibility. He was a species of head steward (we call them *compradores*) of the British Consulate. I spent the year 1867 in that Consulate, and this man, who was a singularly intelligent, useful person, was then, as I conceived, in the very last stage of opium decay. He had every symptom of decadence. A more active, intelligent man, when he was not in the dream, I would not wish to meet. But I have sent for him sometimes in that year when it was pitiful to see him. To my utter amazement, in 1882, I think it was, on my way home, I met this man looking hearty and well in Shanghai, and I said to him, "How comes it you are so well?" "Oh," he said, "The Consul put me under a British physician, and after a certain time I was quite cured." "But (then I said), have you given up opium altogether?" "Oh, no; but I used to smoke ten pipes, and now I smoke three." But I assure you he was as fit as any man that you could meet at the time that I am speaking of. That is really a salient instance. I have seen others, and, to boot, I have noted, perhaps, I have paid more particular attention to it [the question of incurability] than when I wrote the words quoted. I wrote them when I was far nearer my long residence in the south—I was eighteen years in the south before I went to Peking, where I was twenty-two years—and in the south I must say I had oftener seen cases that might have justified strong language. But even then the words just quoted would be an exaggeration, because I had heard stone-cutters and people of that sort,—people with hardly rags to their backs engaged in the roughest possible work, talking of the necessity of a little opium during the cold weather. When in 1874 Mr. Margary travelled across China to the frontiers of Burmah, he noticed, in one place especially, that his boatmen, the people who had been working a boat for days against the stream, that they, all of them, took their ration of opium regularly. I know, to boot, from other people who have been in my employ or connected with me, that they were in the habit of taking a certain allowance of opium just as we take our allowance of wine.

1321. You speak of the war as being not a war of the character which has often been described. Of course you are aware that contemporaneous authorities of very high authority take a very different view at the same time?—Perfectly.

1322. I observe here a remark of Mr. Gladstone's: "A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of. The right hon. gentleman opposite spoke of the British flag waving in glory at Canton. That flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic; and if it were never hoisted, except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror. Although the Chinese were undoubtedly guilty of much absurd phraseology, of no little ostentatious pride, and of some excess, justice, in my opinion, is with them; and whilst they, the pagans, the semi-civilised barbarians, have it on their side, we, the enlightened and civilised Christians, are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and with religion"?—I should like to know what Mr. Gladstone had then read of the antecedent relations between us and the Chinese, or what he then knew about the opium trade in China at all.

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1323. That was a declaration made in the House of Commons in a discussion?—I recollect it. He spoke one of the most magnificent speeches he ever spoke on the "Lorcha Arrow" affair. I remember the ring of that speech, when, after reviewing the incidents, as he understood them, of the quarrel, he asked the question if we thought that these things could add to either our honour or profit. "Why," said he, "they deepen your guilt." The speech went the round of Europe. Louis Blanc quoted it in his printed letters. But it is wrong. It is written in perfect ignorance of the relations of England and China; and as long as that view is held so long will you have all these collisions, the fault of all collisions with China, laid to our charge. But it would be—even in the case of what is called the "opium war" it is—inexcusable to formulate the accusations that I hear formulated without reading the story of the misunderstanding, all the incidents that had anteceded the final collision.

1324. I observe in connexion with a letter which was written by Mr. Lay to the *Times*, to which a reply was written by Mr. Alexander, in which there is a quotation which is dated 1858, from a Report on a Revision of Tariffs, furnished by yourself and Mr. Oliphant, in which you state that "one of the Chinese Commissioners, whose position as Superintendent of Customs at Shanghai," says the report, "naturally gives him a chief voice in such matters, admitted the necessity of a change. China still retains her objection to the use of a drug on moral grounds; but the present generation of smokers, at all events, must and will have opium. China would propose a very high duty, but, as opposition was naturally to be expected from us in that case, it should be as moderate as possible." Would you accept that as a genuine expression of Chinese feeling?—I am not sure, although I read very recently that over—I am not sure that I quite follow the argument in the case.

1325. Well, his ground is that the present generation must and will have opium, and they will propose a very high duty; but as opposition must naturally be expected from us, in that case it should be as moderate as possible; that we would not allow them to place as high a duty as they would, they having a moral object in view?—In truth, the duty was arranged between the Chinese official and Mr. Lay.

1326. (*Chairman.*) What was the date of that?

1327. (*Mr. Pease.*) That was in 1858?—They met us with an offer, I think, of 34 ounces. As I stated, Lord Elgin's formula was, let them tax it as high as they please; only regularise it. I went on my part, and consulted persons in whom I could have confidence, particularly one, as to what was fair to put upon it. He had been himself a merchant, far back in the East India Company's time; he was a man who thoroughly understood all the conditions of the trade, and he said 30 ounces would be a fair duty.

1328. How do you regulate what is fair for the Chinese to put?—Well, with reference to its value.

1329. Why should not the Chinese have full liberty?—Well, I am speaking of what we had before us in 1858, when they were exceedingly well pleased to add to their revenue. The important point is that they did not dispute it. They did formally propose those 34, and we abated it. That paper to which you refer, signed by Mr. Oliphant and myself, was drawn up by me, but it does not give in detail the whole of the interview. There is one most important incident left out, probably because I did not think it sufficiently serious; and that is that the whole thing having been well thought out between Mr. Lay and the Superintendent of Customs, when we met for our first conference, inasmuch as it was a proposal affecting opium, or as it is generally called, the foreign drug, both Mr. Oliphant and myself came to it with a certain amount of formality, and were beginning to talk about the amount, when the Superintendent, who was a very rough man, burst out into a laugh, and asked, "What is the use of talking about that when Mr. Lay and myself have settled the whole thing?" And they put forward, I do not know if it was Mr. Lay's suggestion or not, they put forward 34 taels, and after a very slight debate 30 was accepted. I am bound to observe that if they had asked for 100, Lord Elgin would have given it them.

1330. By the Treaty of Tientsin, opium imported from India had to pay an import duty of 30 taels a picul?—Yes.

1331. And after leaving the importer's premises was further liable to such local taxation or *li-kin* as the authorities chose to impose?—Yes.

1332. But when you negotiated the Chefoo Agreement in 1876, you proposed in the first instance that the drug opium when brought into port should be bonded until sold?—Yes.

1333. And that when sold the importer should pay the duty and the purchaser at the same time the local tax or *li-kin* and both to the Foreign Customs Inspectorate?—Yes.

1334. Will you explain what advantage this would have afforded to the Chinese over the old Tientsin arrangement?—It would have secured to them,—I thought I had explained, that the first of my stipulations was that the rate should be even at all the ports. They had been in the habit of putting on one rate here and another rate there; it was a great derangement of the foreign importer's business transactions, and in some places you had a ridiculous state of things, such as this: the Port of Amoy is just at the southern tip of the province of Fu-kien; the Port of Swatow is just at the eastern end of the province of Kwang Tung, which is next door to it. They had positively at one of these two ports,—I think at one time they were putting on 58, or something of that sort, whilst at this next port they were putting on 24; and then when they found that there was in consequence so much opium going to the latter port, the one rate went down and the other went up; and there was all that kind of uncertainty. And there was this to be said, that as it was collected, not by foreign officers, but by Chinese, a great portion of it was lost to the Government. Though they believed themselves to be getting something like 40 taels a picul all down the coast, they did not get one-half of it, or at all events not three-fourths of it. I proposed that they should get the whole of that, and indeed I contemplated a rise upon it; and I attempted, in 1879, when I returned to China, to raise it; but circumstances interfered with the negotiations, which were discontinued.

1335. Indeed it was very largely to prevent contraband, to make it easier for the Chinese to collect the tariff, I suppose?—It was to secure them, what they were entitled to, and, as I have informed you, I think, it was suggested to me by the fact that I considered a decision of our Supreme Court had been unduly against the Chinese.

1336. Why did the Home Government refuse to confirm the Chefoo Convention, and leave it open for so long a period?—For the length of the period I am in great part responsible. I was interrupted by various incidents. In the first instance, in 1876, no sooner was my agreement signed than all my colleagues,—at least no sooner had I left China for England, than almost all my colleagues virtually protested against the whole thing, although two of them—but it is of no use going into those details. On the other part, the Indian Government were very naturally alarmed lest there should be a sudden or even a gradual increase of this inland taxation. They were at one time willing that opium should be liable to the tariff duty of 30 taels *plus*, on my estimate, an inland duty of about 40. I certainly had contemplated making such an arrangement as, whilst it would add to the amount that the Chinese had believed themselves entitled to receive, would be more or less fixed; that there might not be the irregularity attending it that there had been. But in the first place, when I came to discuss it with the Grand Secretary Li Hung Chang I imagine that I did not move fast enough; then, later on, there were other interruptions; there were other considerations; and finally when my tenure of office came to a close at the end of 1882, the thing was not concluded. On the whole, that it dragged must be put down to my charge more or less.

1337. No doubt it did drag largely because the Home Government were afraid that it would give the Chinese Government too much liberty with regard to the imposition of provincial duties or internal duties?—That at first no doubt was the feeling in India, but I do not think it would be fair to set down all the delay to that cause. On the contrary, in that year, you see, amongst negotiations which came into my hands, there were negotiations arising out of the Treaty of another Power which would have led, I think, in the long run to the disappearance of some of the difficulties affecting trade in the interior; or, at all events, to the protection of imports carried inland against the taxation which

was so depressing our trade inland [and against which all foreign Powers, ourselves included, had long been protesting]. As you may see very well, it was an excellent opportunity to put an end to this. The Chinese were waiting for a settlement of this opium inland arrangement; but they were all the time collecting *li-kin*. We did not interfere with their collection so far as it was in their own hands; but this improved system, which they were right willing to see put in force, would have been a very fair argument in our hands that they should meet us half-way as regards the inland taxation of the regular trade and the trade outside opium. Well, we [the foreign Legations combined] had got a considerable length by the end of the year 1879, when there was what you may remember as the Russian scare, which threw the whole of us back for a twelvemonth; and then there were other delays and other delays, and I left China in the middle of 1882, with the business unfinished, and to a certain extent I may say that I was responsible for the delay; indeed, in no small degree. When I returned home, after a certain interval, the Foreign Office, would have been, I think, very glad of my assistance to bring the matter to a conclusion, but I was, to use the simplest term, not equal to the effort, and the delays, I am sorry to repeat, must be more or less charged to myself.

1338. Did the Chinese Government ask for free liberty as to the amount of the *li-kin*?—No. In one sense they asked for free liberty, because I proposed in the first instance what I knew them to be then getting as the *li-kin*, and indeed offered more; for whereas I felt quite sure they did not get 40, I was proposing 50; and I have since learned that if I had proposed 60 they would have closed with it joyfully; but the interruptions that I mentioned [those for which I was not responsible] ensued, and the result is that it is now being taxed a great deal more than I had ever contemplated that it would be.

1339. The result was that they were only able to get the Convention which you had made with them confirmed on their accepting 80 taels?—Is not that so?—I should hardly say that. I was not in the affair at the close, but I should say that it was they who pressed. We did not limit them at 80. But they pressed up to 80. It was they who pressed, and on Sir Robert Hart's inspiration. They were asking for 80; was not we who were abating. They never asked for more than 80; and indeed when I was leaving China, that very able man whose conversation I read to you a short time ago called on me only a few days before I left—called on me to say that they would be perfectly satisfied with 70, which would give them the 100 taels on the whole. The Grand Secretary Li, too, had told my Chinese secretary the same thing but a short time before. There was no constraint whatever, not the slightest.

1340. The Chairman has asked you, I think, a question with regard to Sir James Ferguson, and you said you could not, in the full, from your experience, confirm what Sir James Ferguson has said?

1341. (*Chairman.*) With reference to the full discretion of the Chinese to deal on tariff or prohibition with the importation of opium?

1342. (*Mr. Pease.*) I was going to put this question: It was stated by Sir James Ferguson in the House of Commons' debate on April 10th 1891, that "the Chinese at any time may terminate the Treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether." Is that language in your opinion a fair description of the position of the Chinese in the matter of their Treaty relations with us?—Yes; my proper answer to that should have been that "I have not read to my knowledge, anything in 'Treaty or Correspondence' that would bear out such a statement as that." But I do not mean to say that it is not true.

1343. And again it was stated by Mr. Curzon, the late Under-Secretary for India, in the House of Commons' debate on 30th June 1893 that, "under a clause of the Chefoo Convention of 1866, it was possible for the Chinese Government, upon giving 12 months' notice, to abrogate the Treaty, or to put an import tax on the article, or even, like Japan, to prohibit its introduction altogether into any of its ports." Is that, in your opinion, a fair description of the relations of the Chinese with us in the matter of opium? Your answer will be very similar to that to the other question?—No; pardon me. It must be "that I have not

"seen it in any Treaty or Correspondence." Perhaps I recall things more vividly that I was connected with myself. In Clause 7 of the Additional Article, which is signed at London on the 18th July, 1885: "The arrangement respecting opium contained in the present Additional Article shall remain binding for four years, after the expiration of which period either Government may at any time give 12 months' notice of its desire to terminate it, and such notice being given, it shall terminate accordingly." I should think that that covered—

1344. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) What would be the result of that notice being given? Would they fall back on the Tientsin Treaty, or what?

1345. (*Mr. Pease.*) Perhaps you would kindly read the last clause, Sir Thomas?—"It is, however, agreed that the Government of Great Britain shall have the right to terminate the same at any time, should the transit certificate be found not to confer on the opium complete exemption from all taxation whatsoever, whilst being carried from the port of entry to the place of consumption in the interior."

1346. The last clause would you kindly read?—"In the event of the termination of this present Additional Article, the arrangement with regard to opium, now in force under the regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin, shall revive." Yes.

1346A. It is your view that if they were to denounce this Treaty, then they come under the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin; which, while it gives them the power to increase the *li-kin*, takes away from them the privilege of objecting to taxation as arranged by you through the Custom House?—Yes. Not arranged by me.

1347. Well, it is in your Convention?—It is the Supplementary Article [not negotiated by me]. I am bound to say that a great deal of what is written in that kind of way has passed out of my memory as being practically of no importance. My own conviction is that you will never have a proposition from the Chinese Government on the subject.

1348. I would just remind you that in the conference held in May, 1881, a chief Minister, the Marquis of Tso, made a proposition going much beyond the mere imposition of a duty of 110 taels?—I remember perfectly well his proposition; indeed, I think it was in a Memorial to the Throne, that the recommendation that they should put 150 taels on it was made. This, to a moral certainty, would have enhanced the premium and revived smuggling all along the coast, whereas Sir Robert Hart's limit was that which would put the trade out of the fear of the smuggler.

1349. Is it your view, may I ask, that the English Government ought not to interfere in any degree in fixing what the internal duty should be?—It ought not to interfere? Do you mean morally?

1350. No; as a matter of what ought to be left to an independent nation?—Well, that is to say, whether it would not be more becoming to England to put it back to the condition of things before any agreement were signed: let us pay an import duty, and then leave the inland taxation entirely for themselves. I think you could not do China a greater dis-service. One of the curses of China at this moment is the multiplication of the offices of the inland revenue, which are all corruption personified. It would be depriving China of so much revenue, and it would be ensuring an amount of maladministration of which, I think, you would be sorry to realise the result.

1351. I have only further to say I am requested to state that the Secretary and the previous Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society have never used the term "second opium war." It is a term that has been used by others; it is not a term that has been adopted by them?—It has been used by anti-opiumists.

1352. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Sir Thomas Wade, I want to ask you a few questions. At the beginning of your evidence I think you made a kind of comparison between opium in China and drink in this country?—Yes.

1353. And you suggested something, if not like insincerity, at least like inconsistency, in the outcry about opium while we tolerated drink?—I would not say while we tolerate drink. I was speaking rather, I think,—for I had not prepared a speech,—I was thinking rather of the tone of the condemnation. I consider that there is a sufficient analogy between the

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two evils to bar us from indicting the opium trade in the way that we do indict it; from using the exceedingly censorious language that we apply to it.

1354. That is what I understood. But then I have no doubt that you are perfectly aware that there is a very large number of persons and of associations of different kinds in this country, which from various points of view, and with various degrees of stringency, are saying very strong things about drink, too?—Yes.

1355. And if any of these persons are taking part and using the same sort of language about opium in China, there is no inconsistency about them?—Not if it is only the same kind. But they use about opium in China very much stronger language when they charge Government agents and communities with forcing it upon China. What would you think if you could charge a Ministry of England with forcing drink on this country at the point of the bayonet.

1356. I am afraid I am not a witness?—I beg your pardon. It was a mere form of words. I did not intend to make a personal remark at all.

1357. Then, another question. You referred to some period,—I am not sure what the exact period was,—but you referred to the fact that at that time there was not enough opium being sent into China for more than 2 per cent. of the population, I think it was?—Yes.

1358. Well, of course, the adult male population of any country is roughly estimated at 20 per cent.; therefore, if there was enough opium for 2 per cent., it would be one-tenth of the entire male population?—Pardon me; a remark was made, I can hardly remember now in what connexion, because it was by a missionary whose name I said I did not mention, because I was not absolutely certain of his identity. I believe him to be a missionary of very long standing and of the very highest respectability; and I entirely forget now in what connexion he produced the paper in which I read it. But I remember reading it with great astonishment. I simply gave it for what it is worth. I presume that he had in his mind, of course, not every man, woman, and child in the country, but taking the mass, we are in the habit of speaking of “poisoning the nation,” and I think that he was in all probability deprecating the severity of that remark.

1359. I only want to see whether you agree with me that, even putting it in the form in which you did put it, it would amount in a population like that of London to providing sufficient for 80,000 to 100,000 of the male adult inhabitants of London—that would be the proportion; that is 2 per cent.?—Well, I should not venture to say so. I am almost sorry I cited the remark.

1360. Very well. I will not pursue it?—I cited it because it was the testimony of a missionary,—that is the way I interpreted it,—it was the testimony of a missionary against what I conceive to be a certain habit of exaggeration in condemning what is no doubt a serious evil.

1361. Now, then, in reference to some questions that, I think, were put to you just now by Mr. Pease with reference to the ratification of the Chefoo Convention; I find that in September 1881, a meeting of merchants was held in Bombay, when they sent a memorial to the Marquis of Ripon, who was then Viceroy, and in the fourth clause of the memorial they say—“Your memorialists, seeing the great injury that would have been done to the Indian opium trade if this proposal had been carried into effect, petitioned the Secretary of State at that time on the subject, and succeeded” (that is, the memorialists succeeded) “in inducing the Government to stop the ratification of the Chefoo Convention.” You agree with that?—No. The memorialists, the Bombay opium merchants, did protest; their representatives in China had protested to me, too, very strongly against it; but it did not arrest the ratification of the Chefoo Agreement the least in the world.

1362. Then you think they took more upon themselves than they were justified in doing?—I should think so. I think it is very natural that when the thing hung fire they should assume that this was owing to their remonstrances; but I think they were mistaken, because I know that the non-ratification of it was due to other causes.

1363. Well, then, Sir Thomas, I find that in February 1870, Sir Rutherford Alcock was present at a meeting of the Viceroy in Council, which apparently was called for the purpose of conferring with him upon the prospects of the Indian opium revenue, and he gave an

account which occupies a page or more here—an abbreviation of his statement with reference to what had taken place—his views, and then comes this paragraph. I am putting it to you to ask you how far you agree with what he stated. “In answer to question put by His Excellency the Viceroy and others, Sir Rutherford Alcock said that he had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium, as destructive to the Chinese nation, is genuine and deep-seated, and that he was also quite convinced that the Chinese Government could, if it pleased, carry out its threat of developing cultivation to any extent. On the other hand, he believed that so strong was the popular feeling on the subject, that if Britain would give up the opium revenue and suppress the cultivation in India the Chinese Government would have no difficulty in suppressing it in China, except in the Province of Yu-nan, where its authority is in abeyance?”—No, I do not agree with the latter part. I more or less protested—“protest” would not have been a proper word for me to have used at the time—but I differed from him in opinion, and I have elsewhere recorded the difference of my opinion as to the power of the Chinese Government in the matter. The Chinese Government was not so circumstanced, and has not been for very many years. Allow me to refer you to the correspondence of Captain Elliot in the year 1836. Even at that time you will find a Chinese Minister,—the one who proposed the legalisation of it,—admitting two things: that opium is necessary to the Chinese, and that the Government really could not stop it. You will find it in this great Blue Book of 1840.

1364. Your reply refers to the latter part of what I read?—Yes.

1365. The first part is as to the genuineness of their abhorrence, and their desire to get rid of it?—Well, I do not think the abhorrence, as I have stated in my evidence, is so universal as is supposed. I say that there must be a very large number of Chinese who do abhor it, but just in the way that there is in Britain a great number of people, as you said just now, who abhor drink and the notion of drink.

1366. May I just read you these words again: “Sir Rutherford Alcock said that he had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium, as destructive to the Chinese nation, is genuine and deep-seated.” My question is, do you agree with Sir Rutherford Alcock that the Government of China had this deep-seated and genuine abhorrence?—I think it is too sweeping a statement.

1367. Of course you know that Sir Rutherford Alcock gave evidence in this country a year later?—Yes.

1368. What I have just read was in 1870. In 1871 he gave evidence in this country, and it is somewhat in the same line. I want just to ask you if you agree. He quoted, in giving evidence here, a despatch that he had written on this subject, and in which he uses these words: It is one of the Chinese mandarins uses these words, that “he believed the extension of this pernicious habit was mainly due to the alacrity with which foreigners supplied the poison for their own profit, perfectly regardless of the irreparable injury inflicted, and naturally they felt hostile to all concerned in such a traffic.” Do you agree with that?—I think it is too sweeping again. Indeed, what I have already said points the other way.

1369. Well, then in answer to further questions, Sir Rutherford Alcock said: “I think it will be seen the substance of the whole is this: that there is a very large and increasing cultivation of the poppy in China, and that the Chinese Government are seriously contemplating (if they cannot come to any terms of arrangement with the British Government for restricting the area of growth in India, and either gradually or suddenly putting an end to its importation, as they think they have the power to do), the cultivation without stint in China and producing opium at a much cheaper rate. Having done that they think they will afterwards be able to stamp out the opium produce among themselves.” I do not ask you whether you agree as to their power; but do you agree that that indicates some degree of desire on their part to do so?—No. I have heard the proposition more than once from Chinese, but I do not believe in its seriousness; without charging them with insincerity as regards their desire to see such a result. I am perfectly satisfied no Chinese that ever spoke to me in

that way ever believed that the Government could do it, or that such a result was obtainable. Just think: we keep on talking of opium as if the whole question, dated from the time we first went to war with China, but all those propositions really were discussed by the Chinese themselves long before we had any collision with them at all.

1370. Then a little further on he said:—"My own conviction is firm that whatever degree of honesty may be attributed to the officials and to the central Government, there is that at work in their minds, that they would not hesitate one moment to-morrow, if they could, to enter into any arrangement with the British Government and say, 'Let our revenue go, we care nothing about it. What we want is to stop the consumption of opium, which we conceive is impoverishing the country, and demoralising and brutalising our people.'" Do I gather that you think they had misled Sir Rutherford Alcock?—I cannot answer that with one word. The Chinese, like ourselves, have a very great facility of generalisation when they come to discuss moral questions; but I am very much astonished,—it is years since I read that, which I must have done,—I am very much astonished at its having so impressed Sir Rutherford Alcock, who had been five-and-twenty years in the country.

1371. I will only trouble you with one more, which has a bearing on trade. He said (as regards the bearing upon the Government of China. "If I had been enabled during the recent revision of the Treaty to hold out any distinct promise or assurance to them, that both as regarded missionaries and opium, which are their two great grievances, something should be done more or less restrictive that would meet their wishes, I believe that I might have got any facilities for our trade that I had chosen to demand. My great difficulty was that I could offer them nothing in either direction"?—No, nor in any direction, he might have added. Our grand difficulty with China is that we have never anything to offer. I do not know myself what his conviction points to after he had been engaged two years in the revision. He must have traversed most of the ground possible, but I cannot imagine what Sir Rutherford Alcock supposes he would have got if he could have given up opium and missionaries; one is about as practicable as the other; but what he would have got in the way of trade I cannot imagine.

1372. His idea was that if he could have given up opium, he could have got great facilities for trade. You do not agree with that?—I do not, because of this: they could not have afforded then to give up the abnormal taxation which overspread the country, and which there were hundreds upon hundreds of offices to

collect. The real embarrassment of trade lay in these offices, and they could not have given them up, even if you had taken away opium and missionaries, or anything else you pleased to name at the time.

1373. (Chairman). Are these local tolls levied at different points?—They are abnormal. Mr. Lay calls the collection of this tax, the *li-kin*, a war tax, and at one time that would have been more or less a correct term to employ. The word means, literally, one per mille. It is the thousandth part, the *li* is the thousandth part, of what we call in foreign commerce the tael (the ounce); and *kin* is gold, and *li-kin*,—this one per mille upon trade,—is something like our income tax; a tax put on to meet some extraordinary emergency. The disturbances of the country were perplexing their Treasury very much before the rebellion broke out. Then all through the rebellion and up to a late date, if not to this moment, they were perplexed as to finding means at all; and the rebellion itself—which lasted—the rebellion proper lasted—from 1852 to 1864, and then prolonged itself in different directions,—threw upon them an extraordinary expenditure, while the whole of their normal apparatus was disorganised; and, therefore, they have been more or less obliged to keep up this system of irregular taxation. The whole country is dotted with these offices. They do not obtain on the spot,—the authorities do not obtain,—half of what is collected; and you will see in the Appendix to my Report on the Chefoo Agreement [presented to the late Earl of Derby], in 1877, two State papers, in which the Central Government bitterly complains that it cannot get returns from the provinces upon these very questions. I think, sir, if I may return to the question of my respected Chief's remarks, Sir Rutherford Alcock was rather viewing the situation throughout as if the Central Government, with the power of the Central Government—which is immense when the Emperor is in full blow—was very much more confirmed than it really was. It had been terribly disorganised by the rebellion, and at the time he was speaking China had had seven years of a female Regency, [1869.]

1374. (Mr. Wilson.) Sir Thomas, there are a great many more statements of the same kind; I have got five or six of them more noted; but I have gathered sufficiently that your opinion does not agree with him, and I will not pursue that further?—Of course, I am exceedingly unwilling to say that I disagree with a gentleman under whom I served for very many years, and whose Secretary of Legation I was; but I think that in those passages which you have read, there is an evidence of a little over-readiness to measure the situation favourably, which I am the more astonished at, because on occasion Sir Rutherford Alcock certainly showed that he perfectly understood its difficulties.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. STEWART LOCKHART called in and examined.

1375. (Chairman.) You are, I believe, the Registrar-General, or, in other words, the Protector of the Chinese in Hong Kong?—Yes.

1376. I believe that you have resided in Hong Kong for 14 years?—14 years.

1377. I think you have also resided in Canton, and also in the interior—in the Kuang-Tung Province?—I have.

1378. I believe that you are acquainted with the Chinese language, both to speak it and to read it; and of course your position brings you into close contact with the natives of all classes, both high and low?—Yes.

1379. In fact your post constitutes you as the channel of communication between the Government and the Chinese population of Hong Kong?—It does.

1380. Well, now, can you from your extensive experience give us your opinion as to the state of Chinese opinion in regard to the opium habit, looking at the state of things not only among the working classes, but also the merchants, the literati, the official classes, and also can you tell us what you saw during your sojourn in the interior, which would give you an opportunity of forming an opinion as to how the Chinese regard this question?—As regards Chinese popular opinion in respect to the opium habit, it is decidedly against it. There is a common Cantonese saying which sums up rather appositely "The Ten Cannots" with regard to the opium sot. It says, "The Ten Cannots regarding the Opium Smoker":—"He cannot: (1) give

" up the habit; (2) enjoy sleep; (3) wait for his turn when sharing his pipe with his friends; (4) rise early; (5) be cured if sick; (6) help relations in need; (7) enjoy wealth; (8) plan anything; (9) get credit even when an old customer; (10) walk any long distance." That, I think, sums up the popular view of the Chinese with regard to the opium habit.

1381. Well then, and that opinion is shared by high and low?—I should say it represents popular opinion on the subject.

1382. Well, now, what was the result of your own observations with regard to the effect of opium, upon those who resort to the use of opium?—I have seen moderate smokers; and I have also seen smokers who certainly took the drug to excess. As regards the moderate smokers, it did not seem to affect them much, if at all, physically, and certainly not at all mentally. With regard to those who took it to excess, from outward appearances they certainly were affected physically, but in my own communications with them I never saw any trace of their being affected mentally.

1383. Do you believe in the possibility of a moderate consumption of opium?—I do. I have seen people consume opium who do not indulge in it to excess. But of course, there is the danger of proceeding from moderation to excess.

1384. Well, now, turning to the effect of the opium trade on the attitude of the Chinese towards our Government, and as it affects their general opinion of us, what

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do you say on that point?—I have noticed in the newspapers that some of the witnesses who have appeared before the Opium Commission have stated that the British are hated by the Chinese on account of this opium question. So far as my experience goes, I have never found any hatred expressed of the British on that account.

1385. Do you consider that the British commerce in other articles of trade is prejudicially affected by the existence of the trade in opium between India and China?—I doubt whether that is so; because if the Chinese did not spend their money on the opium from India, they would spend it on the opium which they grow themselves, and which, as is well known, is increasing every year.

1386. Speaking of Hong Kong, what have you to tell us with regard to the facilities for obtaining supplies of opium there, and with regard to the proportion of the Chinese population in Hong Kong who are consumers of opium?—I drew up a return some time ago, under directions from the Governor of Hong Kong, with regard to the number of opium divans, or as they are very often erroneously called, "opium dens." I think it was in connexion with some question that had been asked by a Member of Parliament, calling attention to the excessive number of opium divans in Hong Kong. I had inquiries made, and drew up a table, the figures of which I have here.

1387. Please give the results to us?—The number of public-houses or canteens per 1,000 of the total European and American population is 2·80. The number of opium divans per 1,000 of the total Chinese land population is about 0·86 (8·56 per 10,000). That is, that the public-houses in Hong Kong for the public supply of drink to Europeans are proportionately more numerous than the opium divans for the supply of opium to Chinese.

1388. Now, we have had comparisons made by witnesses who have appeared before us of the relative results of the indulgence in opium and indulgence in spirituous liquor, and we have been told by many witnesses that opium is far more prejudicial in its effects than liquor, at any rate, if moderately consumed. What would you say to us as to the relative influence of opium and liquor upon consumers?—Comparing the opium sot and the drunkard, I should say the drunkard is a man who makes himself a much greater nuisance to society than an opium sot. The opium sot, although he may be affecting himself physically, and perhaps mentally, does not make himself a nuisance to society generally; whereas the drunkard, as is well known, is not only a nuisance to his immediate surroundings, but very often to society in general.

1389. In relation to the death rate at Hong Kong, would you be able to say that there was any distinct evidence that the returns are more unfavourable in the case of those who are consumers of opium than in the average of the population?—The mortality statistics do not tend to show that any deaths result from opium-smoking. I do not think that I have ever had a return of a death registered as directly arising from opium-smoking. Of course, there are sometimes cases of opium poisoning by swallowing opium; in fact, that is not an uncommon form of getting rid of life. But so far as the death-rate of the Chinese is concerned in Hong Kong it is improving; in 1888, the death-rate among the Chinese per 1,000 was 32·22; in 1892, it was 21·36; and there is nothing in the death statistics to show that opium is the cause of a high mortality in the Colony. Of course, I cannot say to what extent diseases which people die from may have been liable to be caught on account of indulgence in the habit of opium smoking.

1390. I believe there is a system of raising revenue in Hong Kong and in the Straits Settlements, and in other British dependencies, by what are known as opium farms?—Yes.

1391. Will you describe that system to us?—The opium farm is let to a man for a certain figure, and he has the monopoly, and pays to the Government a certain fee every year for the privilege of preparing and selling prepared opium. This monopoly, I think, does not tend in any way to increase the consumption of opium; in fact, I think that the system rather tends to decrease the consumption, because the opium farmer, being practically a monopolist, is able to keep up the price of opium; and if people want his opium they have to pay a higher figure for it than they perhaps would have to do if the privilege of preparing opium was not confined to one person, as at present, but granted to several people.

1392. Do you think that under a system of free trade in the supply of opium, the consumption of opium would be more extensive than it is under the present system?—I think so. The opium would be cheaper, and people being able to get it more cheaply would almost certainly consume more. I think in many cases a man is a moderate smoker of necessity, because he has not the money to pay for more, much as he might like to have it. If there was a free trade in this matter, opium would become much cheaper, and people would be able to indulge themselves more freely in it than at present.

1393. Do you think it would be possible or politic on the part of the Government of Hong Kong to issue an edict of total prohibition of the consumption of opium?—From a revenue point of view it would be injurious to the Colony, and I do not think it would decrease consumption. It is the desire of the Government to limit consumption as far as it possibly can consistently with the raising of revenue.

1394. Do you think that, if the use of opium in any form was forbidden, you could enforce such a prohibition?—I do not think it would be possible any more than a prohibition of drink in this country could be enforced. People would smoke. I am afraid the habit has become so ingrained in the Chinese that they must have their opium.

1395. (Sir W. Roberts.) I was going to ask Mr. Lockhart a question: What is the Chinese population of Hong Kong?—The Chinese population is about, in round figures, 220,000; the total population of the Colony being, in round figures, 231,000.

1396. That is, there are about 10,000 Europeans?—And 220,000 Chinese.

1397. Are the Chinese inhabitants of Hong Kong there with their wives and children in their full family relations?—There is Chinese family life in Hong Kong, and it is increasing; but non-family life is more common than family life among the Chinese in the Colony.

1398. Then they are to some extent immigrants?—Certainly. The close proximity of the Colony to the main-land of China, facilitates the progress of the Chinese to and fro.

1399. Now, opium smoking is prevalent among the Chinese people?—I think the term "prevalent" may certainly be applied to it.

1400. May one say one-half of the adults smoke opium?—I should not like to commit myself to any statement of that kind. I think it is rather rash to commit oneself to any statement as to figures which are not based on ascertained facts.

1401. But you think it might be described as prevalent?—I think it is prevalent.

1402. But still nothing like so prevalent as the use of alcoholic stimulants amongst the adults in this country?—I do not think so.

1403. Some are moderate and some are immoderate?—Some are moderate and some are immoderate.

1404. Can you give us any idea—I do not want precise numbers—what is the proportion between the moderate users, those who do not injure themselves, and the immoderate users, those who do injure themselves?—In Hong Kong the moderate smokers are, so far as my experience goes, more numerous than the immoderate smokers.

1405. Then you can only speak of it as a bare majority?—I cannot give precise figures.

1406. That is to say you could not say now, as in this country we might roughly say, that out of 100 people who use alcoholic liquors there are certainly not more than ten who could be classed as intemperate?—It is difficult to give figures of that kind with regard to Hong Kong, which has more or less of a floating population. I should not like to commit myself beyond what I have already stated, that the moderate smoker is much more common than the immoderate smoker, so far as my experience goes.

1407. Your impression is then that there are a great many that go to excess and injure themselves?—What I said was that the moderate smoker, the man who cannot afford to go to excess, so far as my experience goes, is more numerous than the man who goes to excess. Some of course do go to excess and injure themselves.

1408. You cannot express yourself more exactly than that?—No, I cannot express myself more exactly.



1409. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Do you think that the only people who are moderate are the men who cannot afford it?—No, I would not say that; but I think the fact of their not being able to afford it operates to restrain many from becoming immoderate consumers.

1410. Makes the common working men?—Makes them more moderate than perhaps they otherwise would be. But I do not say that men who have wealth and who smoke opium are not sometimes moderate also.

1411. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) But you would not even venture to say that the opium sot was more common among opium smokers than the drunkard is among spirit drinkers or the users of alcoholic drinks?—I should not like to say so.

1412. Is the opium-smoking increasing in Hong Kong?—No, I do not think there is anything to show that it is increasing.

1413. It is about stationary?—I think it is pretty much about the same.

1414. Then the extraordinary improvement in the death-rates in Hong Kong, from 32·21 in 1888 to 21·36 in 1892 is quite independent of any fluctuation in what one may call the opium rate?—I should not think the opium question affected the death-rate very much one way or the other. I think the improved sanitary works have more to do with the improved death-rate than anything to do with opium.

1415. As far as you know, opium has not affected the death-rate then?—So far as the mortality returns go to show, we have no deaths attributed to opium-smoking.

1416. I suppose that there cannot be any exact statistics as to the consumption of opium in Hong Kong per head of the population?—I should think it would be possible to obtain accurate statistics of the local consumption of the Colony.

1417. It could not be obtained?—Yes, under the present system. I think I could obtain figures and furnish the Commission with them if it were considered desirable.

1418. The consumption per head of the Chinese?—Every chest of opium that arrives in Hong Kong has to be accounted for; so that it is possible to show the amount that is consumed locally and the amount that is exported. If it be considered desirable those figures might be obtained.

1419. I think it might be interesting to have that information. And, of course, you have also vital statistics collected regularly; the death-rate could be got?—Yes. My own annual report gives the death-rate, and the various diseases of which the people die.

1420. The point would simply be this, whether there is any correspondence between the death-rate and the opium rate; whether, when the opium rate rises—for I have no doubt there will be a certain oscillation, whether the death-rate oscillates correspondingly?—I do not think there has been any correspondence between the death-rate and the opium rate.

1421. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you just give us some general idea of what the position and duty of Protector of the Chinese is?—All Chinese communications with the Government pass through his hands; all translations of Chinese documents are made in his department; and on questions affecting the native community, which arise from time to time, he is generally the officer who is consulted and advises.

1422. (*Chairman.*) Perhaps you might point out that the appointment of Governor of Hong Kong is hardly ever made from among those who have had previous acquaintance with the Chinese population?—Quite so.

1423. As a general rule, the Governor is one selected from the general Colonial service, and he goes to Hong Kong without a knowledge of the language, and greatly needing the services of an officer who has that special knowledge?—The Governor of the Colony is as a rule quite unacquainted with the Chinese, having had no special opportunities of learning Chinese, or becoming acquainted with the habits of the Chinese. Seeing that the Chinese constitute by far the largest portion of the population, it is considered necessary to have an officer who is acquainted with their language, and with their customs, whom they may consult, and who may be of assistance to

the Government in dealing with native affairs. In addition to these duties, he has also to perform the duties of registrar of births, deaths, and marriages.

1424. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Of the Chinese?—Of the whole community including the Chinese.

1425. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I should like to ask one question more. Did you ever know any of the Europeans in Hong Kong take to the opium-smoking habit?—Never in my experience.

1426. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Is there much Chinese opium consumed in Hong Kong?—No, I do not think so.

1427. Any?—I doubt whether there is any.

1428. (*Mr. Pease.*) What is the system of licensing of the two classes of houses you alluded to?—Of the opium divans?

1429. Of the opium divans and the spirit houses? Are they licensed? By the same authority? Under similar circumstances?—The opium divans are licensed by the opium farmer; and the public-houses are licensed in the same way as they are in this country—by the justices.

1430. Is it not possible that the opium farmer may find it to his advantage to do his business in a smaller number of establishments than the business would have been done in if they had been licensed as the public-houses are?—I should say the opium farmer would open as many houses as he thought would pay. I should think that would be his guiding principle.

1431. I say he might find it to his interest to do his business in a smaller number of establishments, less expense than in a great number?—If he found that a larger number of houses paid, he would open them at once.

1432. If the licensing authority was all in one hand in our towns and villages in this country, there would be a very great decrease in the number of public-houses?—The opium farmer grants licences to suit the requirements of the place. In that return that I have handed in, I have given the number of people frequenting the opium divans.

1433. I was only wanting to point out that the system of licensing may have some effect on the numbers of houses open, and the different classes?—I mentioned the number of houses, to show that they were not so excessive as seemed to be the opinion of certain people.

1434. When a man becomes an opium smoker, he requires to have his pipe at certain intervals, does he not?—I believe that depends a great deal upon the degree to which he has become under the influence of the habit. I should say the moderate man could go without his pipe without having it at regular intervals, as long as he could get it at some time.

1435. What do you mean by getting it at some time?—Well, as long as he got his pipe, say when his work was over, or in the evening, as the case may be, whereas a man who is an opium sot must have his pipe at regular intervals.

1436. If you watched the case of persons who have taken opium at regular intervals for two or three years, would you say that they had not become more confirmed in the habit, than when you first knew them?—I have now in my mind a case where I am sure the smoker has not become more confirmed in the habit; in fact, if anything, he does not smoke quite so much.

1437. Do you think those cases are common?—That I could not say.

1438. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) A great many of these opium smokers are very much like the British liquor drinkers, that is, they know more or less how far they can go, how much they can carry, perhaps, and are prudent enough not to go beyond that?—Well, I should think that must influence them, especially workmen, who know that if they go beyond a certain state, they will not be fit for their work. I should think prudential considerations of that kind do occur to them.

1439. Do any number of Chinese drink spirits in Hong Kong?—They do drink spirits. The drinking of spirits—of their own native spirits—is pretty general among the Chinese.

1440. Did you ever see drunkenness?—Very seldom, indeed. A drunken Chinaman is a very rare sight

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1441. The same men, you think, drink spirits as smoke opium?—I think the drinking of spirits is far more general than the smoking of opium. They very often take spirits with their meals in the ordinary way, just as we do ourselves.

1442. It is spirit made from rice?—Yes, spirit made from rice.

1443. Like the Japanese saki?—Very much the same. It is commonly known by the name of Samshoo.

The witness withdrew.

Dr.  
T. I. Rowell,  
M.D., C.M.G.  
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Dr. T. IRVINE ROWELL, M.D., C.M.G., called in and examined.

1444. (*Chairman.*) Have you been a medical officer of the Government?—I have; in the Straits Settlements.

1445. How many years were you there?—I have been there altogether for about 25 years.

1446. Are you still in the service?—No, I am now retired.

1447. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) In your district, Singapore, I suppose, is the chief place?—Singapore, yes.

1448. The population there consists of what elements?—Roughly, I should think about 150,000 or 160,000.

1449. And what nationalities?—Principally Chinese but also Malays and natives of India.

1450. Sixty or eighty per cent. would be Chinese?—Quite so.

1451. Were the Chinese there with their wives and families, or were they immigrants?—Partly both. There are some who are called "Straits born Chinese"—they live there with their families; but there is a large number of immigrants also.

1452. Were they generally opium smokers?—No, I should not say that; not generally.

1453. Not the Chinese?—Not generally.

1454. Then the opium smoker was the exception?—Of course there was a large number of opium smokers, but those I saw principally in the hospitals.

1455. Then amongst the working population of Chinese in Singapore would you recognise the general prevalence of the opium habit?—No; I should not say so. I knew cases here and there; but I do not think it was a general habit.

1456. I see that you were surgeon in charge of the criminal prison and the pauper hospital containing a very large number of inmates. Did you often meet these opium smokers as patients?—I should think that of the admissions to the pauper hospital about 30 or 40 per cent. were opium smokers.

1457. Did you attribute their poverty largely to the habit of opium-smoking?—No, not at all; I think it was due to disease. They take to opium through originally having fallen victims to disease. A great many of them are poor destitute Chinamen, and they fall victims to disease, and finding relief from opium-smoking they continue the habit.

1458. Then the opium habit was, so to speak, an incident in their lives?—Yes.

1459. And an incident in their case; not a cause of their illness?—No; it was taken more as a remedy.

1460. Then did you see any cases of sickness produced by the opium habit; by smoking opium?—Some of them took it to excess, but I should not say that it was at all general. The generality were certainly moderate.

1461. Of the opium smokers?—Yes.

1462. But you did meet with some who had injured their health directly by opium?—Well, I should not say that; I do not think so.

1463. You would not say positively. I mean you could not assert it positively?—No.

1464. Now, amongst the inmates of the criminal prison did you meet with opium smokers?—Yes, there was a certain number of inmates who were opium smokers, but I do not think the proportion was very large.

1465. A certain number of the Chinese?—Yes, of the Chinese.

1466. Was their crime often connected with their habit of smoking opium?—No, I do not think so as a rule.

1467. It was not connected?—Not as a rule.

1468. In that respect it differed then, as far as your experience goes, from the irrepressible drunkard of this country?—The opium smoker is not so bad as the drunkard by a long way.

1469. Was opium allowed to be smoked in the prison?—If, when a prisoner came in, he was found to be an opium smoker, and his health gave way, and the medical officer considered that it was through the want of the opium, he was admitted to hospital, and got a certain amount of the opium to smoke until his health got better again; then he was sent out to work in the prison in the ordinary way.

1470. Were you afraid of suddenly stopping the opium smoker from his pipe when he came to the prison?—In certain cases where they were used to opium in excess, if it was suddenly withdrawn, it was very apt to lead to serious symptoms.

1471. And was that the case with regard to the ordinary run of opium smokers who, I presume, would be temperate smokers?—No, it was the exception.

1472. Then, you could cut it off without any injury at all?—Yes, and I made a series of experiments with the result of finding that out; and I found that the larger proportion of the men from whom the opium was withdrawn gained weight, that a certain amount remained stationary, and that a smaller proportion lost weight.

1473. Did you see any symptoms of this terrible craving that has been described to us when the moderate opium smoker was deprived of his pipe?—No, never.

1474. As far as you know, he was not worse off in that respect than a tobacco smoker?—No, certainly not.

1475. I am speaking of habitual moderate smokers of opium?—Yes, quite so.

1476. Have you formed any judgment regarding the coolies who came to the Straits Settlements and who were opium smokers; were they as efficient and as strong and as healthy as those who did not smoke opium?—No; I should say not, because most of them had taken, as I said before, to opium simply to relieve their suffering. They were not strong men originally—they all either suffered from cough or, perhaps, a little diarrhoea, or, perhaps, a little fever, and they took to opium-smoking, and, having found relief, they continued the habit. And, as they were diseased, you could not say they were as strong as the healthy men.

1477. Did not your experience lead you to suppose that there were a good many Chinese who took to opium-smoking without being induced to do so by disease?—I do not think so.

1478. Your experience was confined rather to that class which you have described?—Yes.

1479. Granting that they had been through their ailments led to smoke opium, as I suppose a good many were, did they after regaining health, in curable cases, still go on smoking the opium?—Yes, as a rule.

1480. Do you think that these maintained their efficiency as workmen and as healthy men?—Yes; as long as they did not exceed in any way.

1481. I gather from you that the moderate opium smoker is not really in a worse position in regard to health than the moderate tobacco smoker?—Little worse. I may add that a great many lepers are opium smokers. The habit gives them relief, and is a good thing for them.

1482. Do I understand you to say in your note that you "have known some of the most successful and "most level-headed, the most clever of the Chinese "merchants in the Colony, to be confirmed but "moderate opium smokers"?—Yes, that is so. Their use of opium has been moderate.

1483. Did it ever pass into your mind that the moderate use of opium in cases of that sort—I mean men who are obliged to gain their living by their brains—that it helped them?—I think so.

1484. In your opinion, it was a positive assistance to them?—I think so.

1485. And I suppose you would regard that as a set-off in a certain degree to the mischief it did in other

directions?—Yes; some of those I referred to were men who took to opium for some special reason; they did not take it as one takes to a glass of alcoholic liquor, they took it for some special reason—for some ailment that was the matter with them, either for a cough, or something of that kind, but it did not affect their general health; they were able to attend to their business, and they did much better with opium than they could have done without it.

1486. Apparently it may be said of opium, what many amongst ourselves feel—and I suppose it is the general view expressed or unexpressed in regard to the alcohol habit, that the evil and the good balance themselves more or less completely, and you have to set the good against the bad; would you be disposed to consider of the opium habit, as you have seen it passing before your eyes at Singapore, that the good it did counterbalanced the evil?—I see much more to shock one at home from the effects of alcohol than I have ever done in the East from the effects of opium.

1487. You mean the balance is rather more clearly on the side of opium?—On the side of opium.

1488. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Just upon this last point:—Did I understand you, in reply to Sir William Roberts, to say that you thought that opium-smoking in moderation had no more injurious effects than tobacco smoking in moderation—is that what I gather?—Little more.

1489. Then you said also—I think I understood you to say, in reply to a question of Sir William Roberts—that the opium smokers were not so healthy as other people, not so strong as labourers, because there was usually disease superadded; do I understand that that is your evidence?—Quite so.

1490. And the disease you mentioned was a little fever or a cough?—But those were only two causes; there are a great many causes which induce men to take opium—there is leprosy for instance, there is diarrhoea, there is malaria, there is chronic rheumatism, pains in the bones—this last being a very common cause of men taking to opium smoking, and it relieves them in a way that opium in any other form would not do.

1491. But you mentioned a cough or a little fever?—I meant a chronic cough—an obstinate cough, or fever.

1492. Then, in reference to the prisoners when in hospital, you allowed them under certain circumstances to smoke; was that rather as what you may call a luxury while in hospital, or was it a remedy?—I think Sir William Roberts was asking me with regard to the jail—the prisoners in the jail.

1493. In the case of prisoners in the jail hospital?—It was considered certainly as a luxury; but in certain cases it was a necessity.

The witness withdrew.

Rev. ALEXANDER LANGMAN called in and examined.

1509. (*Chairman.*) You are a missionary, are you not?—Yes, my Lord.

1510. And how many years have you been in that vocation?—I have been eight years in China, in the Cheh-kiang province.

1511. Do you agree with the opinion expressed by the missionaries who have previously given evidence on the opium question?—My experience has been, my Lord, that all I have heard expressed by missionaries in this room with regard to opium in China is perfectly true, and is not at all exaggerated.

1512. I understand that you wish to put in a letter on the subject from a native evangelist?—This is a letter I received only three weeks since. It is written in Chinese, but I have made a rough translation of it. It was, I may state, quite unsolicited [*original of the letter handed to the Commissioners*], and I have left the translation as much in the Chinese idiom as possible, and I should like to read it as an expression of the feeling of the Chinese Christians, and how they regard the opium.

1513. Just as a matter of curiosity, how is the original letter written, is it stamped?—No, it is written with the brush—the small pencil as they call it, an otter hair brush. The writer says: “Pastor Gilmer tells me that in England some are discussing at the present time the abolition of Chinese opium calamity, may God bestow great grace, and the mighty power of the Holy Spirit, so that willingly Chinese people may be

1494. In some cases it was allowed as a luxury to a sick prisoner; in other cases you actually prescribed as beneficial to him?—Yes, and in the hospitals in the same way.

1495. (*Mr. Moubray.*) You mean as beneficial to him because he had been in the habit of taking it, and that it was not good for his health to be suddenly deprived of it?—Yes.

1496. Does the Government of the Straits Settlements derive a large revenue from the opium traffic?—Yes, but I really could not tell you how much.

1497. (*Mr. Pease.*) There is, I believe, an anti-opium society in Singapore, is there not?—Not I think in my time, but I would not be positive.

1498 and 1499. Among the Chinese?—I was not aware of one existing among the Chinese when I resided there.

1500. I have an address to all lovers of virtue in Great Britain signed by Shao K'ang-chi, Jung Lin, Hsueh P'ei-cheing, and P'an Chen. Do you know any of those names?—No.

1501. Perhaps not as I read them, at any rate?—They may be connected with one of the missionary societies.

1502. They send an address in which they use very strong terms: “The danger of opium” &c.—I think opium gets credit for a great deal that is not due to it, and there are miserable wretches in Singapore whose condition is all put down to opium when it is not due to opium at all, but to disease.

1503. In 1891 an address, presented to the House of Commons, containing 1,100 signatures, was presented to Parliament from Singapore?—That is since I left, I know that the American missionaries have been moving in the matter.

1504. Opium is a very important article of revenue, is it not, to the Colony of Singapore?—I think so; yes.

1505. Do you know what proportion it bears to the whole of the revenue of the Colony?—I do not.

1506. It is put before me that half the revenue of Singapore is derived from the opium farm, so that in that case the Government have a very large interest in the maintenance of the traffic?—Yes; it would be so.

1507. You do not know whether that is correct or not?—I do not know whether that is correct or not.

1508. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Is there not a large amount of opium diverted from some of the Chinese ports to the Straits—some of the Indian opium, I mean?—Yes, that may be so.

“ saved out of their bitterness, this opium-smoking injury to men, if not with the personal eye seen no man could believe, this evil goes beyond water, fire, robbers and thieves; because of it homes and possessions are scattered, wives are left, and sons dispersed. By reason of opium there is adultery and robbery, all crimes and wickedness from this source come. The selling of wives, and selling of sons, because of this is an established fact. Eaters of opium are day by day increasing greatly, and silver money is daily seen less; this evil has come upon China, and has spread beyond all previous calamity! The holy doctrine of Jesus is difficult to propagate, one half the reason is because of opium. Much is being said about the foreigner bringing opium, which injures our bodies, and again bringing the Jesus doctrine to save our souls. The foreign country forbids opium entering the mouth, this is extremely meritorious. We pray God to bestow the Holy Spirit with power upon those in authority in England, that teachers, magistrates, and Queen may make an end of this business, and all men will be delighted; to forbid opium entering the mouth is to save our country's people and give them happiness, then shall we proclaim the happy sound (the Gospel), repent and put away sin from the body and heart, with all wickedness. Establish rectitude and call upon God; but the present state is lamentable, opium is prevalent and the saving doctrine prospers not. That was written on the 28th day of the third Chinese moon.”

*Dr.*  
*T. I. Rowell,*  
*M.D., C.M.G.*  
15 Sept. 1893.

*Rev. A.*  
*Langman.*

Rev. A.  
Langman.

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1514. You have heard what has been urged for the consideration of the Commission with reference to the animosity to foreigners, which it is alleged arises from the British connexion with the opium traffic, and you are aware of the evidence which has been given with reference to the reasons assigned by the Chinese to the introduction and increase of the poppy culture in China; do you agree generally with the evidence that has been given by other missionaries upon these subjects?—My own opinion is quite established that the animosity shown by the Chinese to foreigners, and to Englishmen especially, which I have experienced myself, has been chiefly on the ground of our connexion with opium. It was the first thing which we had to attempt to do—to satisfy the minds of the people, with whom we came in contact that we had nothing to do with the bringing of opium into China. As far as I could find out, and in districts where no foreigners had ever resided I have gone, and I have had the same intense hatred shown because of opium; and I believe that when we were in trouble—at the time of the opium riots in 1891—from the way I have heard many expressing themselves, when I have been in great excited crowds which had gathered discussing whether they should come and pull down the foreigners' houses, and turn them out and kill them, this was the first thing, and the chief thing that they accused us of. We could readily enough answer their questions as to the foolish stories about stealing their children, and using their eyes as medicine, and such things as that; it did not take long to disabuse their minds of these things, but the opium they said—the opium. And also when we were preaching to crowds, when there were no disturbances anticipated—in our chapel we could easily hold 150 people—when preaching the Gospel doctrines that we had gone to preach and making no reference at all to any other side issue, one or another would rise up in the crowd and say: “Come away, and do not listen to the foreign devil;” “do not we know enough of him; he has brought the “opium to us.” Others would call us again “opium devils,” and such like; so that in my own mind I am firmly convinced the people are fully persuaded that we alone are responsible for the condition of their country at the present time, and their being compelled to admit the opium.

1515. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Apart from the opium, would not the missionary be likely to be received with great disfavour in China in any case; I mean to say, is he received with great disfavour as a Mohammedan missionary, or a Chinese missionary, would be received in England, if he came to try and persuade us that all our religion and all our morality was wrong, and if he tried to set up small communities partly under the protection of foreign Governments which differed in customs and in everything else from the rest of the Chinese; apart from opium, is it possible that the missionary would not be a very unpopular character with the patriotic Chinaman?—I have not had the opportunity of experience in that way.

1516. If that is the case—and I do not think you can deny it—does that not throw some doubt in your mind upon the genuineness of this outcry about opium. Is not the Chinaman very quick to see that you cannot answer this particular taunt, and therefore he multiplies it all over the whole country?—Yes, he is quick to see and quick to use it, because he knows it is true and we cannot answer it.

1517. Because he sees its effect upon you, and of course that will multiply all over the country?—It is true, and we cannot answer it.

1518. You cannot answer it?—You cannot answer it yourself; and as for missionaries coming to this country to preach other creeds they would have to conform to the law of this country, and they would be protected in that way.

1519. Would it not be excessively unpopular; would it not excite great animosity?—I hardly think so, because all missionaries who labour in China are treated as foreigners, and they experience the same animosity until the people learn where they have come from and what their object is, as I have seen. I have heard the mobs in China saying, “Bring evidence that you are here for no other purpose than to preach morality and virtuous doctrines to us.”

1520. (*Mr. Moubray.*) Do you agree with the view of the Chinese that we are responsible for having introduced opium into China?—The history of the—

1521. I only want your own opinion; we have had the history of the question related to us from various

points of view, and we do not want to go through it again?—I can only say that I always had to concede what they accused us of, namely, that we English were the people who brought opium, and that we were the only people that brought opium when we entered the country.

1522. But you are quite aware that it is a disputable proposition?—From all the knowledge I could gain I never could dispute it to a Chinaman, because we were on the ground, and there were the facts before us; and in the province in which I have laboured for eight years they were thoroughly conversant with the history of the trade, and believed that opium was only brought from India, which is an English country as they called it, to their country.

1523. You have heard the evidence that has been given to-day, that it was introduced into China long before we introduced it?—Yes; when I have put that view forward in China, I have got this answer, “We had it in China. China is a large nation, and we required all the opium we had as medicine, and medicine only. Foreigner, you know very well that when a man became addicted to opium he lost his head, and many a head was taken off because a man was found to be addicted to opium habit.” The smoking of opium was formerly against the law, but now it is not against the law, because our opium is prevalent.

1524. If the importation of opium from India into China were prohibited, and if at the same time Chinese opium were solely consumed in the country; then do you believe that the Chinese themselves would acquit us of the responsibility which they at present attach to us, and do you think that your labours would be lightened?—I do believe it, sir; I think our labours would be vastly helped. And I have often put the question to the Chinese, in discussing the matter, “How is it that you cultivate so much opium yourselves on all hands?” They laugh, and reply, “Our opium which we produce is not so poisonous as the opium which you give us. We will cultivate our own and use it, and live the longer and have our silver to ourselves.” I have known a mandarin to take his soldiers and go outside a city and cut down the poppies that have been growing round; that was six years ago.

1525. I notice that you have twice used the phrase, “And we will keep our silver to ourselves;” you are aware that that, of course, is one reason which is given for the hostility of the Chinese to the importation of opium?—Yes, because so much silver goes out of the country. There is one thing which I should like to remark, if I may be permitted, and that is in reference to the effect that opium has on the rising generation. There is a young man in connexion with our work and he had six children. He buried the whole six before each had reached the age of three years. One of those six—I think it was the fourth child—I myself had tried all I could to save, but the child died, and subsequently in speaking over the matter the man said to me, “How can it be expected that I can rear my child; my father was an opium smoker before I was born,” and his father died an opium smoker. I said to him, “Do you really believe that? Does it affect the children?” He said, “All our people believe it.” I said nothing more to him, but it so fixed itself on my mind that I set myself to find out the feeling of the people in the district on this very question, and I found that it was a common saying, “Chih yu yen pu wli yang san tai”—“The opium smoker cannot see his third generation”—that is the way they put it.

1526. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I think you said you had been eight years in China?—Yes, sir.

1526a. During how many of those years have you had a sufficiently familiar knowledge of the language to be able to converse with the people, and to get from them their opinions at first hand?—After the first year. We have a course of study laid out for us, that takes two years, but after the first year we are in full communication for half the day, that is, in preaching and talking and mixing among the people for half the day. That continues for the second year, and after the second year we are supposed to be through our course of study of the Chinese language, and to give all our time amongst the people, so that for six full years I have had full liberty in the use of the language. But the course is limited to that length, because what we have got to study is not the literary aspect of the language, but simply the spoken language, so that we can make communications and read two or three books,

The witness withdrew.

Sir LEFEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I., called in and examined.

1527. (*Chairman.*) You have seen considerable service in India, I believe?—Yes.

1528. Would you tell us in what parts of India your experience has lain?—In the Punjab and Central India. The first 18 years of my service was in the Punjab, about half the time as secretary to the Government and the last part of it was as head of the administration in Central India.

1529. Did you throughout your service come practically into contact with the question that has been submitted to this Commission?—In the Punjab my contact with it was more general, but it is a subject to which I have always given a good deal of attention as many things I have published show; but in Central India I was more directly concerned with it, because I was the head of the whole opium revenue department of the Native States. The Agent of the Governor General is *ex officio* the opium agent for the whole of the Native States, including a great part of Rajputana.

1530. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) What is the system of the British Government in taxing opium grown in native States—what interference, or supervision over the cultivation do they exercise, if any?—Perhaps in a few words I had better explain the system—as briefly as I possibly can.

1531. (*Chairman.*) If you would, please. I should like to have it before us?—The opium agency in what is called Malwa, which contains all the opium-growing States of Central India, used to consist in a monopoly, but that was given up many years ago, and now it is only a system of passes. The Government has no concern whatever in the cultivation or in the manufacture of opium. Its headquarters are at Indore, and it has sub-agencies at Bhopal, Udaipur, Jaora, Chitor in Udaipur, for the Rajputana opium, Mandesore, which is in Gwalior, and Ratlam. The opium from these places is sent direct under pass to Bombay—all that is intended for export. The Indore agency is the central and the largest, and the number of chests which used to pass in my time through that agency in 1880 was very great. The average would be about 45,000 chests a year, though now it has I dare say diminished to something like 30,000 or 35,000, but the average used to be about 45,000 chests of 140 lbs. each in weight.

1532. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You say that the Government does not interfere at all in the cultivation?—Not at all.

1533. Has the Government ever attempted to urge any native State to extend the cultivation within your knowledge?—No, on the contrary—well I may say distinctly “No” to that. It has not; but personally as the head of the administration I have had to try to interfere to a certain extent in the interests of good administration, because in 1882 and 1883, when there had been great over-production and the prices fell very much, all the native States wished to get the same amount of revenue that they had before, from a very much cheaper drug, so that there was a great deal of distress in consequence, and I interfered very considerably and got the rates reduced largely, especially in Gwalior.

1534. The rates on the cultivation?—The rates on opium land.

1535. In some of the Anti-Opium Society's memorials—some of the recent memorials and in evidence that has been given before the present Commission I have seen that there have been references to certain agreements, concessions, and payments which the British Government has made with, or to, some of these native States, and the argument in the memorials and in the evidence is that those concessions or payments are to increase the cultivation—to increase the out-turn of opium; can you tell us what is the purport of those?—Nothing of the kind has ever, practically, come under my notice.

1536. Are there any agreements with any native States to prevent their cultivating opium?—The cultivation of opium, is, as far as I am aware, perfectly free in every native State.

1537. In every native State?—How can we interfere?

1538. Q. Are there any concessions or payments, I mean that we make to them, to guard the revenue against smuggling or anything of that sort? What can those concessions and payments be in your opinion?—A. I do not know what they are; I am not acquainted with them. I do not think any such exist. If so they must be of so old a date that they have become obsolete. If you could tell me one I should be able to tell you at once if it were in force, but I do not remember anything of that sort. Opium cultivation in Native States is practically free in every way. Of course there is prevention against smuggling, but that is a question of our own revenue. The opium is entirely exported by rail, and when it has been weighed by us at the Central Office it does not leave our hands until it gets to the railway, and there it cannot be taken without a pass. It is sealed, moreover, and it does not leave the hands of our agents until it reaches Bombay. There is a good deal of smuggling, but that is a different question.

1539. How do the native States who produce opium raise their own opium revenue?—They raise their revenue in several ways. It is very difficult to say what proportion of their revenue comes from opium, but a very large part of it is so derived. The people of England are very little aware of the high rates opium land pays in native States. The best opium land is probably in Gwalior, Indore, and Ratlam. The highest rates in my experience are paid for opium land in Gwalior, where they go up to about Rs. 40 a beega. Taken roughly—a beega is equal to about half an acre—the revenue is about Rs. 80 an acre, or practically, you might say, 8% an acre, because in native India the rupee has not depreciated at all; it buys just as much as it used to do.

1540. Do they have any Excise system too besides that?—Certainly, besides land revenue they have an export duty, which is very often from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50, chest. Perhaps Rs. 50 is too high, but from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40, say, they have also a tax on the opium water, the liquid opium, which is very much drunk by Rajputs and locally consumed. Besides there is the transit duty, which is very high, on opium, but that, I think, I swept away in all Central India.

1541. What would be the result if we were to stop the transit of opium from the native States through British territory?—In what way?

1542. What would be the result on the people of the native States and on the government of the native States?—You mean if you prohibit the export, not if you prohibited the cultivation?

1543. No; prohibit the export?—Of course, you can prohibit the export.

1544. But I mean what would be the result. I suppose it would kill the greater part of the cultivation?—Of course it would ruin the trade, if it was not supported by smuggling. It would ruin the native States and it would make them to a man disloyal to you. It would ruin the merchants, too, and would to a very great extent ruin the peasants. Opium is the life-blood of native India: it is the thing by which they get the whole of their spare surplus revenue. The whole of their pomp and state depends on their opium revenue in my part of the country.

1545. (*Chairman.*) In those native States in which opium is largely grown?—Yes, in those. Of course, I only speak of those, but those are the most important.

1546. Of the native States?—Indore, Gwalior, and Bhopal are the great opium-growing States with some smaller ones that I mentioned just now.

1547. What is the aggregate population of those native States that you have mentioned approximately?—I should think about ten millions in Central India. Then there is Udaipur and a great part of Rajputana, but there the opium is more grown for local consumption; it is not so much exported except from Udaipur which is also under our agency in Central India, but the opium instead of coming to us at Indore for Bombay goes by way of Ajmere and Ahmadabad.

1548. With regard to these Native States to which you have more particularly referred, you say with con-

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fidence that an edict of prohibition of the exportation of opium—?—Would make them bankrupt.

1549. It would affect their finances in a very serious degree, and involve the Government of India in great unpopularity?—The greatest. You see opium is grown only on irrigated land, on land that is too good practically for the rough cultivation of wheat and poor grains, so that it would be practically throwing it out of cultivation. If you can get 8*l.* an acre for your land as opium land and only one rupee for it as wheat land, it is a great difference to the cultivator.

1550. Is it a very exhausting crop?—It requires a great deal of manure and a great deal of preparation. It is an expensive crop to grow. I do not know that it is exhausting, if the land is manured well. It is a question of that. The poppy is grown on the same land year after year for any number of years.

1551. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) We have dealt with the result of prohibiting export. I suppose there are no Treaty obligations which prevent our prohibiting the export, are there?—An autocratic Government can do anything. It would be a most tyrannous act, which no civilised Government has ever done before that I know of.

1552. Has the Government of India any powers by which it might interfere with the cultivation of opium in those native States?—Not without violating all the traditions of the Government of India for the last 50 years. As I said before, you can do anything. The question is: Is it politic or is it just? There is no Treaty right by which you can interfere with the cultivation of a particular crop in a native State; it would be monstrous.

1553. Does much smuggling exist at present; what are the police precautions?—A great deal exists, and I cannot say that we are very successful in stopping it. I dare say I have had about 100 cases of smuggling a year, mostly into the Central Provinces. It is a very difficult country, as you know, an exceedingly difficult frontier, an immense number of passes and a difficult river, and 140 lbs. of opium which a man could easily carry would be worth a couple of thousand rupees.

1554. Are there any particular precautions taken?—We stop and search anything suspicious on the railways; but the precautions (my administration was almost entirely native territory) are as a rule taken on the frontiers of British territory by the Government of Bombay, and the Government of the Central Provinces. Take the police precautions themselves; not to go beyond your question, if there was prohibition of export then it is obvious what would follow. You would have a preventive system of a most stringent and enormous kind, which would be impossible. It would cause far greater evils than those you would try to remove.

1555. So far as you have observed what is the effect of the consumption of opium on the peasantry in Central India as consumers?—Well, they are not consumers to any great extent. It is too expensive for the peasants as a rule all over India. The Rajputs, who are more to the north and in some parts of Central India, consume it, and there are a good many Rajput States, but the Mahrattas are not as a rule addicted to opium. They take it, but not very largely; not so much as the Rajputs and the Sikhs in the Punjab. Those take it largely.

1556. But those peasantry who cultivate it in the Malwa States—you do not think that they consume it largely?—I do not think that they consume it very much any more than the people of Epernay who produce your champagne drink the champagne. They drink some thin wine costing 50 centimes a bottle. It is not a common practice, opium-eating in India; it is too expensive. It is like the working men in London smoking Havana cigars.

1557. In your capacity, exercising the powers of a High Court in Central India, did you see any reason to suppose that crime was promoted by the consumption of opium, in the same way that it is promoted in England by the consumption of alcohol?—No; that idea is an entire fiction from beginning to end. I have never seen a case in my life, either as a magistrate or as a judge of a High Court, in which crime has been produced by the use of opium; at any rate within my recollection.

1558. With regard to the medical men serving under you in Central India, have you ever seen any reports of theirs about the effect of opium?—I have called for

reports from them more than once on the subject; but I do not remember that anything of any particular importance was ever said. Medical men will see the bad cases, and abuse in anything is bad. Of course taken in excess, which is not the case usually in India, there are bad results; but I do not think that they have ever said that opium fills their lunatic asylums, or hospitals, or affects their returns in any particular way.

1559. You were a long time in the Punjab, and came across a great many Sikhs. Did you ever notice any particular effect of the opium habit upon Sikhs?—Well; the Sikhs are a very hard race, and they would take more opium than most people, without injury, no doubt. Our regiments are full of opium eaters. I do not think they are a bit worse than anybody else. As you have asked me that question perhaps you would allow me to make one remark which is of great importance. I think nobody knows better than yourself that the Sikhs are prohibited by their creed—or rather by the founder of the second phase of their creed—from smoking tobacco, which is a universal practice throughout India. In default of this they take to opium and hemp and to a great extent to alcohol. They were very hard drinkers—the Sikhs—long before we ever came to India. I think that this Commission should consider the point that all races almost seem to want some stimulant of one kind or another; whether the fact of the Sikhs being prevented from smoking tobacco, which is their natural stimulant, and at once taking to alcohol and to opium is not a very strong reason against any sudden action here in the direction of prohibition. If you prohibit opium smokers from having opium, will they not take to alcohol, which is very much worse. It is only a suggestion.

1560. Your impression is that the effect of alcohol in India is very much worse than the effect of opium?—With alcohol we see its ill effects. But the people of India, I think, are a very temperate race. I do not wish to take away their character. You see more drunkenness in London in one night than you see in India in ten years. But alcohol is a thousand times worse than opium; it is preposterous to argue the question.

1561. Have you formed any opinion as to the future of the China trade from your knowledge of the export opium trade from Central India?—I have of course formed a very decided opinion up to a certain date; but I have not been connected with it for the last two or three years; and all I could say on that point is that the opium trade, so far as it has passed through my hands, was about say an average of two millions to two-and-a-half millions sterling a year, all opium going to China. The trade fluctuated largely, and although it fell off very much in 1881 and 1882, yet it revived considerably in 1883 to 1885 and 1886, when it rose again, I think, to about 39,000 chests. I think myself that the opium trade with China will revive; I sincerely hope it will, because it is in my opinion the most unobjectionable part of the Indian revenue. But it is a very open question, and unless you intimately know the Chinese side of the question, it is very difficult to say. Of course four times as much is now grown in China as is exported from India, and if that increases very largely perhaps the opium exports of India may fall off. But it is to be remembered that it is the higher classes of China who take our opium, which is of a very much better quality than the coarse Chinese drug, and they will continue to take it just in the same way as we buy champagne from France.

1562. (*Mr. Pease.*) Sir James Lyall asked you a question with regard to the use of the term money compensations or other concessions. In the paper that I have before me, which is "The Moral and Material Progress of India," 1878, it says:—"The native States have engaged so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue; and in exchange for this service they receive either money compensation or other concessions." What is the meaning of that expression in this Government Blue Book. That is what Sir James Lyall wanted to know.

1563. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Yes?—A. Let me hear it again. I do not quite follow the idea of it. It is quite clear that for a great many years past no payment to any native State could have been made on such account without passing through my hands, so that it is perhaps

wrongly stated. Oh, yes, well, I presume this merely means "the native States have engaged so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue."

1564-5. (*Mr. Pease.*) It is the latter clause to which Sir James Lyall drew attention, not to that, with regard to "the compensation or other concessions," a few lines further on, and "in exchange for this service they receive either money compensation or other concessions." The question is, what the "money compensation or other concessions" were that they received for protecting the British revenue?—Well, that question I am not able to answer at a moment's notice, because I do not remember that they received anything whatever. They certainly do not now. It is possible that in the old days, when the revenue system was formed, some concessions were made to them in order that they might agree to all their opium coming through British hands at Indore, and of course safeguarding the British revenue in that way. There may have been some ancient arrangements for compensation. But the system goes back about 60 years; the opium agency was started in 1830.

1566. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) This refers to the present, but it may not refer to any States under your control; it may refer to native States outside?—I do not think that there is any opium which comes into British territory which did not pass through my agency.

1567. I mean to say —?—It may refer to the Bombay States, very likely; certainly not to any of the States in Central India; we give them nothing whatever. They are bound to send their opium through our hands.

1568. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I suppose, unless you acted in concert with the native authorities, it would be practically impossible to prevent smuggling?—The native States cannot prevent smuggling themselves. It is always a difficulty, but it is now stopped as far as it is possible.

1569. What I meant rather was that the officials of the British Government were more able to check smuggling because of their acting in concert with the native authorities?—Oh, certainly, the native authorities are perfectly loyal in the matter to us.

1570. And if the export were to be stopped by the British Government?—Of course you would have all the native States against you, smuggling; you could not stop smuggling then on an enormous scale. No preventive system would succeed.

1571. (*Mr. Pease.*) May I ask whether there are any tables of exports from those native States from which a comparison could be drawn to show what the importance of the opium export is compared with the total exports?—I can tell you everything about that that you wish to know.

1572. You said it was a very important item in connexion with their exports; can you tell us what proportion it bears to the total exports?—Of the native States?

1573. (*Chairman.*) What proportion does the revenue derived from opium bear to their total revenue?—It is an exceedingly difficult thing to say, and I have never been able to distinctly find it out. In the first place they are exceedingly averse to giving any statistics, and in the days of the great Scindia, who died a few years ago, although he was a very great personal friend of mine, I never could get any statistics out of him. He would never give any. The Government of India might call for statistics as much as they chose; you could never get Scindia to give them.

1574. Do they keep accounts?—Oh, they keep regular accounts themselves, admirable accounts. After his death things became different. We now know what it is they levy on the land for opium cultivation, but it is very difficult to say what area is under cultivation, because we have no one to measure it, unless they tell us themselves. We know what amount of opium leaves each State, and the weight of it to an ounce. We do not know what amount is consumed locally. Of that there are no statistics.

1575. (*Mr. Pease.*) Have you any information as to the value of other exports?—The value of the opium which is exported?

1576. No, the value of other exports as a guide; as to the value of the opium export as compared with others?—Yes, we have, to a certain extent.

1577. Could you give us a general idea of its proportional value?—You see each State must be dealt with

by itself. There are very few things which are exported from Central India, except opium, wheat, and cotton, not very much. Other things are not exported in any large quantities. I cannot answer your question; it is not one to which my attention has been directed for some time, but I could easily give it you from my own reports, which I have submitted for every year from the Central India agency. But our statistics are very uncertain, except for seaport towns, as to the internal trade of native India. Opium is distinctly the most important of the exports.

1578. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I think you said something about the export of Malwa opium having fallen off?—Largely.

1579. 45,000 chests?—I am not able to say what it is to-day. I have been out of India for two or three years.

1580. Can you tell us at all what influence that has had on the prosperity of native States, either as to the revenues of the rulers or the prosperity and condition of the cultivators?—Well, curiously enough, a paragraph in the very last official report that I wrote on the subject of opium covers, I think, that exact point, if you will permit me to read it. It is only a few lines. This was the last report I wrote on opium, and it is almost the last sentence of that report. "The continued depression in the opium trade is causing much anxiety to native chiefs, who see the principal source of their revenue in danger of decaying, while there is immediate loss and ruin to Malwa cultivators. The native durbars try to avoid reduction in their rates for opium lands, and compel the cultivators to pay the same rental for lands the produce of which has enormously fallen in price. The consequence is great distress and general complaint."

1581. Would you be good enough to explain a little further what you said as to the quality of this land and why other crops do not flourish on it; is it too rich?—Some crops would flourish on it very well, no doubt—sugar-cane, for instance. In India the land is roughly divided into irrigated and non-irrigated land; and opium requires a great deal of water, for it is grown at a time of year when there is very little rain, so that it has to be irrigated from tanks or wells. In Central India it is almost exclusively watered from tanks, and this makes the land very valuable, so valuable that it is hardly worth while using it for a cheap crop, and wheat is in Central India a cheap crop. It is a very rich country, and I have seen in many States the wheat rotting on the ground, because they could not carry it away.

1582. You referred to opium water?—It is a mere preparation of the opium.

1583. Is it exported, or used locally?—Locally.

1584. Only locally?—Yes.

1585. It is a by-product?—Yes, it is; it is a sort of solution of opium which the Rajputs take every morning before breakfast. A native Rajah with all his Court sitting around him will call for his attendant, who will pour some of it into his hand, and he will drink it off, and every one of the men round him will drink it in the same way. It is what the Russians would call *Lakuska*—a sort of fillip to commence the day.

1586. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) It is a daily thing?—Yes.

1587. (*Mr. Wilson.*) It is so strong that a small quantity will have an exhilarating effect?—Yes, it is what they want; it is their pick-me-up; it does not hurt them.

1588. How long does the effect last?—The Rajah after taking that has his durbar, and sits there for a couple of hours, does his business, then he goes into his zenana, then he goes to sleep, then perhaps he has some more; we do not know what happens there.

1589. (*Chairman.*) He takes more than one dose in the course of the day?—I think most opium eaters take at least two, but I do not say everyone does. Some of the Rajahs I know intimately, and they are not always the best specimens of their race; but I do not think opium has any particular effect on them one way or the other.

1590. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you explain a little further about the smuggling; I do not understand. You spoke about its being a difficult country; about passes and river, and so forth. What prevents any amount of smuggling at this moment; is there a coastguard; are there preventive officers either inside the native State or outside?—You see it is not the interest of the native States. They have no interest in preventing smuggling

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except the good opinion of the Agent of the Governor-General. Their revenue is not hurt. We leave the prevention of smuggling, except on the main line of road, which I have always held to be British territory, though the native States try to persuade us that it is not, to the native States; but on the railways, which are British territory, we prevent it through our own officers.

1591. It is no use preventing something that can go round the other way?—That has to be done by the British officers. You must remember that. I am speaking of native India. I am living in native India, and have nothing to do with British territory.

1592. I understand, but what I understood you to say was, that if the present arrangements were abolished there would be an enormous increase of smuggling?—No doubt.

1593. I do not see what prevents any amount of smuggling now?—There is a good deal now, as I say, but it would be very much increased, because you would have every one against you. You would have the whole of the native States, the whole government as well as the people; they would all encourage smuggling. Smuggling would be *in excelsis*; Scindia and Holkar themselves, and all those great chiefs whom you cannot interfere with, would smuggle on an enormous scale, and convey the opium to their own frontiers by their own police probably. Now, if they do not exert themselves to prevent smuggling they hear of it from the head of the Administration. But in British territory the preventive work is done by officials with whom I have no concern; they are subordinate to other authorities, such as the Bombay Government, or the Central Provinces, or the North-west Provinces.

1594. (Sir W. Roberts.) You have seen no doubt practically a great deal of this opium habit, have you not amongst Rajputs and others?—Yes, habitually, constantly.

1595. Is it your impression that it is generally practised in moderation?—I think so. I do not mean to say that it has no bad effects. I have had servants who have been very inefficient from taking opium, but I have never had to discharge one for it. It makes a man very indolent, very often. Would you allow me to say one thing, the people who take it most—I only speak of the parts of India that I know—the people who take it most, the Sikhs and the Rajputs, are the finest races in India.

1596. And have they been taking it from generation to generation?—Yes, long before we came to the country.

1597. Has it been your impression that these races, the Rajputs and the Sikhs, have a different reaction in regard to opium from some other races in India, that is to say, that they tolerate it better, that they are constitutionally a little different?—I cannot speak of races that I do not know.

1598. How is it that Europeans do not pick up the habit in India; have you formed any opinion as to that?—Every race has a particular craving. Unfortunately, the English craving is for gin and for brandy. Each race has a tendency to some particular stimulant, I think.

1599. Then you think it is rather a special constitutional peculiarity of the Eastern people—the Chinese, and these Rajputs, and the Sikhs—that their tendency is to opium, and not to liquor?—They are very fond of liquor, if they can get it. Many of my distinguished friends like champagne and brandy mixed. That particular mixture killed Scindia.

1599a. Do you think it possible that the Europeans resident in India might take to the opium habit?—I think, if you stop the alcohol in India, as a great many people are trying to do, they will take to opium probably.

1600. A certain number?—They will take to something; they will take, perhaps, to hemp.

1601. Your impression is very strong that on the public health of India opium has had no deleterious effect?—Well, sir, it would be a mistake if I were to give you the impression that the people of India were at all addicted to opium. Some classes in certain races are habitués of opium, but opium, as I said before, is not an Indian vice at all; if it is taken, it is taken in moderation; and what I have seen so many people say is in my experience utterly wrong; that it has a tendency to require the increase of the dose if you take

it. I know hundreds of people who take the same quantity, the same little pills of opium every day of their lives; they do not increase it at all.

1602. The people who you say take that, are not people who are deteriorated in character or health?—Not the least; the best people in the race, of very fine physique.

1603. And the opium is not like drink among ourselves—the exception?—No, sir, there is no crime in connexion with the opium at all.

1604-5. No violence; but I mean the man who goes to extremes—to excess—the opium sot, as he has been called, is an exception among opium smokers?—You cannot see them, unless you go and look for them. They are not in the general population at all. You may find them in the large cities, no doubt, as you find all sorts of things in slums, but that has not anything to do with the general population. In what we call the opium dens, of course you may see people in Calcutta, or, for the matter of that, in Lahore; but they are outcasts or beggars, or drunken creatures, who would take to any stimulant.

1606. They are, in fact, people who are a little bit allied to the criminal classes in this country?—Yes, exactly so.

1607. A drunken class?—Yes.

1608. (Chairman.) The general effect of your evidence has been that, from your wide opportunities of observation in India, you have not seen that what is called the opium habit has produced widespread and grave moral evils among the population of India?—No, I do not think there is a single resident in India who knows anything on the subject who would possibly say so. I do not think I am singular in my opinion.

1609. Then with regard to the native States, with which you may have been officially concerned of late years, you have made it clear to us that in your opinion the prohibition of the present export trade in opium would occasion a grave disturbance of their finances, and that it would be resented by the general body of the population who are engaged in the cultivation of the opium?—Yes. If you wish to have a rebellion in India, I know no better way.

1610. You have further made it clear to us that in your view the prevention of smuggling would be impossible?—Impossible.

1611. In the sixth order of reference to this Commission, we are directed to ascertain what would probably be the disposition of the people of India in the event of a change of policy being adopted on the part of the Government, and a general prohibition of the cultivation and the use of opium being attempted. Now, you have been long resident in India; what, in your view, would be the attitude of the people of India in the event of a prohibitory policy being attempted?—Well, I do not think that the people of India have ever considered the possibility of anything so impracticable. But, of course, it would cause the utmost irritation amongst the people who are accustomed to take opium, the Sikhs especially, and the Sikhs are the backbone of our army in India, which we shall have to double in the course of the next 10 years. I do not know whether it is desired to make them disloyal.

1612. But you wish to put it to us too, that in your view, they would be made disloyal if we made this attempt?—I do not say that from my knowledge of India; I say that from my knowledge of human nature.

1613. Then, in looking at the state of public feeling in this country, on this question of opium, which has been reflected in the debates in the House of Commons, and in the divisions which have taken place on the motions made in the House of Commons, can you offer any suggestion by which the relation of the Government of India to this question might be in some degree modified? Do you think that it would be desirable and practicable that the Government of India should cease to take the position of a manufacturer and a producer of the article, and should limit its intervention to the imposition of duties for revenue purposes?—Well, but what would be gained by that? You would only have a very much larger production, if it were free. It would exactly do what some people do not wish to be done—it would stimulate, instead of stop the production, as far as I can see.

1614. You would recommend that no change should be attempted in regard to the position of the Govern-

ment of India as holding the monopoly of the opium production?—In the present temper of public opinion, which of course must be respected more or less, I would not stimulate it. My own personal feeling is that I would not stimulate the production of opium; I would invite the Government of India, as I have invited them on many previous occasions, to consider it as a mere matter of common sense. Opium is a luxury, it is only used by people who can afford it, and whatever fables may be woven by people about China—which we cannot absolutely disprove—the whole body of evidence regarding India shows that it does no harm whatever. You take off a burden of five millions sterling of taxation from the peasants of India; and you place it upon a foreign country which is perfectly willing to pay it, and you are asked by irresponsible people to abandon that revenue at a time when you want the revenue very much increased, and when you

must increase it, unless you lose India. It is madness. There is no justification for it; and if I might make one observation on my own account—

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1615. We shall be very glad to hear anything that you would like to say to us?—It is merely with reference to what you were saying. I would say that it seems to me that much of the evidence which has been given before the Commission by missionaries in China is flawed and tainted in two ways. The first is this: that the missionaries, since this has been raised into an ethical question, are compelled, in their own personal interests, to denounce it; and secondly, that, as in China, every disturbance is due, not to opium, but to the missionary teaching, the missionaries are compelled to throw the odium of the popular dislike to themselves on to the opium question. That is the whole history of this agitation.

The witness withdrew.

Mr. HENRY LAZARUS called in and examined.

Mr. H.  
Lazarus.

1616. (Mr. Mowbray.) I understand that you wrote to the secretary of the Commission wishing to give evidence upon this subject?—Yes, sir. After reading the report in "The Times" of Monday of certain evidence which had been given before the Commission, and which caught my attention accidentally.

1617. At present I believe you are living in St. Pancras?—Yes, sir.

1618. But you resided in China I believe, in Shanghai?—Yes.

1619. Between 1878 and 1881?—Yes, sir.

1620. Well now, will you tell the Commission anything which you wish to say. You were engaged in commerce, I believe, there?—Yes, sir.

1621. Not in the opium trade, I believe?—Absolutely not, nor had I any connexion with it.

1622. What was your business?—I was the first to erect a tannery in Shanghai on the European system, and at times I had as many as from 300 to 350 men in my employ, but the average number was 200.

1623. All natives of China?—Every one. At first they were superintended by three European overseers, eventually I only had one. We trained some of the natives as overseers in the various departments.

1624. Were you brought in constant and daily communication with your men?—Yes, and not only with them, but with merchants and the go-betweens of the merchants—the native dealers in Shanghai of nearly all trades.

1625. Now will you tell the Commission anything you wish to say as to the effects which you noticed of opium-smoking on the classes with which you were brought into contact?—Well, first of all, take, perhaps, the higher classes, the dealers, and those persons in business with whom you were brought into contact?—It is 15 years since I first went to China, and it is 12 years since I left.

1626. (Chairman.) Just make a continuous statement? I have taken out a list from my old contract book of some 38 names of men with whom I was in communication, and if this Commission goes to China, which I hope it will, they will have an opportunity of consulting them. I had a conversation with Fong-kee and Ken-wo; with one of those two men I had a particular conversation with regard to opium. In fact out of curiosity I often had some conversation with nearly all the native dealers I came in contact with, and I may say parenthetically that there are very few men in that class of life who are not capable of carrying on a more intellectual conversation than you could ever hold with men of a similar class in this country. I think I could best give evidence to this Commission if they would allow me to refer to two or three statements which appeared in "The Times" report of the evidence given before the Commission, and which occasioned my writing to you. One of the missionaries said that "in the cases where a man is an opium smoker, " during the time that he is under the influence of the " drug he can do his work as well as anybody, and " probably owing to the extra stimulation, a little " better than most folks, but when a man is under the " influence of the depression which follows he is absolutely worthless, and it is only while he is under

" the stimulation that he is of value." Well I can only say that with regard to the whole of my men I never once had one of them unfit for work as a consequence in any way of the use of opium.

1627. And were they all opium smokers?—No, sir. Certainly not all opium smokers but they were taken indiscriminately from the labouring classes, and numbers of them were opium smokers on their own confession. My manager invariably asked them when they came, because he was informed that an excessive opium smoker was a lazy man. You may imagine that very few men will confess to going to excess in it, and in fact the wage that a Chinese labourer receives makes it absolutely impossible that he could do so. I believe that the average wage of a labourer throughout China is from four to five dollars a month. That will give you some idea, especially if he has to keep a family on it, how much he can have to spare on such an expensive luxury as opium. As a matter of fact, many of these men were opium smokers, the high wages they earned at the tannery afforded them the means, but never one of them was incapacitated for work through opium. And, moreover, at first I used to employ a European doctor in the tannery, having so many men; but after a time my manager discovered that a Chinaman who was taken with colic, diarrhoea, or constipation, those being some of their most common troubles (possibly but not probably due to opium), could be treated with patent medicines more efficiently than with anything else. I do not wish to mention their names, because I do not desire to advertise these patent medicines, which were many of them largely compounded of opium. I used to keep a stock of them, and whenever the men were taken ill they were given a few doses, and they effected a remarkable cure. I never had any trouble with the management, and amongst all the men that I employed I never had one who was so seriously ill as to be away from his work for three days at a time.

1628. May I take it that so far as your experience of the workmen you employed went you found that those who smoked opium were no worse than those who did not?—Absolutely not, sir. Then in answer to a question by Mr. Pease one of the missionaries said: "He never met a Chinaman who defended opium-smoking; they all looked upon it as a thing to be " ashamed of." That is such a statement that I do not believe you could get one intelligent, unprejudiced Englishman who had lived for six months in Shanghai or any other part of China who would not say that it is a terrible perversion of the truth. I have not only been brought into contact with the working classes, but I have also come into contact with many of the better classes who were opium smokers, and I positively went in for it myself, just to see what it was like. I shall be able to give the Commission an absolutely certain answer to the question why it will never be taken up generally by Englishmen. It is simply because it is too slow, it takes too much time. For one little pipe of opium you have to lie down in order to smoke and roast it before a lamp. It requires something like three or four minutes before you can do away with one little ball. I tried to produce sleep, but it had very little effect on me, after having smoked eight pipes in succession.

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1629. How long did you continue that?—Only three or four times. I did not want to acquire the habit. I could not afford to waste the time. I was only wanting to go through a number of pipes in order to experience that delightful sleep which I had heard was produced, but the Chinese rather laughed when I spoke to them about it.

1630. That I take to be your explanation of the reason that the Europeans in China do not take to opium-smoking?—I say that no European who has the slightest energy in him ever could take to opium smoking.

1631. Have you anything to say with regard to the higher classes of people that you came into contact with, the dealers and the merchants?—Yes, I should have come to them a little bit later, especially that one that I got the most information from, Fong-kee. That man had teeth absolutely black, he was about as marked a specimen of an excessive opium smoker and eater as could be found, and he was a notorious one in Shanghai. I can say without hesitation, without fear of contradiction, that for intellectual power, energy and straightforward dealing in business there was not a man amongst the native traders who would surpass him. Not only I, but my brother, whom I had the misfortune to lose in China, and all the merchants that I spoke to and knew intimately, agreed that there was no straighter broker than Fong-kee. I said to him “Why for smoke so much opium; your teeth are black?” His face was so wasted that you might almost have made your hands meet in the hollow of his cheeks. “Give it up,” I said, “you would be so fine a man if you gave it up.” He was very tall and broad, but as thin as possible. I would not like to say the value of the opium he smoked a day, but it was something considerable. He told me “Suppose I do not smoke one day, I must die.” The effect of leaving it off one day would have been his death. I am telling you this to show that, even in the case of a really excessive smoker, it is not true to say of such a man that he is wanting in intellectual power; and to say that he is lazy is simply an absolute lie; and I would not confine my observation to that one man, but would instance others whose names I picked out: Cheng-ching, Ah-ling, Wah-cheong, Yuet-sung, Fong-tai, Che-kei, Fau-chung, Ae-dong, Nam-woo; there are 38 of them, and at a distance of 12 years’ time it is impossible to say which were the opium smokers

among them. Many were opium smokers. I imagine there are very few gentlemen of any position in China, I mean to say men who could afford it, who do not have an occasional pipe, but the statement that a man must constantly go on increasing and increasing the dose, is about as true as that an Englishman cannot drink without going on till he gets drunk, or having got drunk once he must get drunk every other time.

1632. (*Chairman.*) We are much obliged to you for the testimony you have given from your point of view and expressing the general results, according to your judgment and your experience; is there anything further that you want particularly to say?—Yes, my Lord, there is a most important question. You have been told here that the cause of the dislike among the Chinese of Europeans is the opium traffic. I say without any hesitation that that is the grossest misstatement. I went up the country—and I have brought with me a map of the interior—for six weeks. I was in a houseboat with a native crew. I visited, amongst other places, one of the missionary stations, and for situation I never saw anything more delightful. You go up to the missionary station, which was on the top of a hill, by two zig-zag paths, and on the one side there was a series of pictures of what would become of Chinamen if they did not get converted. They were being pushed down by the forks of devils and stirred about in a fire. It seemed to me infinitely sad that civilised men should offer that as an inducement for conversion to anything. I went back to my boat, and I asked my “boy” to come with me—a boy is the name for a butler at Shanghai, he is at the head of your service—I asked the “boy” what did the people think of these things, and he gave me to understand what I imagine this Commission and any sensible man must realise, that the missionaries and their ways are really the great trouble and the great drawback to the liking of Europeans all over China.

1633. I do not think we can go into the missionary question; we are only here to deal with the opium question?—I may say with regard to my domestic servants I had a very large staff, and I know that they smoked opium, because when sometimes the smell was rather too strong—although the natives’ quarters are separated from the English—I used to ask them to desist; but never one of them, all the time I was in China was incapacitated in any way from having used the drug.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 a.m.

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

### SIXTH DAY.

Saturday, 16th September 1893.

#### PRESENT:

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

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

MR. ARTHUR PEASE.  
MR. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

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

SIR CHARLES E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I., the Acting Secretary of the Commission, examined.

Sir  
C. E. Bernard,  
K.C.S.I.

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1634. (*Chairman.*) I believe you have received letters from two gentlemen who were summoned to give evidence before this Commission?—Yes, my lord.

1635. From Sir Joseph Fayrer and Sir Hugh Low?—They were both unable to attend.

1636. But you have received letters from them in which they represent their views upon the question

which is before this Commission?—They have sent papers to be submitted to the Commission.

1637. Would you kindly read the communications which you have received?—

The opinion of Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., surgeon and physician of 30 years’ experience and practice



in many parts of India, on the opium question, to be submitted to the Royal Commission, he being unable to be present.

"It is most strenuously urged by a large and influential, and, as I believe, thoroughly conscientious party, that the use of opium either by eating or smoking, is attended with the most pernicious results, causing, sooner or later, demoralisation and destruction alike of body and mind. They seem to be of opinion that the degraded condition of the *habitués* of opium eating or smoking houses, whether in India or China, represents the natural, and one might almost say, the inevitable results of the use of opium. Ideally, one would wish that stimulants and narcotics, such as alcohol, hemp, opium, tobacco, chloral, and sundry others of recent invention, had no existence; but, unfortunately, human nature is so constituted that it will not forego the use of these drugs, each and all of which is liable to be abused, and when so abused, produces the most degrading and pernicious effects upon the human race. One of the curses of our own country and of our own race is the abuse of alcohol—the amount of disease, misery, and crime produced by it is incalculable. With any who might enter upon a crusade against this form of indulgence, which should correct the abuse and limit the use of it within reasonable bounds, I confess that I should have the greatest sympathy; but I should never expect to succeed in excluding alcohol altogether from use as food. There cannot be a doubt that, in the great cities of India, in China, and probably elsewhere in the East, the abuse of opium is carried by a certain, but a limited number to a great extent, but to nothing like the extent to which the abuse of alcohol is carried. It is well known that over large areas of country in India, by tens of thousands of people, opium in moderation, is habitually used by the Natives; and that they have a thorough belief in its efficiency to protect them against malarious diseases; and that under its influence all the functions of life are better performed; that life is not shortened; and that physical and mental conditions are improved and not deteriorated. This I know to receive the support of those who know far more about the subject than I do, and I am not aware of anything to controvert it.

It is said I believe by its opponents, that the tendency of opium eating is ever to increase—to induce, it may be, slow but sure degradation and destruction. I do not believe this. In the course of many years' experience in India I have known so many who have been habitual consumers of a small quantity of opium without in any way suffering from it, or without any tendency to increase the habit, that I am unable to agree with those who state otherwise. One of my most intimate friends—a native nobleman, with whom I frequently associated—died after the age of 80. He was a man of remarkable intellectual, mental, and physical vigour, of wonderful powers of endurance of fatigue, a great sportsman, a splendid shot, as complete an example of a native gentleman as one could wish to see. He was an opium eater and consumed his two or three doses a day with unerring regularity. This he had done for many years when I became acquainted with him. He never increased the quantity, nor had he done so for several years; he showed no signs of degeneration, mental or physical, or anything suggestive of a pernicious habit. It must be in the experience of old residents in India to have met with similar cases.

"It seems to me that this crusade against opium, though well meant, is not reasonable. It is as unfair to argue from the *habitués* of opium-smoking houses, as it is from the frequenters of gin palaces and other haunts where the most degraded forms of alcoholic abuse may be met with in our own country. Both, in extreme cases, are an evil; but the moderate use either of alcohol or opium must be left to the discretion of those who feel called upon to take them.

"There is another drug which is also in frequent use in India, *cannabis sativa*, the hemp, which is infinitely worse than opium. I find no objection taken to this drug by the anti-opium party. I can see no medical ground that would justify violent interference with the custom in question.

"Control and limit the abuse of opium, but to interfere with and suppress it altogether seems to me unjustifiable. I know no reason why opium should be interfered with and alcohol be exempt. The evils of the one are far inferior to the evils of the other, and the moderate use of both—as I have said—should be left to the discretion of those who want them. It seems

to me to be clearly proved that the moderate use of opium is not attended with the evil results ascribed to it, though, as with alcohol, a certain number of persons will abuse it.

"I repeat, therefore, that on medical grounds I see no reason for abrogating the present regulations concerning opium in India. I confine myself entirely to the medical aspect.

"J. FAYRER, M.D., F.R.S.

"31st August 1893."

The opinion of Sir Hugh Low, K.C.M.G., who was for many years employed as administrator of Perak and other States of the Malay peninsula under the British Government. Sir Hugh Low was unable to attend and give evidence during the time the Royal Commission sat in London.

"Such knowledge as I have on the subject was acquired in the protected Malay State of 'Perak,' in the Malay Peninsula, and in the colony of 'Labuan' in Borneo; and I am decidedly of opinion that there is no such abuse of the drug in those places as would make it politic further to interfere with its importation and sale, than is done at present under the existing Government regulations.

"The practice in 'Perak' was to lease for a term of years, usually three, the right to collect the Government duty of 7 dollars per ball on all opium imported, the sole right to prepare the crude opium into the State in which it was used, and also the monopoly of the retail sale of the prepared drug. The regulations under which the 'farm' as it was called was conducted provided a maximum price at which opium might be retailed by the farmer, reserved to the Government control over the quality of the drug supplied to the public, and provided for the licensing of retail shops.

"The 'Revenue farm,' thus created was disposed of by tender, but not necessarily to the highest bidder. Debts for 'Chandoo,' as the prepared opium was called, were not recoverable in the courts.

"There were three classes of the population which used the drug.

"1st. The labourers, chiefly Chinese, employed in the extensive mining industry. These for the most part used it moderately, and as a prophylactic against miasma, and formed by far the most numerous and the poorest class of the consumers.

"2nd. Shopkeepers, artisans, clerks, domestic servants, and others who were in possession of larger incomes than the workmen in the mines. There was a greater tendency to abuse in this class than in that preceding.

"3rd. Wealthy Malays and Chinese of the highest social positions.

"My impression is that two-thirds of the Chinese population were smokers of opium, but amongst the Malays very few of the country people were addicted to the practice. The criminal classes of both nationalities used it freely.

"Very few cases came under my notice in which the habit of smoking opium appeared seriously to affect the general health, but such was undoubtedly occasionally the case.

"The quantity of opium imported into Perak was very considerable, and the revenue derived from it by the Government was large in proportion. I will endeavour to procure on my return to London some figures on these points.

"I never heard of any case in which crime was committed under the influence of opium, and persons under its influence give no trouble to the police. I have been informed by respectable Chinese that its use in moderation clears the intellect, and renders men more capable of transacting important business. The use of opium was prohibited in the prisons of the State, and detention in these, where the sanitary conditions were excellent, the food good, and labour regular, invariably resulted in improved physique of the inmates.

"HUGH LOW.

"11th September 1893."

The following extract was submitted to the Royal Commission by Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., as it bears upon the charge that opium was being forced upon the Chinese.

Sir  
C. E. Bernard,  
K.C.S.I.

16 Sept. 1893.

Sir  
C. E. Bernard,  
K.C.S.I.

16 Sept. 1893.

EXTRACT from a TRADE CIRCULAR issued by Messrs. Bush Brothers, merchants of Newchang, a port of N.W. China, under date January 1881.

\* \* \* \* \*

"OPIUM.—It will be noted that the import of Malwa is about one-half of what it was in 1879, the difference being 1,064 piculs (cheats)= taels, 608,754. This falling off is due, we understand, to the increase of the native poppy, as well as to the higher value ruling for the Indian drug. The latter still obtains a great preference over the others, but consumers cannot afford to pay too great a price for the superior quality. There is plenty of evidence to show that the authorities of this province at any rate do not use very serious exertions to prevent the consumption of the foreign drug, but on the contrary they prohibit the cultivation of the poppy because as was pointed out in a proclamation some time ago, it is essential to keep the military chest well supplied by the duty levied on Indian opium. This, we take it, is rather a strong argument against the assertion that opium is forced upon the Chinese."

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BUSH BROTHERS'

LETTER from Mr. T. W. DUFF, for 30 years a merchant in China, whose offer to give evidence came too late for the Royal Commission to take advantage of it; ordered by the Commission to be printed with the previous letters submitted to them.

"In answer to your note of yesterday I send you herewith my ideas about opium. Having lived in several of the outports in China during 30 years, I have become somewhat familiar with the habits of the natives and have had a great deal to do in business with men who indulge in the opium pipe. My opinion is, that under the circumstances of their living, food, climate, and habitations, opium to them has no deleterious effects, indeed quite the contrary, for it is a positive need and they could not do without it. In what I say here, I do not refer to the occasional abuse of the drug in some of the large towns like Shanghai, because there as in all large places, you may come across scenes of debauchery, perhaps not so bad as seen in our large centres of 'civilization' arising from alcoholism.

"The Chinese in Southern and mid-China feed on rice, vegetables, tea, and other foods containing a large per-centage of water, with now and then a taste of beans, curd, and perhaps once or twice a year a little pork. In these provinces they sometimes take a little spirit, a d being warmed it becomes very weak; this luxury does not extend much to agricultural districts. They live in malaria and never if they can help it on high ground; their houses principally consist of a ground floor without boards, with the smallest of rooms above this,—generally averaging about 14 feet to the roof or under. Their highways are canals into which all their towns drain. Their fields, heavily manured with human ordure, eventually drain into these waterways. They have no waterworks to filter for them. The floating population is numerous and more so than in any other country; penned up in badly ventilated 'holds,' living in a stifling atmosphere over bilge water, without opium taken as a febrifuge they could not possibly exist. You will easily understand, I think, that under all these conditions opium is a positive need. It is all very well for fully fed and stimulated faddists, who take wheaten food and meat with other articles of nourishment, to think they can do without opium, but let them live under these conditions for some years. They would in my opinion change the subject very quickly. You never hear of foreigners

taking opium in China for reasons that they live under very different conditions. Indeed foreigners, whether missionaries or traders, are far better off both as regards food and dwelling than in this country.

"The Chinese who live in mountainous districts and in the north where alcohol is taken do not have so much desire for opium. It is only on the malarious plains or fenny and marshy districts where it is consumed and needed, and even here generally in a moderate form.

"All nations I contend need a stimulant, either in the form of strong food or drink, and this is my own experience through most of the countries of the world either by land or sea.

"Again the Chinese have but little amusement either out or indoors, not being an excitable race they derive consolation and pleasure,—securing health too,—with their pipe in their solitude (perhaps with less harm than our people do in their music hall or village tavern). The cleverest and best men I have always found smoke opium occasionally, and workmen and boatmen especially are always the most active who occasionally indulge in the small amount they can afford to spend on this medicine (as it is called in China).

"In conversing with foreigners Chinese will sometimes speak against the habit of opium smoking, and especially so to missionaries and others who they know have not the habit. It is mere politeness on their part to be always in accord with their guest or host. I have never in all my life heard any Chinese blame our Government for its introduction, on the contrary it is understood to have been grown in the country for the past 100 years. It is now called 'foreign medicine' by all those who sell it, because the best comes from India, the next best from Persia, and some from Turkey. The native opium burns the throat, and until lately was seldom used alone, generally mixed with the Malwa or Patna drug. In 1865 I passed through large fields of poppies near Peking on the road to the Great Wall, and it would then have been grown in larger quantities generally, but for the unsettled state of the country, after the Taeping rebellion. Proclamations were at this time given out prohibiting its growth, not because they did not require opium, or on moral grounds, but on account of the difficulty of raising the revenue; opium taking smaller bulk than rice or grain, could more easily evade the barriers, while the Peking authorities could not have existed without the revenue of thirty taels per picul, collected through the foreign customs on their account. The opium revenue has been of the greatest service in centralizing the Government at Peking and has taken what would have been a powerful weapon out of the hands of the different viceroys.

"While having the greatest respect for some of our missionaries and others engaged in keeping up this continual cry against this Indian opium, I cannot help thinking they are not sincere, and if so are dreadfully mistaken in trying to govern the habits of 600 millions of people in China and India. I am afraid it is done more in the way of advertisement and in the zeal for their cause. I would like to think better things of them, but when I occasionally read such distorted accounts in their prints, I cannot help feeling that they are not minding their own shortcomings. The nation of China is quite capable of taking care of itself. Physically there is no finer race of people on the globe than the Chinese, who have arrived at the economic science of living cheaper than any other race, and who can if need be work harder than any other and in any clime. I fear they are our masters now, without the sword, for economy of living must make them so, as the Americans and Australians have already found out.

"Yours sincerely,

"T. W. DUFF.

Mr.  
W. Lockhart,  
F.R.C.S.

Mr. WILLIAM LOCKHART, F.R.C.S., called in and examined.

1638. (Chairman.) Will you briefly state the positions which you have filled, and the places in which you have resided, where you have had the opportunity of forming an opinion, on the questions which have been submitted to this Commission?—With pleasure, my Lord. I went out to China as a medical missionary in the year 1838. I was located for a time at Macao, I then went to Chusan, then to Ning-po, and finally to Shang-hai, and during the latter part of my residence in China, I had a large hospital in Peking. I had some half-dozen hospitals in these various parts of

China. I left China in 1864. I was 25 years at work as a medical missionary there, having had opportunity of constant intercourse with the people, and was mixed up with them in all their life. I am absolutely a medical missionary, that is my vocation.

1639. (Sir W. Roberts.) Then you have had a very large experience?—Very large.

1640. Of the effects of opium in China?—In China alone, except what I have seen incidentally in England.

Mr.  
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1641. What has been your impression acquired during all these years of the effect of opium on the people of China?—Many of them take it in small quantities. It is not particularly injurious to them if they continue to take it in small quantities, but it is so seductive a thing, that they very generally increase it; and if they fall into evil circumstances and become poor, they take to it in larger quantities. When they become the victims of the opium habit, it is decidedly pernicious and injurious to them, in every respect. They fail physically, their mental faculties are not so particularly impaired, when they are not in the act of smoking opium, but their general system becomes so deteriorated, and so debased in every way, that the people who are the victims of this habit, are not allowed to give evidence in any legal proceedings, in any of the courts of justice in China at all. They are not considered as people of the community who are above corruption, and they would not be allowed to give evidence in any legal proceeding.

1642. Does that description apply to habitual opium smokers who are temperate, or merely to those who take it in excess?—The latter part of my description applies simply to those who take it to excess, as a means of dissipation.

1643. The people who correspond to our drunkards?—Exactly; and I may state that the proportion of those who take it in moderate quantity is about 10 per cent.; those who take it in excess, from 3 to 5 per cent. of the total population, and that is all. When ever those large numbers are stated as victims of the opium habit, or when people say that it is one-third of the population, or one-sixth of the population, they are totally wrong, because there is not enough of opium in the country to enable them to take it, to the extent which they ought to take, if they took it in excess. I mean by "ought to take," that they are necessitated to take it to relieve them from the excessive languor, and the pain and distress they suffer, from the want of their usual stimulant.

1644. I think it has been rather explained to us that those numbers apply, not to the entire population, but only to the adult?—I never saw a child smoking opium in China, it is entirely confined to adults.

1645. With reference to the adults, it might be said roughly that about ten per cent. ?—About ten per cent. take it in small quantities.

1646. And that is your view?—That is my view.

1647. I believe with that explanation, it is the view generally given, that it is not ten per cent. as applied to the entire population, but merely to the adult; that it does not amount to more than one per cent. of the total population?—Just so.

1648. That would be about right do you think, adult males I understand?—Women also take it, but not to the same extent. I have no means of knowing the difference between the numbers of females or males that take opium. Women do smoke opium, but not so many as men.

1649. Would it accord with your general experience in the parts of China that you have been in, that about one in ten of the adult males are opium smokers?—Yes.

1650. And that about seven per cent. of the adult makes use it moderately and without injury, and about three per cent. use it injuriously?—About three to five per cent. use it injuriously.

1651. And from five to seven per cent. use it moderately?—Moderately.

1652. And without injury?—Without injury.

1653. Or even beneficially?—Well, the trouble is, when persons begin to smoke opium they are apt, under almost all circumstances, to increase the quantity, and then they become victims to what I call the opium habit. I should not say that even the moderate use of opium was beneficial.

1654. But you would call it still the opium habit if it were persisted in moderately?—Well, you might; by the victims of the opium habit I mean those who suffer from the excess. May I say as to the reason why I limit the numbers in the way that I do? The reason of my limiting the numbers is this, the importation of Indian opium is roughly about 100,000 cwt., and the native growth is about the same quantity, so that the

amount of opium used in China is about 200,000 cwt., which is reduced by the making it into smokable extract, about 20 per cent.—20 or 25 per cent.—in fact, one-third of the opium is mere vegetable extract; and so the smokable extract is reduced to one-third, and if you divide that among the population it comes out very much in the figures that I speak of.

1655. But we are told that the quantity of native opium is four or even ten times larger than that imported; I think that is the nature of the evidence given?—I have no means of contradicting the statement, only personally I do not believe it. I have no present means of contradicting the statement, because I am absent from China, but I very seriously doubt that there is any more than the 100,000 piculs that I spoke of. Some years ago it was 60,000 piculs. I know it has increased to 100,000 piculs. It may be a little more, but not very much. Practically, I think, that is about the correct statement.

1656. You evidently think that the statements made about the amount of China opium are not sufficiently exact to be relied upon?—Exactly so.

1657. It is some time since you left?—I left in 1864. I have kept up my connexion with China ever since; I am just as much in connexion with China, now as I was when I was living there; I am just as much interested now in what is going on in China, as ever I was, and I have endeavoured to keep *au courant* with this question of native opium.

1658. The information that reaches you is not to the effect that the production of native opium is increasing?—Yes, it is increasing but not beyond the figure that I have stated. It does constantly increase, I know that; since I came home it has increased from 60,000 cwt. to 100,000 cwt.

1659. That is the native opium?—The native opium.

1660. But then that is an estimate I presume?—There is no census of the population, nor is there any regulation of the opium lands to that extent which would enable you accurately to define the quantity; it is partly a guess I admit.

1661. I am going to ask you a very general question: Is it your impression from all your knowledge of this question that there is any national effect of an injurious nature, produced on the Chinese by the consumption of opium?—In the proportion of those who use it in excess it is very injurious. In my knowledge of various commercial men, artisans, skilled workmen, with whom I was personally acquainted and whom I knew intimately in all their relations of life, I know that they do take it, and it does not interfere with their business, nor when they take it to a small extent does it interfere with their health or their life. A man who smokes opium moderately will consume about a drachm a day, those who take it to excess will take from four to ten drachms a day.

1662. That is of the smokable extract?—Yes, the smokable extract.

1663. Containing about one-third of opium?—No; the smokable extract is very pure opium. It is one-third of the crude opium.

1664. What name do they give to the thing which is actually smoked?—They call it Ta-yen or great smoke. Everybody knows that they cannot smoke crude opium, it must be reduced to a watery extract.\*

1665. It is mixed with some vegetable matter?—They take as much smokable extract out of the opium as they possibly can; it is the pure smokable extract that they use.

1666. You have taken some interest in comparing in your own experience the effect of alcohol and opium?—Yes.

1667. What is your experience with regard to the comparison of the effect of opium in China on the Chinese, and the effect of alcohol on the people of this country?—Opium is personally hurtful to individuals. Alcohol is a much greater social evil to the individuals that take it to excess. The action of opium is more personally injurious than that of alcohol; as a social evil there is no comparison between the two. He that takes alcohol to excess is a nuisance to society, a man

\* Note by witness:—The crude opium is boiled with water; the solution is strained and boiled down to a certain consistence somewhat thicker than treacle, and that is the smokable extract.

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that smokes opium to excess subsides into quietness the moment he has had his pipe; though he may be cruel at home and sell his wife and his business to buy opium, he is not publicly a nuisance, and I believe (to go further than your question) that alcohol is an infinitely greater curse than opium.

1668. You mean that the use of alcohol, as practised in this country, is a greater curse to the community here than the use of opium, as practised in China, is to the Chinese?—Exactly, that is my distinct and definite opinion formed on very large experience, and with great care taken in the elimination of all extra circumstances, to enable me to form a definite opinion about it.

1669. As regards suicide, opium is used for suicide?—Very largely.

1670. Very largely?—Very largely. The smokable extract when it comes into a person's possession is generally in a little cup, sometimes a man who is respectable and with some amount of money has a little silver box that he keeps it in; the common people use a little porcelain cup for it. When wishing to commit suicide, they put their finger into the cup and get out about a drachm or two of the opium, put into their mouths and very soon die. It is very much more fatal taken in that way than through the use of the pipe.

1671. Some of it is destroyed by the heat of the pipe, I suppose?—Very little; when in the pipe it does not burn; the morphia is not burnt out of it. Of course in the smokable extract, and in all the circumstances in which opium is used, the power is the amount of morphia in the drug, that is of course, as you know, what affects people; and when the pipe is submitted to the lamp it is only held just so that it will begin to smoke, then they draw in that smoke into their mouths and into their lungs as far as they can introduce it, and afterwards expel it. The morphia is not destroyed; very little of it in fact is destroyed, it never burns away when applied to the lamp, it is only heated.

1672. Speaking of suicides again, is it your impression that the use of opium in China provokes a tendency to suicide?—No, I think it is only when they get into very grave difficulties, into debt and circumstances of that kind, family discord, and so on, that they take opium. Women especially use opium as a means of suicide, sometimes after quarrelling with their mothers-in-law, because the females all live in one compound. Their mothers-in-law are sometimes very disagreeable, and to spite their mothers-in-law, and to place the death at their door, they will take opium. I have known that again and again, many I have been called to, and when I asked, "What is the reason of 'this'?" I have been told, "Oh, she quarrelled with her mother-in-law."

1673. Then your implication is that the use of opium does not cause an increase in the number of suicides, and that if they did not use opium as a mode of suicide they would use some other mode?—They would hang themselves generally or cut their throats; I have seen every plan that they adopt—sometimes drown themselves. I have been called to them under all these circumstances—cutting their throats, hanging themselves; but more generally in the large majority the suicides were by taking opium. It is the pleasantest mode of committing suicide that I know of.

1674. Speaking of those persons who have adopted the habit in excess, I presume they applied to you in the hospital sometimes?—Very largely; many thousands.

1675. From your experience in the hospital, did you find that they were curable?—Yes, sir.

1676. How would you express your opinion on that point: were they as easily curable as a confirmed drunkard?—Quite as curable. I think more so. They used to come to me under the despair of the increased quantity of opium that they had to take to produce the given effect of quietude, and beg to be delivered from the evil that thus came upon them. They were victims of this increased quantity, and they would remain in the hospital. I required that they should remain with me, give me their pipe, promise that they would not buy any more opium, and in fact I prevented it, as far as it was possible to do so. And then I used to help them by medicine of various kinds, stimulants, and with some opium in the medicine that I gave them, and gradually diminished the opium, and gave them

tonics and stimulants, ammonia and such like, and they got well in large numbers. I do not say that some of them would not slip back again into the opium habit after they left me, but they were delivered from the vice and went out to their usual avocations as before they were submitted to the opium.

1677. Well, I think we have got pretty completely from you, your impressions as a medical man of the effect of opium in China?—May I state one thing, I wish to emphasise very particularly one thing regarding the use of opium in China. We do not, and never have forced the use of opium upon China. It is repeatedly and over again stated, that we force the Chinese to take opium. Now, we have never done that; it is only taken the same as Manchester goods, and other articles of merchandise; we have never forced it. The British Government had this legacy of opium from the East India Company, they continued the cultivation, that is the management of the opium farms in India, and sent the opium to China, it was never sent by Government vessels; it was never, except in the first instance, sent even by the East India Company in their vessels; it has always been sold in Calcutta, and then sent by merchants to China. It is said that when the vessels go along the coast, they frighten the people to make them buy opium. It has never been the case. The Bishop of Gloucester once said, and this has been quoted over and over again, and it is because of that I wish to enter my most emphatic protests—he said that we took a ball of opium in one hand, and a revolver in the other, and said to the Chinese: "If you will not buy this opium, I will shoot you." That is an exaggerated statement altogether. There is not a particle of truth in anything regarding the forcing of opium upon the Chinese. It has never been done, and is certainly not done at the present time. I have been so much mixed up with the people of China that I know all the particulars of their lives, and I know that there never was a question raised that either the Government or merchants have forced opium upon them. It would be very desirable if the Government could relieve itself of the cultivation or the support of the poppy trade in India, and that they should give up the opium "go-down," and throw trade in opium free. You cannot abolish the growth of opium in India; it would be simply impossible; but it might be very much diminished, and the English Government should not engage in trade, still less should they engage in such a thing as the opium trade. For the English Government to be mixed up with the production of opium is, I think, a most injurious circumstance, and both as a missionary and as a man, I should very much deprecate the continuance of the present system on its present grounds. Let them take the duty on it as it leaves the country, but give up the "go-down," reduce the area of cultivation as much as possible, and thus show that practically we wish to save, as far as possible, the Chinese from excess in the use of opium.

1678. (Mr. Wilson.) Some years ago, you published a book on this question?—Yes, I did.

1679. Which I have here; you quote therein a paper that was prepared partly by yourself in 1855?—Yes.

1680. That is nearly 40 years ago now?—It is.

1681. Are your views substantially the same now?—Very much the same. I have had more experience, which certainly has modified some circumstances; one cannot live 40 years among people without in some degree modifying his views. If I have modified my opinion I will at once say so. I do not know to what you are alluding.

1682. I notice you state there, as you have stated this morning, that you treated several thousand cases in the hospital at Shanghai?—I did.

1683. Did those people come to the hospital on account of the opium habit, or was it that they came for other diseases, and incidentally were opium smokers?—Because they were opium smokers and wished to be relieved from the habit, not from other diseases. I do not say that a man might not have some trouble besides his opium. Very likely he would have severe diarrhoea and colic, the result of opium smoking, which he would wish to be relieved from as well as the opium. He knew the opium produced this; and substantially they came to be relieved from the opium habit.

1684. I think we have had it stated here that a large number of the people, if not the great proportion of those who take opium, take it to relieve pain and suffering from other diseases. That is not your opinion?—No, some do, not the large proportion of them. If

the question is: Does a large proportion of the people take opium to be relieved of pain? I simply say it is not the fact. They take it as a means of dissipation.

1685. I see that at another place you say, "It is so cheap that the ordinary working classes, the labouring population, can very readily supply themselves with what they want?"—With opium?

1686. Do you think that would be the same now?—In regard to native opium it would.

1687. That applies to native opium?—Native opium. The Bengal opium is more expensive, but it is far better, and rich people always take it; there is more morphia in it, it is more effective, and it is a very much dearer article. It is not mixed with so many other ingredients as the native opium. The native opium is very impure.

1688. Have you known many cases of Europeans taking the native opium?—No.

1689. Any?—To a small extent, yes; a large extent, No.

1690. Why do they not?—It takes a great deal of time to smoke opium. European merchants have not time to do it, and there is a distaste on the part of Europeans to take opium, they do not do it. If they did use opium, they would take it in the form of laudanum; they would not smoke it; and when taken in the form of laudanum about one-tenth of what is taken by the pipe would produce a very marked effect upon them.

1691. I take it in China it is almost entirely smoking?—Entirely.

1692. There is not any eating?—Not very much. It is largely smoking.

1693. When you speak of taking opium you refer to smoking?—The man who is in the habit of taking opium, and not having time to go and smoke, would put his finger in the opium cup and put the opium into his mouth, but that is not the usual plan.

1694. I see that you refer to this, that they continue this smoking for a longer or shorter time according to the effect wished to be produced?—Yes.

1695. After the effect has got to a certain point, are they sufficiently masters of themselves to be able to go on up to the limit of producing the precise effect?—Yes.

1696. They can?—Yes. If they give up the pipe and lie down they go to sleep, but if they keep themselves awake they can go on smoking opium for a lengthened period, until the point must come when they are obliged to put down the pipe; then they become sleepy.

1697. I suppose that with a drunkard in London the more he takes the less control he has?—Yes. The use of opium is very different, it produces a tranquillising effect and they become tranquil; they are not violent and boisterous as a drunkard is.

1698. Now, why do they lie down?—Partly for resting, the use of the pipe almost necessitates their lying down, that is the use of it as the Chinese use it; they lie down with their face, it may be, on a level with the lamp they use. The bowl of the pipe is not a large bowl like the bowl of a tobacco pipe, and the little mouth of the bowl is brought to the flame and the resulting fumes inhaled. They could not do it very easily if they were sitting up; they could do it, but that is the usual habit, a man lies down to take his pipe. When people are visiting in China they do not sit on chairs. Generally at least the host and his chief guests sit on a large kind of couch or platform as you may call it, and it is usual for a host to say to his friend: "Let us have an opium pipe," and then it is brought in and laid on this couch on which they sit. It is not a sofa, it is a platform. I should say it is more easy for them to do it in that way than sitting up and smoking.

1699. With reference to the general question of the introduction of opium in China, and whether it was or was not forced on China by us, had you any greater opportunities of knowing about that than any other student of Blue Books, and the official documents?—I think so.

1700. How would you know the opinions of various statesmen in India and China?—Partly by conversation, and generally by knowing what took place at the time the opium was first introduced to China by the Arabs.

1701. We have had a statement about that at very great length, and we have various documents and so

forth. What I wanted to know was whether you in China, where I take it you were at that time (and I ask especially because I suppose there were not very many daily newspapers, or anything of that kind), had direct personal opportunities of knowing any better than the members of this Commission would have from careful study of the official documents?—I knew all the official documents that came out, I had the opportunity of conversation with the Chinese on various subjects of this kind; I had no further opportunity than that; I knew the official documents that were published, they were open to me to read, and I spoke to the Chinese about them.

1702. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) To what do you attribute the general belief, which we have heard exists among the Chinese, that we have forced opium upon them?—I have never heard it, sir. I have never heard anything like it. Such an accusation was never made to my knowledge.

1703. (*Mr. Pease.*) With what society were you connected as a missionary?—The London Missionary Society.

1704. Were any of the members of your church opium smokers?—They were no longer members of the church if they used opium.

1705. You did not allow any opium smoker to be a member of your church?—No.

1706. Why?—Because of the disgrace they brought upon themselves and their fellow-converts by smoking opium.

1707. First they were respectable men when they began to smoke opium, were they not?—Yes, but they got degraded by that process, and then the constant progress of degradation that goes on with all the victims of excessive use of opium. You could not trust them.

1708. With regard to the proportions which you gave us, were you speaking from your own personal knowledge in 1864?—Yes.

1709. With regard to the proportions of opium smokers, you have had no personal opportunity of obtaining information since 1864?—Except of the quantity that is produced and imported.

1710. Calculating from the returns?—From the returns. I know as much about it now as I did then; it is a matter of calculation.

1711. I gather that you have a very strong belief that the Indian Government ought to free themselves from any connexion with the growth of opium?—Certainly.

1712. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You have a strong feeling that the Indian Government ought to free themselves from direct participation in the growth of opium?—Yes.

1713. I suppose you are aware that the Anti-Opium Society now, does not ask that the Government should abolish its monopoly, and is of opinion that the abolition of the monopoly, and the substitution of an export duty would lead to the largely increased amount of opium sent to China?—I doubt it.

1714. That is the opinion the Society has expressed?—I know, sir, but I do not accept it.

1715. You said that opium smoking is prohibited by a rule of the Church among Christian converts?—Yes.

1716. Is drinking spirits also prohibited?—They never do it; it is done so seldom, that it is not counted; if they did, the same rule would apply to them: but the Chinese do not habitually drink spirits. I have seen drunken men in China, but they do not drink, they are not a drinking people; they do not drink spirits. I would not say that they never do, but it is so seldom, that we never take any particular account of it. I have seen drunken man in China, but very seldom.

1717. In Japan, where the import of opium is prohibited by Government, the drinking of spirits, the same sort of spirit that is used in China, prevails very largely?—Samshee, yes. I believe it does.

1718. And the Japanese Government, as I saw myself when I was there, raises a very heavy revenue from spirits?—Yes.

1719. Do you think it is likely that, if opium smoking were stopped in China, spirit drinking would prevail?—I think not.

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1720. You think if you could stop the opium smoking that the people would be temperate?—I think they would; they are not disposed to drink spirits; they do not favour the doing of it. As to what the actual advantage would be I will not prophesy; but I think that they would not give way to spirit drinking; I think the Chinese would not do it; they are a stalwart, strong people. After the Anglo-Saxon race I believe they come next; they are splendid soldiers; they are of fine physique, and can exhibit a great amount of strength in their ordinary avocations. I like the Chinese people exceedingly; they are a superior race

The witness withdrew.

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DR. GEORGE DODS, called in and examined.

1722. (*Chairman.*) Will you state the positions that you have filled, and the places where you have resided, and the opportunities which you have had of forming a judgment upon the question which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission?—I resided for six years in Canton, and part of the time I had charge of a native hospital. I was 12 years in Hong Kong, and part of the time I had charge of the jail in which there was a large number of Chinese prisoners.

1723. In what service were you engaged; were you under the Government?—No.

1724. In private practice?—Yes, but I was in the Government service when I was attending to the prisoners in Hong Kong prison temporarily.

1725. In the Chinese Government service?—No, Hong Kong; the British Government.

1726. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Can you tell us generally what are the effects of opium smoking upon the population of those places where you resided?—The effects are not at all evident generally.

1727. You have, of course, seen?—I have seen, of course, numbers of opium smokers, and people have been pointed out who were called victims of the habit, emaciated wretches; but in many cases on making inquiry, I found that these people were dying of some disease, and smoked opium to alleviate their pain; but of course, there are other cases in which the constitution was ruined simply from the use of opium, but I consider them very rare.

1728. And did you think that the habit of opium smoking was prevalent in the population, high and low?—To a moderate degree. A great many of the best men smoke opium, the merchants and officials.

1729. Could you say roughly what proportion of the adult males?—No, I could not.

1730. One in ten, for example?—I should not think so many.

1731. Not so many?—I should not think so.

1732. But the great majority of the consumers smoke moderately?—Moderately, yes.

1733. Under the circumstances you did not observe any harm?—No, on the contrary. For instance, some of the very shrewdest merchants in Canton I have known, before they completed a bargain with our English merchants for tea or silk, to ask him to excuse them for a little while they went home to smoke a pipe of opium, and they came back and concluded the bargain. It cleared their brain, and they could do their business much better.

1734. Such persons never went to an opium shop in their lives?—No, they used opium in a moderate degree.

1735. Did you observe that there was a strong tendency to increase the quantity, or that the habit should degenerate into a vice or an excess?—No, I did not observe that. Perhaps when smokers grew very old and had no business to attend to, then probably they increased the quantity of opium, or in the case of men who were ruined they very often became victims to it just as a drunkard does in this country.

1736. Did you observe that it was very difficult for those who had contracted the habit to throw it off if they were willing?—It would depend upon this very greatly; if they had the mind to stop, they used to come to the hospitals to get some sort of cure, as they called it, for the opium smoking, and in many cases they were relieved of the habit. I used to give them stimulants instead of the opium, and in the case of the prisoners in the jail they were not allowed to use opium at all, and a great many of the criminal classes

of men, very different when they become officers of Government; but in their ordinary life they are a noble set of men, and I extremely like them. I like living among them, and I greatly admire them.

1721. It is the general opinion, I believe, in China and Japan that they are much more trustworthy and honest in business, whether as merchants, or as labourers than the Japanese are; have you not heard that?—They are a better people altogether than the Japanese; the Japanese are far below the Chinese in physique, in mental power, in general ability, and certainly in education.

are opium smokers; and I think in only two occasions did I require to give these prisoners a dose of opium after it was once stopped. The cessation of their stimulant did not seem to do them any harm; of course, they were depressed for a day or two, but it never seemed to do them any harm.

1737. You stopped it suddenly?—Yes, suddenly.

1738. Are you speaking of a large number of cases?—Yes, very large. There were 500 or 600 prisoners in that jail, and I should think fully one half of them would be opium smokers. And my own servants also were opium smokers, at least, some of them were; but they rarely smoked except once a month when they got their pay. It was just part of a sort of amusement in which they indulged when they got their pay. They used to smoke once a month, but at no other time.

1739. They went on a sort of spree?—Exactly; it is the accompaniment to a spree in China. When a man gives a dinner to his friends they always finish up with a pipe of opium.

1740. There must be a good many analogies between the opium habit and the alcohol habit?—Yes. In that respect they indulge in it as a sort of luxury; it is only the rich who can afford to indulge in it really. I have seen some of the natives who live in the marshy districts who say that they could not live there without smoking opium, because they always got fever, and they complain of what it costs them to buy the opium.

1741. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I gather you do not agree with Dr. Lockhart in what he has just said. Would you tell us very briefly in what respects you differ?—I did not notice that I disagreed with him very much. If you will tell me on what points you thought we disagreed.

1742. Do you think you substantially agree?—Well, no; not in all that he said.

1743. Perhaps it would take less time than if I were to ask you questions; you heard all he said, will you tell us on what points you did not agree?

1744. (*Chairman.*) Was there any statement made by Dr. Lockhart in which you do not feel inclined to agree?—I agree with him in the main.

1745. On what points do you disagree?—Well, I do not think there are quite so many opium smokers as he mentions, but then, of course, that varies very much in different parts of China; and then again he remarked that there would not be much drinking going on. That may be in the part of China in which he resided, but I have seen a good deal of spirit-drinking going on, especially in Hong Kong.

1746. (*Mr. Wilson.*) When did you leave China?—I left it in 1877.

1747. I thought you would differ a good deal in regard to the number of persons who are suffering from other diseases and who take opium to alleviate them. I gathered that he considered the proportion of opium smokers who did it to alleviate pain was small?—Was small—yes. I agree with him there too. I merely mention that I have seen some cases which might have been pointed out as opium smokers, and which when I inquired I found to take opium to relieve their pain or their cough.

1748. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Did you consider that while you were there the tendency increased—the number of opium smokers increased—I think you were in Canton and Hong Kong 18 years altogether?—Yes. I had no means of knowing that.

1749. It was not sufficient to strike your attention if it was so?—No, certainly not; you can only tell that by the increased consumption.

1750. And could you tell at all as to the proportion of the people who smoke native opium or Indian opium? No, I could not do that either. Of course, in Hong Kong they almost always smoke the foreign drug, and

I agree with Dr. Lockhart in saying that I never heard the Chinese blame the English for introducing the drug. The only people I heard blame the English were the American missionaries.

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The witness withdrew.

Mr. DAVID McLAREN called in and examined.

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1751. (*Chairman.*) I believe you were formerly president of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce?—Yes, for three years.

1752. Am I to understand that in your commercial life you were actively concerned in the trade with China?—No, my lord; not with the direct trade with China. I was engaged all my commercial life in the wholesale tea trade in Scotland; but so far back as 53 years ago—my attention was called to this opium question, because when I was a very young man the tea trade was entirely disorganised by the occurrence of the first war, known as the opium war; and from that time I began to take a very deep interest in it. I should like your Lordship to know that in what I say to-day I do not want to give opinions on the question, but rather to bring forward what facts I have been able to collect, especially from statistics of the trade between India, China, and England.

1753. We shall be happy to receive a general statement from you of your views?—Well, my Lord, if the allegations of the demoralising consequence of the opium indulgence could be proved to a certainty, I should expect to find that the opium trade would not be a profitable trade in the end. I hold that there is nothing more certain, than that a thing cannot be morally wrong and commercially or politically right. I resolved to make an inquiry into the effect of this opium trade on our legitimate trade with China. I do not say that the results which will be brought out are the consequences of the opium trade, but I wish to submit very carefully the figures which I will lay before you. If we saw in a village a public-house, and next door to it a draper's shop, perhaps kept by brothers, and saw the public-house crowded, we would know very well that the draper's shop would come very badly off. Now that is just what I think the figures that I shall bring before you will prove. Perhaps it will be necessary to premise that the trade with China is quite singular in several respects. In the first place, between India and China, it was a monopoly in the hands of the East India Company up to the year 1813; and it was a monopoly between the United Kingdom and China up to 1834, when the East India Company's charter terminated. It is admitted on all hands that the trade has been a most anomalous one; so much so, that 12 years after the termination of the East India Company's charter, a special Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into it. I shall bring before the Commission the result of the inquiry. I have prepared two tables, my Lord, and they will enable you to follow the figures which I give, much more easily. The trade is remarkable for this, that it has been very much affected by changes in the treaty and political relations between the two countries. I do not know that any trade has been so much affected in that way as the China trade has been. Taking the year 1834 as a starting point, the second line on the table before you will show the state of trade between India and China at the time of the expiry of the East India Company's charter. You will see there that the entire export to China in the three years following the expiry of the charter, was 3,014,770*l.*; the average annual export of opium in these years was in round figures, 2,000,000*l.*—1,955,236*l.* are the figures—forming, you will observe, 66 per cent. of the amount of the exports as a whole. Then raw cotton, which was the great export of India to China at that time next to opium, was 878,042*l.*, forming 25 per cent. At the same time you will observe that the imports into this country from China were 3,779,385*l.* almost entirely tea; and the average of the exports of British manufactures at that time—entirely in the hands of the East India Company, was 850,159*l.* I now call your Lordship's attention to the next great change that took place, namely, that which followed what was called the opium war. You will find in the next line, during the years 1837, 1838, and 1839—the three years preceding the opium war—the following statistics: The export from India to China had risen to 4,597,476*l.*, and the opium to 3,209,958*l.*, or 69 per cent.; raw cotton was 1,189,162*l.*, or 25 per cent. I will not call

attention to the other columns till afterwards. Then followed the opium war, terminated by the Treaty of Nankin, which forms a good starting point for comparison. I propose to call the attention of the Commission to the three years preceding the opium war, and the four years following it, to see what the results of the Treaty were. By the Treaty of Nankin there were four other ports in addition to Canton opened to British commerce, notably the port of Shanghai at the mouth of the Yangtse-Kiang, and it was reasonably expected that there would be a very large addition to the commerce of this country with China. That, however, was destined to disappointment. You will observe that there was a very great increase in the imports from China. After the Treaty of Nankin they rose to 5,323,388*l.* The exports to China from the United Kingdom were 1,783,888*l.*, but then the exports of opium from India for the same time were 3,712,920*l.*, or 74 per cent. of the entire amount of the exports from that country. The state of the trade was so bad at that time that the Committee to which I have referred was appointed by the House of Commons. Their report, which was a unanimous one, was to the effect that the result of the extended intercourse with China had by no means realised the just expectations which had been naturally founded on a freer access to "so magnificent a market," as they termed it, and they also reported that in the great proportion of the trade, the losses at that time, taking both ways, might be freely stated at from 35 to 40 per cent.

1754. There had been a considerable increase, had there not, in the exports of British produce and manufactures to China?—Yes; I was coming to that. There was a considerable increase in the amount, but the trade was ruinous. Both cotton and woollen manufactures showed a decline on the years preceding the report of the Committee; and the cause they assigned was the difficulty of providing a return from China. They accordingly recommended a reduction of the duty on tea at the earliest period which might seem fit in the wisdom of the House. It was not till 1853 that the reduction began to take place, and then to only a limited extent. The immediate result was as had been anticipated; the greatly increased importation and consumption of tea. Taking the five years before the committee's report, say 1842–46 after the Treaty of Nankin, the average imports from China to the United Kingdom had been 5,323,388*l.*, whereas in the five years following the reduction of the tea duty they were no less than 9,157,001*l.* or a difference of 3,833,613*l.* of which a considerable part, it is right to say, was due to the importation of silk which at that time was very high in price. But the natural expectation that such a greatly increased import from China would be accompanied by a corresponding increased export to China, as the Committee anticipated was entirely disappointed. The average increase, you will observe, of these years after the reduction of the tea duty was only 180,000*l.*, not one twentieth part of the increase of the imports. The Chinese were paid for these largely increased shipments to Britain by a largely increased export of opium, that increase being more than 2½ millions. If you look at the first column you will see that after the Treaty of Nankin it was 3,712,920*l.* and that after the time of the reduction of the tea duty it had risen to 6,365,319*l.* The export of British manufactures average at that period, you will observe, 1,964,242*l.* That brings us to the year 1857, and there is one incidental fact which I should like to bring before the Commission in that year. In that year—one of those which is embraced in the period before you—there were four countries or rather nations, each of which imported almost the same amount from Great Britain, namely about from 1,400,000*l.* to 1,700,000*l.*; these nations were Chili with a population of 1,400,000, Egypt with 4,000,000, Cuba and Domingo with 4,400,000, and China with 400,000,000, and that, you will observe, was 23 years after free trade with China. This small export to China could not be attributed to foreign competition. In the same period the shipments of British produce and manufactures to all countries had more than doubled, instead

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of the fractional increase of the shipments to China. The next great change which took place in the relations between the two countries was effected by the Treaty of Tientsin, negotiated by Lord Elgin, which followed the second China war. The provisions of that treaty, as the Commission are doubtless aware, were very important. The Yangtse-Kiang was opened, up as far as Hankow; other ports also were opened, and—most important of all—the opium importation was now legalised. Up to that time it had been a smuggling trade. If you will allow me to go back upon the Treaty of Nankin—there was one important thing that I forgot to mention, namely, the ceding of the island of Hong Kong, which was given “for the purpose of careening and refitting ships.” These words were put into the treaty, upon the authority of Mr. Matheson—not the Mr. Matheson who was examined here the other day, but his uncle, of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.—“to pacify the Emperor, who did did not contemplate more than that.” Notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts to get the Chinese Government to legalise the importation of opium, at that time, they determinedly refused, and the trade still remained a contraband one. In the course of time the possession of Hong Kong rendered the “receiving ships,” which Mr. Donald Matheson spoke of here the other day, unnecessary, because “go downs” or warehouses were built in Hong Kong, and it very soon became an enormous depôt of opium; and that, notwithstanding that the Government of Britain had entered into a supplementary treaty, in which they bound themselves to discourage smuggling. That treaty was from the very first a dead letter. I have gone back upon that because it introduces the question of the legalising of the opium trade. The results of that great change will be brought out by contrasting the figures of the five years following with those of the years immediately preceding, of which I have already spoken. The Commission will observe that the results there brought out are, in round figures, an increase in the imports from China to the United Kingdom of 729,000*l.*; the exact figures are 9,886,403*l.*, against 9,157,001*l.*; there is an increase in the exports from the United Kingdom to China of 2,476,160*l.*; but there is an increase of the exports of opium to China of 3,174,892*l.* I cannot tell how the trade with this country was distributed amongst the various Chinese ports; but I shall not be surprised if it be found that there was no great increase, if any, at the port of Canton; not only because the opening of other ports to the north threw it to a disadvantage, but in consequence of the fearful incident, if I might call it so, of the bombardment of Canton for 27 hours, while during that time only two shots were fired from the walls upon our fleet. That you will find, my Lord, in Lord Elgin’s private letters. I cannot too strongly press upon the attention of the Commission the importance of studying that volume of Lord Elgin’s private letters. I have a suspicion that, if one could get access to the originals, the Commission would perhaps find that even more information is to be got there. He says, as regards the origin of the war, “that wretched ‘question of the ‘Arrow’ is a scandal to us. Nothing ‘could be more contemptible than the origin of the ‘existing quarrel. I thought bitterly of those, who for ‘the most selfish objects are trampling under foot ‘the—”

1755. I do not think we want to go any further into the history of the Chinese wars?—I will afterwards—

1756. We have heard very full statements on both sides, and we do not want to pursue that subject further?—Very well, my Lord.

1757. It has really practically nothing to do with the question which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission?—Very good, I was not aware of that. Then the next two lines of the table refer to periods of five years after the Che-foo Convention, and in the last line which I added in writing this morning, you will find the present state of the commercial figures. I ought to say that the statistics of India, are given in parts of two years, whilst the statistics of this country are given from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. The average of the annual exports from India to China during 1888–1891, was 13,956,065 *Rx.* Of these opium was 8,207,818 *Rx.* That was about 58½ per cent. The Commission will note how this per-centage has varied. It is now down to a lower figure than it was 60 years ago. It is now less than 60 per cent. of the whole export from India to China. Raw cotton on the other hand has fallen

from 34 per cent. to 2 per cent., but for a very obvious reason. The people in India are now using their own cotton, and part of the export to China is yarn, which has been manufactured in India. There is another remarkable figure here, the imports from China to the United Kingdom are now down to 6,717,512*l.*, a very great difference. You will observe that from 1878 to 1882 it was more than 12,000,000*l.*, that diminution is consequent upon the smaller importation of tea—the greater part of what is consumed here coming now from India.

1758. India?—Yes. The next figure is a more important one, namely, the average exports of British produce to China. These are now 8,585,911*l.*, and if you will cast your eye to the line above that, you will find that the amount of our export to China is now, off and on, about 8,000,000*l.* It is needless to follow any comparison further in this line, because there are some things that complicate it so much. There is the great increase of the opium growth in China; there is the great increase of the tea imported from India, and there is notably the very rapid falling of the exchange, which make it impossible to institute satisfactory comparisons. But if the Commission will turn to the next table there is something very interesting there. When Lord Elgin went out in 1857, he negotiated two treaties; the one was a treaty with China legalising the importation of opium into that country; the other was a treaty with Japan by which opium was declared to be contraband. That treaty has been most rigorously enforced. There is not an ounce of opium imported into Japan excepting strictly for medicine. They have enforced that in a way that never could have been anticipated. I ought to have said that the United States had made a similar treaty before Lord Elgin went there, so that our policy, which hitherto had been to push the export of opium to Asiatic countries,—for example, notably in Siam,—had to be entirely departed from; and our relations with Japan continue on that footing till this day. Now, we had no intercourse whatever with Japan before that treaty, and if your Lordship will glance at the state of trade, given every four years in succession, the result is very striking. It begins with 1860–63, the average for those years was 481,792*l.*, and it goes on—I need not quote the figures, they are before you—but you will observe it rises steadily until the last four years in the table—where it is 3,707,444*l.*, that is to say, very nearly the half of what we send to China with a population of 400,000,000, while that of Japan is estimated at about 40 millions. Now, as I said, I do not express any opinion; I submit these figures for the Commission to inquire into. I believe it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that the very flourishing state of the trade with Japan, as compared that with China, is due to the absence of the disturbing element of opium. But that is not all—

1759. You yourself desire to draw that inference?—I draw that inference, I may be wrong, but I submit the figures.

1760. It is an opinion?—That is an opinion, but these are facts. I make myself responsible for these figures.

1761. You recognise that Chinese ability to purchase British manufactures and produce has been prejudicially affected, has it not, by the deterioration in the quality of their tea; the Chinese tea has been less in demand in England?—No doubt.

1762. And therefore Chinese ability to buy British manufactures and produce has, to that extent, been impaired?—It has to that extent been impaired.

1763. That is a consideration apart from the opium question altogether, is it not?—Of course, to that extent.

1764. So far as it goes?—Yes, but then on the other hand, they are importing opium very largely from India. If you look back—I forgot to call your Lordship’s attention to the note at the foot of the preceding table—it will be observed there, “The column Total of ‘Exports from India to China includes treasure,’ but that is nothing, no treasure goes immediately to China. “The balance of treasure imported from China to India, “over that exported from India to China, for the thirty “years between 1857 and 1887, was *Rx.* 91,254,274.” Now I am not competent to give an opinion upon the effect of the importation of silver into China upon the exchange—

1765. I am afraid we must not go into that as an opium question?—I say I cannot do it, but that is a fact which surely should be noted in the present state of affairs in India. The immense amount of treasure which has been coming into India from China. But coming back to the Japan table, there is a small column in manuscript you will observe which has much interest, namely, the exports from India to Japan. Not only has our own trade from the United Kingdom to Japan increased to a large extent, but there is a very flourishing trade apparently going on from India to Japan.

1766. In what articles?—Not one ounce of it opium.

1767. No, I know that?—I cannot analyse them very materially.

1768. But it is not a trade in opium, we know that?—No, a considerable proportion, I think, is yarn manufacture.

1769. Probably from the Bombay mills?—From mills in Bombay, yes. I did not take these out, for I had not time to do that this morning, but the last figures I have, I think, are Rs. 1,289,787. They have risen every year from India to Japan; and that is in addition to the 4,000,000, which we send to Japan from this country. I think that the conclusion of the whole matter is, in the pithy words of the Taoutai (chief magistrate) of Shanghai, he said, "Cease sending us so much opium, and we will be able to take your manufactures."

1770. If they spend their money in buying opium, they cannot afford to buy our manufactures?—That is just what he said. I have the Blue Book here, but you will find it in the evidence as given by Mr. Montgomery Martin, the Colonial Treasurer for Hong Kong. That concludes, my Lord, the evidence which I have to give in regard to the trade of this country with China and India. But when the Commission go to India they will have a very important subject to investigate, namely, the effect of the cultivation of opium in India, both economically and morally. I have a table here which is very interesting, giving the number of acres from the year 1848 up to the year 1873, which were set aside in British territory for the growth of the poppy.

1771. We have had that from other witnesses?—Oh, very good; but I do not know if attention was called to this, that it is very singular how the product of an acre of poppy land is diminishing from period to period. The first three years, from 1848 to 1851, which I have here, the product seems to have been 20 lbs. 4 oz. an acre. The next three years I have down here are from 1859 to 1862. I take three years at the beginning of the series, three years in the middle, and three years at the end. From 1859 to 1862 the product seems to have been 15 lbs. 5 ozs. an acre; in 1870 to 1873 it had fallen to 12 lbs. 4 ozs. an acre; and I have a table beyond that, but I have not been able to verify it, though I have it here; therefore I do not wish to give any more than up to the date I have mentioned.

1772. Any information of this kind the Commission will have opportunities of gathering very fully in the course of their local inquiry?—Yes, I merely call the attention of the Commission to it before going out. Well, there is only one other question about that, which I am very anxious to bring before the Commission. There was some doubt expressed as to what had been the nature of the policy of the opium department in India, I think it was Mr. Fenn who said that he had seen something in print which made him think they were willing to take as large a crop as could be got. This is Mr. Wilson's statement of policy in his last Budget speech.

1773. Of what date?—18th February 1860.

1774. That is a long time ago?—Oh, yes. I am not aware, however, that the policy has been departed from. "His Honour pointed out that in Bengal during the last three or four years all the leading crops—wheat, rice, potatoes, and sugar—had increased in price from 70 to 100 per cent., and he urged the necessity of a further rise in the price paid for opium that it might maintain its ground against the other articles. The Government of India have therefore sanctioned a further rise to four rupees per seer, which we hope will have the necessary effect and secure us against a further decline in the cultivation." He says further: "I have no doubt our true policy is to keep up the supply to the full demand and to obtain a moderate price for a large quantity." Those were his words.

1775. Well that was the view of Mr. Wilson who was in charge of the Finance of India more than 30 years ago?—Yes, and I am not aware that it has been changed since.

1776. We shall obtain the latest view in the course of our local inquiry in India?—The only later one that I have is Sir Cecil Beadon. In his evidence before the Indian Finance Committee of the House of Commons—

1777. (Mr. Mowbray.) That, I think, was 22 years ago—1871?—If there has been any change made since then it has not fallen under my notice. I am speaking of the question of policy.

1778. (Chairman.) I think we have had it sufficiently established that the Indian Government recognise that the opium income is an exceedingly precarious source of income, and looking at it purely from a financial point of view their desire is to be entirely independent, or as far as possible independent of their opium revenue?—That is so. That opinion of the precariousness of the opium revenue is as far back as 1831. The Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street warned the Indian Government over and over again about the precarious nature of the opium revenue. The only other point I should like to submit to your Lordship, is this:—I see there have been considerable differences of evidence brought before the Commission on some points, more especially differences in the evidence brought forward by missionaries and that brought forward by other witnesses. Now I have not a single word of reflection against missionaries, but I think it is quite right that the Commission should take note of what the Government officials have to say in this matter and of what the Government itself has said. I may mention first that of the East India Company, to the effect that the Indian Government have always recognised the pernicious character of opium. Lord Cornwallis defended the East India Company's maintaining the monopoly of opium manufacture on the ground of their thereby being able to restrain the consumption of "the pernicious drug." It is specially to be noted that in 1817, the East India Company's directors said, "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; but this being absolutely impossible we can only endeavour to regulate and palliate an evil which cannot be eradicated." And it is a very striking fact that in the last document which was presented by the East India Company to the Government before the sovereignty of India was taken from them, one of their pleas for retaining the sovereignty of India in their hands was that it would enable them to restrain the consumption of so pernicious a drug. That is the statement to the Government of this country. Then the Government officials—I ask the attention of the Commission especially to this evidence—Mr. Majoribanks—

1779. On what date?—I forget the date; it was before the China war. I am speaking now of the testimony as regards the effect of opium which he had seen in Canton. You are aware that the East India Company did not sell opium in Canton, it was sold by private merchants, but Mr. Majoribanks was the president of the East India Company's Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton for the disposal of the Company's property and purchasing teas, and he said:—"Opium can only be regarded, except where used as a medicine, as a pernicious poison. The misery and demoralization caused by it are almost beyond belief. Any man who has witnessed its frightful ravages and demoralizing effects in China must feel deeply on this subject." That is the statement of Mr. Majoribanks. Then I have to the same effect Sir George Staunton.

1780. I think we have had this sufficiently put before us; the opinion of what may be called the early authorities has been very fully set before us?—Yes. Coming down later, then, there is the very decided statement of Sir Thomas Wade, who was here yesterday.

1781. Yes, but we have had his view, both the view he expressed now and his earlier view, both have been set before us?—I observe he attributed his change a good deal—

1782. But we had that very clearly from him yesterday:—He attributed his change of view as to the moral results of opium chiefly to the action of the Anti-

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Opium Association. I need not go further back, but I have the testimony of Mr. Montgomery Martin, and of Governor Pope Hennessy—the one as Treasurer and the other as Governor of Hong Kong.

1,783. We have had so many witnesses who have given us their personal impressions, that I do not think we want to go into evidence at second hand?—Then, there was Mr. Lay also, who has expressed an opinion.

1,784. Well, we have had Mr. Lay here?—Well, he said that this opium trade was ham-stringing the Chinese nation.

1,785. Well, we have heard Mr. Lay himself?—Well, that is what he said before. I think that that may conclude my evidence, unless, by the way, the question has been raised, whether we forced this trade upon China or not, but your Lordship says that that is outside the purview of the Commission.

1,786. We had that very fully yesterday?—Yes, Sometime it is alleged that there is considerable pressure used upon the ryots to grow the poppy.

1,787. Well, we shall hear of that in India?—Yes. Then I would call your Lordship's attention especially to the refusal of the Bombay Government to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy upon the grounds of its demoralising influences. They said if opium cultivation were allowed in Scinde it could not consistently be prohibited in the rest of the Presidency.

1788. That is in the public documents that are before us?—I am not aware. It was my duty to gather up—

1789. My duty is to save the time of the Commission where I know that you are entering upon points that have already been placed before us. We are very much obliged to you for the evidence you have given, and the interesting commercial figures you have prepared.

1790. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Your argument, sir, strikes me as being mainly from an English commercial point of view?—Well, chiefly.

1791. You would destroy an important Indian export trade, but the compensatory profit you expect, I gather, would go mainly to England, in fact, India is your public-house to be put down, and England is your draper's shop?—They are pretty analogous in the present state of exports from the two countries.

1791a. You mentioned that a great export of Indian yarns and piece goods has sprung up from Bombay to China?—Yes, of yarns chiefly.

1792. And it has, I believe, continued to increase, has it not?—I think it has. The last year I saw it had very materially increased. I have got here what is not before you; it may answer your question. In 1883 to 1887 the yearly exports from India to China averaged 13,036,266*l.*, of which opium was 9,770,775*l.*, leaving for all other produce 3,265,491*l.*; but in the last years 1888 to 1891 the average yearly figures are these: exports from India 13,956,065*l.*, and opium 8,207,818*l.*, leaving for all other articles 5,748,247*l.*

1793. That export of Indian yarns and piece goods does not appear in these tables of yours, does it?—No, for this reason, that when the tables were begun there was no such thing; it was raw cotton then that was the export.

1794. Does not the substitution of Bombay yarns and fabrics for British goods in the China market account for some of the decrease or absence of increase of British exports of yarns to China?—I think it might, *pro tanto*, certainly.

1795. Is not the small import of British manufacture to China largely due to the conservative character of the Chinese in matters of dress, food, luxuries, &c., which makes them especially slow amongst all nations in adopting foreign clothes, ornaments, articles of luxury, or of food?—That was not the opinion of the House of Commons. There has been no diversity about that, they say most distinctly in their report that it was not due to any disinclination to purchase English manufactures.

1796. With regard to the contrast between the growth of Japanese trade as compared with China trade, is not the character of the Japanese, at any rate, very different in that respect from that of the Chinese?—I suppose it is.

1797. Did you ever see a Japanese gentleman in England in Japanese costume?—I am not aware that I have.

1798. You do see a Chinaman though?—Oh, yes.

1799. He never wears any other costume than his own native costume?—Oh, they are totally different, I admit that.

1800. The Japanese always used an European umbrella till he began to make them in the European style himself?—Yes.

1801. The Chinaman generally uses a native umbrella?—Yes.

1802. You agree, I understand, with the Anti-Opium Society that on moral grounds the growth of the poppy in India, and the export of Indian opium to China ought to be prohibited?—Yes. I am not alone in that. I think it is prohibited, will you allow me to say, most rigorously at this moment in the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay.

1803. You would stop the growth of the poppy and the export of opium to China?—Of course, if the poppy were prohibited to be grown there would be no export to China of opium; but what I was anxious to call attention to was this: One of the papers which I will put in to-day is the Opium Act of 1878, and the first article on that Act is to the following effect: "The following are prohibited:—(a.) The growth of the poppy" and so forth. You are quite familiar with it. All that is prohibited over the whole of India.

1804. Not the whole of India?—Yes.

1805-6. Not the whole of British India, it is not prohibited in the Punjab for instance?—I know that the Punjab is exceptional, but to read that Act one would not gather that from it.

1807. But do you think that is a bad thing?—Which, the prohibition?

1808. Yes?—A capital thing—all that the Government have to do is just to withdraw the license.

1809. That is, you do agree that it should be prohibited?—Yes.

1810. Tobacco is a poison in the same sense as opium, is it not?—I neither chew tobacco nor smoke tobacco, but—allow me to say—it is a very singular thing that you should mention that—tobacco is entirely prohibited in the British Islands for revenue considerations, for revenue considerations not one leaf of tobacco is allowed to be grown.

1811. Just as opium in Bengal for revenue considerations?—In Bombay you mean.

1812. No, in Bengal?—It is not prohibited in Bengal.

1813. Well, it is exactly the same thing, to keep the whole thing in the hands of Government?—The prohibition in India is in Bombay and Madras for the sake of revenue, and the prohibition of tobacco in this country is for the same reason.

1814. Tobacco you say is a poison?—Yes.

1815. There have been Anti-Tobacco Societies as well as Anti-Opium Societies, have there not?—I am not aware, I am not a member of any such society at any rate.

1816. Have you ever read the account given in proceedings of Anti-Tobacco Societies?—No, I am not conversant with such accounts.

1817. Of the evil effects of tobacco smoking?—I have not read that literature, but I am quite aware that there is not much good comes out of it. I think some of my best friends—I have a very eminent friend, one of the most eminent preachers of the day, and he enjoys his pipe very well, but I think he would be as well without it. But that is a matter of opinion, I am not here for opinions, but to give facts.

1818. I think it may be admitted that excessive tobacco smoking destroys the nerve, involves loss of memory, and loss of mental and bodily energy, and sometimes leads to disease and death; do you not think that may be admitted?—Suppose I admit that, that would be no reason for prohibiting tobacco as compared with opium. If one man comes to that unfortunate end with tobacco, there are 50 or 100 that do so from opium.

1819. At any rate it is a useless and expensive habit, is it not?—I will not pronounce an opinion, I have never tried it, some people think they would be very much the better for it, I should be very sorry to condemn it.



1820. Suppose an anti-tobacco society in Spain, or through the Spanish Cortes, were to propose to force upon the Island of Cuba, which is a Spanish dependency, the prohibition of the growth of tobacco or the export of Havannah cigars to America, would it not be similar to the proposal that England should prohibit the growth of the poppy in India, or the export of Indian opium to China, where the Indian opium, among opium smokers, holds much the same position as Havannah tobacco does among American tobacco smokers?—I cannot say that I see the parallel; but as you mention that, I may just mention I hold in my hand a mercantile opinion on this question. It is not from the Chamber of Commerce of Edinburgh, of which mention has been made—where I presided—but from another and older body, the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, and they say:—

“That while your petitioners are desirous that the principles of free trade, now happily recognised in the legislation of this country, should be maintained in all their integrity, they nevertheless consider that a traffic, the demoralising results of which are “essential to and “inseparable from its existence,” is placed beyond the pale of the operation of these principles. Your petitioners also consider that such a traffic ought not to be made a source of public revenue in any form, but that it ought to be prohibited by every Government, as are other trades which are contrary to the moral sense of mankind.

“May it, therefore, please your honourable House to give your sanction to such measures as shall be necessary effectually to prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium throughout the whole of British India; and also to prohibit its exportation, when grown and manufactured in independent Indian States, from all the British ports in India; and your petitioners will ever pray.

“Signed in name and by appointment of a stated general meeting of the Company of Merchants, held within their hall, Hunter’s Square, Edinburgh, this 7th day of February, in Eighteen hundred and fifty-nine.

“ROBERT CHAMBERS, Master.”

1821. You do not think it is a parallel case?—No. This body many years ago asked the House of Commons to prohibit it under the signature of Robert Chambers, the well-known publisher, who was then Master of the Merchant Company.

1822. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) I suppose with regard to these statistics which you have put in, you would be as ready as anybody to admit that it is very difficult to draw any conclusions as to trade between one country and another, unless you took into consideration the trade with other countries too?—I quite admit that.

1823. That there may be what I should call a three-cornered trade?—There is that here, India, China, England.

1824. Exactly. Then I wanted to draw your attention to some figures which have been laid before us to-day; I wanted to draw your attention to the figures in the line 1842–1846, and the line 1854–1858?—Yes.

1825. You pointed out to us that the export of British goods to China in those two periods shows a very small increase?—Yes.

1826. And you said that that was a very disappointing thing?—It was.

1827. And you also showed us that there was a considerable increase in the export of opium from India to China?—Yes, two and a half millions.

1828. Now, I wish to draw your attention to the figures in the column of the export of British produce to India, which shows a very large increase in those two periods—an increase of 6,000,000*l.*?—Yes.

1829. And also to the very enormously increased imports from China to the United Kingdom, which show an increase of nearly 4,000,000*l.*?—Which year is that.

1830. I am taking the same two periods, 1842–46 and 1854–1858, in your paper?—Yes.

1831. An increase of nearly 4,000,000*l.*?—Yes.

1832. From 5,300,000*l.* odd to 9,100,000*l.*?—Yes.

1833. Well, now I wish to put it to you whether it is not possible that the increase in British trade to China, which might have been expected, went indirectly in an increase in British trade to India, and an increase in the Indian trade of opium to China?—In the first place I said, when I had the honour of being summoned here,

that I am not here to give opinions so much as to present the facts for the Commission to form their own conclusions; but I think there is not the slightest doubt that a large part of the importation of goods from China to this country were paid for by opium from India to China. There is no doubt about that; that is what I want to prove. A man sends home a quantity of tea to this country—10,000*l.* worth—and the importer of the tea, when he finds that he cannot get manufactures to send out, except at a loss, sends an order to India, and opium is sent in payment.

1834. I wish to ask you whether it is not possible that although you do not get the increase directly with China you do get an increase, an increase which here figures as 6,000,000*l.* in the exports in that period to India?—It is very possible; but you will observe that the trade with India has been increasing very steadily all through, and also along with that, the next column—the trade to all countries. If British trade with China has been falling off it is not because we have been losing our ground with other countries.

1835. But that suggestion of mine is a possible interpretation of your figures?—It is well worth consideration.

1836. Then the only other point about your figures I should like to ask you about is that the trade with China, so far as I understand those figures, for the last 15 years has been practically stationary?—Very much so.

1837. But that the export of opium from India to China during the corresponding period has been very largely reduced?—Very largely reduced indeed. Of course the reason for that is obvious. The enormous increase of poppy growth in China.

1838. Still the reduction of the export of opium from India to China has not led to a corresponding increase of direct export from England to China?—No, for this very good reason, that the Chinese were smoking their own opium, and were no more able to buy our manufactures than if they had smoked Indian opium.

1839. Are you of the opinion that if the Indian Government were to prohibit the export of Indian opium, the smoking of native opium would cease?—I think Sir Rutherford Alcock came all the way from Peking to Simla, and expressed his opinion at that time; he said, “There is something at work in the Chinese Government’s mind which makes me persuaded they “would give up their revenue from opium to-morrow “if we would do it.”

1840. The only other point I should like to put to you is that the trade with Japan, which has grown so enormously, according to your figures, in the last 10 years is practically a new trade?—Excuse me, you cannot call it a new trade.

1841. Not perhaps in the last 10 years?—No.

1842. But taking from the original starting of your figures which was 30 years ago?—30 years ago.

1843. Yes?—Why I do not call it a new trade; 30 years ago, as things go now-a-days. We do not call that a new trade.

1844. Japan 30 years ago was a new market?—It was a new market then, yes.

1845. And would you not naturally expect that trade, with an entirely new market in the first 30 years for which that market was open, would increase in a larger ratio than with a country which had previously been open?—I should think it would increase in a larger ratio, certainly for the first 8 or 10 years; but that will not account for the contrast when you come up 20 or 30 years. May I say about that that the increase with Japan has been a very steady increase. My tables do not give the figures for last year; but the Blue Books show that the trade with Japan has not increased in the last year. That can be seen by looking at the Blue Book; but however that may be, there is a very remarkable increase, you will observe, of the trade to India, in this last table, which you are now examining me upon. The periods are different from those in the previous table. They are the regular averages of every consecutive four years from 1860, and to begin with they are 19,000,000 in the first four years, and when we come up to the last they are 35,500,000. So that our trade with India has very steadily increased.

1846. Has nearly doubled?—Well, not quite; roughly speaking.

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1847. If we were to take the same figures with regard to China, I think you will find the figures have very nearly doubled too?—Yes.

1848. I admit they are much smaller?—Yes, but what were they when they began? If they begin small they will very soon double.

1849. (Mr. Wilson.) The general purport of your evidence is, it would appear from figures which you have put before us, that in your opinion if the opium trade with China were to cease, we might expect a considerable increase of British exports to China?—I have very little doubt of it.

1850. That would be a gain to England; would not that be a serious financial loss to India?—If no substitute could be got, it would; but I do not think it follows of necessity that the only resource of India in reserve is in opium. I may mention I spoke about the acreage which is given to poppy. I speak under the correction of gentlemen who know better than I do,—poppy land is generally the very best land, and the best irrigated land. An acre of such land, according to the opinion of an eminent agriculturist in Scotland, of whom I inquired, would produce about 1 ton of wheat or 7 tons of potatoes, instead of which it produces 12 lbs. 4 oz. of opium, if so much now. I cannot help thinking that there is surely some room for development there of what would be a material benefit both to the people of India and to the revenue.

1851. I think reference was made to some trade in cotton to China; is there any trade in manufactured cotton from India to China now?—Manufactured cotton?

1852. Yes?—Yes, there is some now—not so much as of yarn twist.

1853. Yarn?—Yes.

1854. Would you think it at all likely that that would increase to any substantial extent?—I am not at all an authority on that subject. I have not been in India or China, nor have I been in that trade. I hand those figures to the Commission for their examination.

1855. (Chairman.) Mr. McLaren, summing up your evidence as given us, does it come to this, that appearing before us as a commercial man you have wished to press upon the Commission that it is advantageous to British commercial interests to prohibit the export of opium from India to China?—That is it.

1856. And has it not been your contention that, if China spent less on the purchase of opium from India, she might possibly be able to buy British manufactures more freely?—I said I would not express an opinion, but really I think that is self-evident.

1857. That is your view of it?—Yes.

1858. Then you have called attention to the stationary condition of the export trade in British manufactures to China, and you have compared it with the more progressive condition of our export trade to Japan?—Yes.

1859. China being a country which takes opium largely, and Japan being a country which refuses to import opium?—In which it is contraband altogether.

1860. I think you have said that in your opinion the ability of China to pay for British goods has been prejudicially affected by the large expenditure by China in the purchase of Indian opium?—That is my own opinion.

1861. That is your view, is it not?—But it is also the opinion of Chinese statesmen. I quoted the Taoutai, of Shanghai, who summed it up in the pithy saying, “Cease sending us your opium, and we will be able to buy your manufactures.”

1862. I think, to conclude, you have also admitted yourself that it may be the case that China has become less able to pay for British goods because Chinese teas have deteriorated in quality, and Indian tea has become more popular in the British market?—Quite so.

The witness withdrew after putting in the following Tables, which are printed as part of his evidence:—

[Trade Statistics (Tables I. and II.) submitted by Mr. David McLaren to the Commission, and cited repeatedly in his evidence given above].

L.

STATISTICS OF TRADE BETWEEN INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN, and the UNITED KINGDOM.

Period.	Average Annual Exports from India to China.					Average Annual Imports; China to United Kingdom.	Average Annual Exports of British produce and manufactures to			Period.
	Opium.	Per cent.	Cotton.	Per cent.	Total.		China.	India.	All Countries.	
1821-25. (Statistics imperfect at this period.)	Rx. 1,058,252 (This for year 1827.)	54	Rx. 670,455 (This for year 1825.)	34	Rx. 1,39,000	£ 3,082,109	£ 610,637	£ 5,662,012 (This for year 1827.)	—	1821-25
1831-35. East India Company Monopoly expired 1834.	1,955,236	66	878,042	25	3,011,770	3,779,385	850,159	2,877,881	—	1831-35
1837-39. Preceding the Opium War.	3,200,958	69	1,189,162	25	4,797,176	4,273,858	911,560	1,070,250	44,782,320	1837-39
1842-46. After Treaty of Nankin.	3,712,920	71	1,097,577	21	5,013,159	5,323,388	1,783,888	6,841,661	53,997,893	1842-46
1854-58. Preceding the second China War.	6,365,919	72	673,537	9	7,337,234	9,157,001	1,961,242	12,824,921	109,471,924	1854-58
1859-62. After Treaty of Tientsin.	9,510,211	87	1,068,715	9	10,371,650	9,886,403	4,410,102	18,857,904	128,856,683	1859-62
1878-82. Under Chefoo Convention.	11,909,815	81	811,461	5	14,162,788	12,662,927	8,051,823	29,697,715	216,586,191	1878-82
1883-87.	9,770,775	75	627,572	4	13,036,266	9,951,754	7,956,183	33,807,300	224,913,231	1883-87
1888-91.	8,207,818	58½	325,318	2	13,956,065	6,717,512	8,585,911	32,078,182	248,558,960	1888-91

N.B.—“Rx” is the sign for 10 rupees, formerly equivalent to 1l. or nearly so, before the fall in exchange. The column Total of exports from India to China includes Treasure. The balance of Treasure imported from China to India, over that exported from India to China, for the 39 years between 1857 and 1887, was Rx 91,254,271. The returns consulted do not give Treasure statistics of an earlier date. The foregoing table is compiled for the first four columns from a continuous series of returns, “India and China (Exports and Imports)” 39, Session 2—1859: 347—1871: and 224—1888. The averages in the remaining columns are compiled from the abstracts of the Board of Trade Returns—in the greater part of the Table, from the abstracts given in Oliver and Boyd’s Almanac; in the remainder from the official returns.

II.

STATISTICS OF INDIA EXPORTS TO JAPAN and of BRITISH EXPORTS TO JAPAN, CHINA, and INDIA.

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Annual Export of Indian Produce and Manufactures to Japan from 1855-6 to 1891-2.		Export of British Manufactures and Produce in Periods of Four Years consecutively from 1860 to 1891.			
Years.	Rx.	Average of Years.	Japan.	China.	India, including Strait Settlements and Ceylon.*
1885-6	273,504	1860-63	£ 481,792	£ 4,298,490	£ 19,015,796
1886-7	374,089	1864-67 - -	1,298,713	6,202,285	22,518,137
1887-8	711,994	1868-71 - -	1,436,337	9,108,834	21,790,747
1888-9	1,035,305	1872-75 - -	1,846,177	8,680,557	25,411,503
1889-90	1,218,998	1876-79 - -	2,372,364	7,452,775	26,037,020
1890-91 -	1,210,276	1880-83 - -	2,627,812	8,295,891	33,417,794
1891-92	1,289,787	1884-87 - -	2,509,236	8,166,521	33,453,342
		1888-91 - -	3,797,444	8,585,911	35,517,083

\* It will be observed that in this Table the column for "India" includes the Strait Settlements and Ceylon; in the other Table, India only is included under that heading. Hence the difference in the figures in the last line of that column in the two Tables.

Rev. T. G. SELBY called in and examined.

1853. (Chairman.) You have been a missionary in China in connexion with the Wesleyan Mission?—Yes, I was 12 years in the interior of China.

1864. I believe you have published a pamphlet on the subject which has been referred to the consideration of this Commission?—Yes, your Lordship.

1865. Will you briefly state to us what are the points that you wish to put before the Commission?—I have read carefully through the evidence given by the missionaries who have spoken; I do not wish to go over the same ground again.

1866. Thank you; we are obliged to limit repetitions?—I am in almost complete agreement, and I believe that evidence is very conscientious and very carefully sifted.

1867. I should like to ask you one question which you have suggested. Can you give us any explanation of the conflicting accounts which have been given by European residents in China as to the effects of opium smoking?—I think that the missionaries come into contact with very much larger numbers of the Chinese people. If I may be allowed to take my own experience as an illustration, I have addressed 100 or 200 Chinamen every day for 12 years, and the pew in China has perfect liberty of reply. Very long discussions always follow the addresses given in mission halls, and we get at a very wide area of Chinese opinion in this way. Some of the officials of the British Government in the different parts of China, whilst they are admirable Chinese scholars, do not speak the local dialects. They get their information at second hand; we get ours at direct hand from the Chinese masses themselves, and I think that the judgment of the missionaries represents a very much wider observation of Chinese life than is possible even to merchants or to consular officials.

1868. How many years were you in China?—12 years, your Lordship.

1869. What parts of China have you resided in?—In the Canton Province, in the town of Fatshan for seven years, and in the city of Shiu-Chau-Foo, on the Canton North River, for four or five years.

1870. You have been kind enough to place upon each of our desks a pamphlet, entitled "The Poppy Harvest. A Study of Anglo-Indian Ethics"?—Yes.

1871. I presume that that pamphlet represents your deliberate views on this question?—Certainly.

1872. I will promise faithfully to read the pamphlet?—Thank you.

1873. I have no doubt my colleagues will be equally prepared to give it their attention. And may we take it that that pamphlet is a complete general summary of the results which you have arrived at from your con-

siderable experience in China?—Certainly. I can sustain it by further evidence if it is wished for on any of these points.

1874. Well, we have been hearing, of course, as you know during several long days, important evidence on this subject, and, as you have said, it is very valuable to hear from you that you in a general sense confirm what has been stated to us on this subject by the missionaries who have been examined. I do not think it will advance the case if I ask you to repeat what you have already, in the general statement that you have made, confirmed?—Certainly.

1875. (Mr. Pease.) How far do you think these pictures represent current public opinion upon the opium question in China?—They are drawn from Chinese sources entirely; the colouring only is English. I have met with them distributed through every part of the Canton Province; in some parts of the Kwang-si Province as well. I think that they very fairly reflect the average opinion of the Chinese themselves upon the subject.

1876. (Mr. Wilson.) I think you said in your opening sentence that you agreed in almost every particular with the evidence which has previously been given here by other missionaries?—Yes.

1877. Are there any points upon which you do not agree; that you would like to qualify at all?—No, I do not know that there are. The guesses at the percentages of smokers were, of course, very vague. I did form an estimate once of the per-centage of the smokers and of the per-centage of the mortality amongst the smokers through opium smoking. It was by a rough and ready method. I sent my teacher round to every opium shop in the city of Shiu-Chau-Foo. I collected from each proprietor statistics of amounts sold each day. The Chinese opium smoker generally buys twice a day because there is a morning and evening boiling of the opium, and my conclusion was, taking the use of an ounce of opium as the line at which it was almost sure to become fatal in the course of a few years, that the opium we supplied to the Chinese cost China at the very lowest estimate half to three-quarters of a million lives every year, besides, of course, the Chinese who were demoralised, and the women and children who suffered through the opium debauchery of the head of the household.

1878. (Sir W. Roberts.) How did you arrive at the conclusion that the amount of opium supplied through India was responsible for the loss, I think you said of three-quarters of a million lives?—I got out tables of the amounts consumed by certain numbers of opium smokers, and then where the ounce was consumed daily, I took that as a proof of the fact that it would

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probably prove fatal in the course of a few years, and then I compared that with the total import of Indian opium into China.

1879. And was your assumption, as it were, that this ounce would be given daily to each man?—To one smoker, I presume.

1880. At a single dose?—Well, it would be smoked in the course of the day. I have known exceptional cases where Chinamen have smoked two or three ounces a day. I know the case of one of the Chinese officials who had servants standing by his bedside getting his pipes ready the whole of the day. Of course these are very extraordinary cases, and opium smoking very often proves fatal at a much earlier period than that, in fact, comparatively small doses in some cases prove very debilitating, and at times fatal. The temperament of the smoker has to be taken into account, the occupation, the food, and many other things.

The witness withdrew.

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Deputy-Surgeon-General W. P. PARTRIDGE called in and examined.

1884. (*Chairman.*) Will you state to us what means you have had from your previous experience of forming a judgment upon the matters which have been referred to this Commission?—I am a Deputy Surgeon-General in the Bombay Army, and I have served there for 30 years from 1855 to 1885. I have been in charge of two gaols in Bombay for 14 years, and also I have had charge of civil surgeoncies in different places in Gujerat and Bombay and Upper Sind. I have been once to Hong Kong; that was only on sick leave.

1885. So that you are in a position to have formed an opinion—a professional opinion—as to the effect of the consumption of opium upon those who resort to the practice?—Yes.

1886. Well, will you sum up in a general statement the conclusions at which you have arrived?—The first point I want to bring before the Commission is with regard to opium being a harmless thing, as it has been represented by Sir George Birdwood and others. Sir George argued that men became ill from debauchery and from rheumatism and various illnesses, and that they took opium as a palliative; that that was the reason why the opium dens were filled; and that opium in that sense became a blessing rather than a curse. He argued that the burning of the opium destroyed its powers of intoxication to a great extent. To show that that is a mistake, I just mention what I know to be the case in some of the low huts where opium is smoked by the father of a family, when he goes away for a week the children become restless and fretful, and do not know what is the matter; this shows that the mere fumes in the place have a direct effect upon the children while they are there.

1887. (*Mr. Pease.*) Is this effect not produced as long as the smoking is continued?—No as long as the children get their stimulant, they are soothed and quiet, but directly the father goes away for a time, they miss it, and they do not know what it is they miss.

1888. Then the children have been the consumers, as well as the parents?—Through the smoke—of course. Sir George Birdwood says that opium-smoking is as innocuous as smoking hay, and he re-affirmed that here, that it was absolutely innocent. Well, if that was the case, it would be absolutely impossible to do any harm by smoking to excess. There can be no doubt that there is ample evidence that you can smoke to excess, so of course that statement cannot hold water. Then with regard to the opium dens, in Bombay, I only can meet a theory with facts. It is said that simply the low people who commit crimes and so on are found there. Well, that is, to a certain extent, true, and it is also true that people—and a great many people—found in the dens have taken to it for rheumatism and pain, and thus acquired the habit. But I want just to show—I will only mention the cases in a few words, on account of the lateness of the time—I want to show from positive evidence, that a great many of the people who are found in the dens do not come from sickness or anything of the kind. The evidence that I want to lay before you is derived from the personal knowledge of a lady, Miss Sunderbai Powar, who has been lately in England lecturing about opium. That lady is a Christian, she was of high caste Brahmin parentage, and she was one

1881. I think you are not a medical man, are you?—I am not, sir.

1882. Then you do not agree in the evidence we have had from medical men who have appeared before us, some of them, that the opium habit had very little effect on the mortality rate in China?—Well, take the evidence of Hong Kong where the deaths are registered. There is not the certificate of a qualified English doctor. I assume that the word of the native practitioner is taken upon a question of that sort. And then in a colony like Hong Kong, where you have a floating population, those who become incapacitated from opium naturally go back to their homes, and the men in the full vigour of their power are kept there.

1883. Then your impression is that the opium habit in the districts that you have known had an unfavourable effect upon the general health of the population?—Certainly; and I have seen opium smokers die almost at my feet.

of the first seven pupils in the normal school which my wife started in Bombay.

1889. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) I suppose you know, sir, that the dens are abolished, I mean if the argument is in favour of the abolition of the dens, it is hardly worth while going on with it?—I am not referring now to the abolition of the dens, but to the kind of people who are found there. I have known Miss Sunderbai Powar for 14 or 15 years, at any rate, so I can absolutely rely upon her statements. She mentions a case here of one of her own relatives, who was very rich, and some years ago he took to smoking opium. The consequence was, that he sold and lost everything, and has sunk so low that he beats his wife nearly every day; he is a mere skeleton in appearance.

1890. I think we all admit that a large proportion of people who take opium take it to excess, and that a good many take it merely for intoxication. I do not suppose you would deny that some of these have taken to opium because they have been previously diseased?—I said that some do because they are previously diseased, but I want to show, by actual cases, that there are a great many miserable emaciated creatures who were not diseased at all, but were strong, well, and healthy, when they commenced the habit.

1891. I think that is admitted?—Of course the time is very short. If you will allow me to put in these papers, and read them for yourselves, I shall be very glad to do so.

1892. (*Chairman.*) Just give us the points that you want to insist upon?—I want to show case after case of actual people who we know were brought down to this degraded condition, simply through taking opium. Here is one case from the "Bombay Guardian" of August 5th, 1893, of a lad, stated to be "the only son of a horse merchant. The father was sufficiently wealthy to spend ten thousand rupees on the wedding of his son, when, according to custom, the latter was married while a little boy. Unfortunately for the child his father had a quarrel with his partner in business. The partner, to revenge himself, bribed the servant, who had control of the boy, to give his young charge, regularly, sweetmeats mixed with opium. There was no difficulty in carrying out the wicked design. Very soon the opium crave began. When the parents discovered it, they were alarmed, and tried to rescue their boy from the imperious habit, but to no purpose. At last, he ran away from home, never communicating with his parents and young wife, and when the photograph that we reproduce was taken, he was a confirmed frequenter of opium dens in Bombay, wrecked body and soul by opium, albeit for that reason a valuable contributor to the Government revenue."

1893. We may take it from you that cases that answered to that description are numerous?—These are positive facts, not mere theories.

1894-5. That there are many people whom you could individually name, and that other witnesses from their experience could individually name, who have been brought to a state of degradation by the excessive use of opium. That is your testimony, and we accept it?—Yes; many who became what we find them, from opium smoking and not from sickness.

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1896. It is established, I think, to the satisfaction of every member of the Commission that such cases are unhappily numerous?—Yes; well my opinion about the opium eating, and smoking, and drinking is that it is a vice, that it injures the health, and that it degrades, as all vices do, the moral nature of those who indulge in it, only to a greater degree than other vices; and that it is far more detrimental than alcohol, bad as that is; that the opium crave soon overcomes habitual opium takers, whether they consume much or little, and that it cannot be overcome except by the grace of God. That opium takers are conscious of their degradation and bewail it, but cannot, unaided, leave off the habit. We know this from the fact that we have had petitions for the abolition of the opium trade sent in by the frequenters of the opium dens themselves. That the manufacture and sale of opium, except as a medicine, is a great sin. I just want to emphasise that the Government of India sends out annually to China, say, 80,000 chests, or 5,000 tons of opium or 78,400,000,000 grains; 4 grains would kill a man if he is not accustomed to take it, and, therefore, we send, simply for the sake of revenue, to China every year as much as would kill 19,600,000,000 of people.

1897. (Sir W. Roberts.) Are you aware that a similar calculation, or an analogous calculation, with regard to the salt that we take would bring out the same astounding sort of conclusion?—No, I not know anything about salt.

1898. In this way, that about 1 lb. of salt is a fatal dose?—Yes.

1899. But people in the course of a year take about 12 lbs. of salt; the salt that you take would kill you 12 times over in a year. Such a calculation as that is not of much value?—Supposing that is so—well it is a fact that so much poison is sent out.

1900. It applies to salt in the same way?—Very well. Here is some testimony up to the date of 31st July 1893, about the closing of those opium dens, which Sir James Lyall was speaking about. They were closed for smoking only, of course, and we know that a private and confidential circular was sent by the Commissioner North-West Provinces to all Commissioners and collectors North-West Provinces and Oudh, to tell them that there was nothing illegal in opening an opium den next door and providing pipes, so that in other words, though they must not smoke opium in the dens, they might smoke it next door. When that was known in Bombay the people—

1901. (Chairman.) You say that confidential circulars have been issued by the Government of the North-West Provinces in that sense?—I will show you the date—the circular was issued on the 26th July 1892; “by the Government order of the 25th September 1891, the Viceroy ordered that in future in all provinces of British India clauses should be inserted in opium licences prohibiting the smoking or consumption of opium, and its preparation in any other form on the premises”; that is Resolution, No. 4,033, the object being *apparently* to reduce the evil to a minimum by giving no facilities for its consumption on licensed premises. Then Mr. Stoker, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Excise for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, issued the following circular:—

“To all Commissioners and Collectors.

“N.W. Prov. and Oudh,

“SIR, 26th July 1892.  
“You are already aware that henceforth the Chaudu and Madak smoking is absolutely prohibited on the premises licensed for the sale of the drug. It is impossible to doubt that this prohibition will be followed by the opening in many places of unlicensed places of resort where smokers can obtain the facilities which they require, and that such places will have to be kept under observation both for general reasons and also with a view to prevent the use of illicit opium. As the law now stands the authorities have no power to suppress consumption on premises where opium or its preparations are not sold. There is nothing in the law to prevent anyone opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium smokers, who bring their own chandu. He can supply lamps and service and charge a fee for their use, and the law cannot touch him! Unless he is detected selling opium or its preparations, or found in possession of more than legal quantity. On this point the opinion of the Board of Revenue is, that it is not altogether advisable that such places should be suppressed. Collectors should watch such establishments carefully so as to prevent the sale of illicit opium. The

known conditions of chandu smoking render the maintenance of some common place for the consumption of the drug an almost absolute necessity. No effort should be made to suppress such places as it is better that they should be known and thus liable to supervision.”

That was a private and confidential circular issued by Mr. Stoker. Mr. Caine, M.P., brought it out, and it has been ordered to be withdrawn, but the mischief of course is done; they can sell opium in the licensed shops, and open any number of dens elsewhere.

1902. (Sir J. Lyall.) Is it not a fact that they could not be suppressed. Is not that statement of the law correct. “There is nothing in the law to prevent anyone opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium smokers who bring their own chandu”?—The opium dens are practically not closed—

1903. What Government formerly did was to give the licence to a man to keep an opium shop open for opium smoking?—Yes, selling and smoking.

1904. And of course he was a vendor; he had a large amount of opium, or he had also a licence to manufacture the crude opium into smoking opium?—Yes.

1905. Well, that was done away with. I myself proposed it first, as long ago as 1883, as Financial Commissioner to the Punjab. It began to be done away within the Punjab the following year, and a long time afterwards, in 1891, it was generally prohibited. But that circular says that there is no law to prevent men clubbing together, having got the amount of opium they can get from the licensed vendor, resorting to some other room, and either themselves boiling their opium or using a common servant to boil the opium, and then smoking it there. Unless you can prove that there is some man who keeps a shop and sells opium himself to other people, the law does not enable you to prohibit, but that is all that the circular says after all?—Mr. Stoker circulates the information for the benefit of those people who might think that they must stop.

1906. Not for the benefit of those people, but a confidential circular addressed to the officials to tell them how far they can go?—Yes, these men know he may do that.

1907. A man does not know it. The question is whether the police shall interfere with these people or not, or whether the Revenue officials should do so. He says you must look out and see whether this man sells opium in an illicit way?—Yes.

1908. But there is no law to prevent it?—There is no law to prevent them opening smoking dens. Many of these poor men have no pipes, and smoking would be prohibited if there were no dens.

1909. There is no law prohibiting the use of a pipe unfortunately. That circular is only a statement of fact?—It is only a statement; it is only a circular.

1910. You admit there was nothing wrong in the circular?—No. It was a decided hint to them to explain to these people that they might sell it for the purpose of smoking.

1911. It was not addressed to them, it was addressed merely to the officials?—To the officials.

1912. I believe the reason it was confidential—I do not know anything about it—was that it should not be said that they suggested it. If printed as a public circular, it would have been in the possession of all opium vendors as all circulars relating to their trade are, and then it would have proved a direct incitement no doubt, but being confidential that could not be said.

1913. (Chairman.) It was an instruction to the officials confidentially to tell them how far they might go in interfering themselves.

1914. (Mr. Mowbray.) It has as a matter of fact been withdrawn as “being capable of misinterpretation,” I think that was the language of the Government of India?—Yes, it was withdrawn when it became public.

1915. (Chairman.) I think that is all we need have on that point?—That was merely introductory to the evidence of two men. I will just give what they said on this very point. One of the dens in Bombay was visited, and they knew it was going to be closed, in fact, while it was being visited, this den was closed. When the men who were smoking were asked whether they were glad or sorry that the opium den was closed, there were only two who were sorry, and they said that they were so because they thought they would suffer so much pain on giving it up. Other groups were questioned, and they all agreed that it was a good thing to



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close the shops for smoking. One said, "Curse it, curse the opium, it has shattered my body. Once I was strong enough to wrestle with 10 men, but now look at me now; a child can push me down." Another said, "Look at me, I am ruined and poor, and nearly dead, but what is done is done and cannot be helped. For 30 years I have been a slave to this habit, and it has eaten my strength away, dried up my blood, and deadened my senses. For every 4 pice (1*d.*) I spend for food, I spend 4 annas (4*d.*) for opium. We are ruined, and soon may die and now the dens are closed there is hope for the children." That is just simply the testimony of two of the men, on the 31st of July last.

1916. (*Sir J. Lyllyall.*) What is this intended to prove; that the dens should be closed?—To show that the men themselves hated them.

1917. But the dens are closed?—They are closed for smoking only. It is said that they do not demoralise people; I have got in my mind, now, a lady, highly refined, educated, and polished, in England, a personal friend of mine—whom I know perfectly well. She took to opium in the form of chlorodyne, and she became filthy dirty, shut herself up in her room, would not wash herself, or do anything; she was deceitful and untruthful, and she became more like a beast than a woman. That was not from any previous disease at all, but simply from the habit.

1918. (*Chairman.*) That is a case establishing your general proposition, which we fully accept, that the cases are numerous in which people are grievously deteriorated by the excessive use of opium?—Like Dr. Heron and Neil, and some other murderers, who were all opium eaters. Well, I need not show that. Then a good deal has been said about opium eaters often being healthy men. Supposing that were so, I do not see that that alters the case at all. A vice is just as much a vice in a fat man as in a thin man. I do not see that that makes any difference at all, if the thing is a vice. It has been conclusively proved to my mind that opium renders a man insensible to ties of affection; renders him intensely selfish, so that he does not care about his wife or his children, or his family, or anything else; so it must be a vice and nothing but a vice. Sir William Moore praised opium because it enabled a Rajput gentleman to go a long journey, and the camelmen to endure privation, and to do with less food, and so on. All these effects we perfectly admit—I do at least. I know that in Upper Sind they have got little hardy mares that will travel 60 miles on a stretch straight on, and they have got a lump of opium round their bits; that is the way they enable these little mares to travel so far, and in the recent long-distance ride in Germany they injected morphia under the horse's skin to enable them to go. We admit all these facts. If I was in the mutiny and I was obliged to run whether I could help it or not, I would take any stimulant that I had, but these are merely exceptional cases, and it is not fair to take them as instances. I have ridden 40 miles in one night on a camel without any "stirrup cup" at all; I had nothing but a lot of dirty water out a camel's muzzel to take on a hot Sind night, therefore I think Sir William Moore's Rajput gentleman could have done just the same without his opium drink. But it seems to me that the fallacy of all this that has been said by pro-opiumists about men being bright, clever, intelligent, and so on, all lies in this one point, that they are looked upon only while they are under the influence of opium. Everybody is bright; there is no doubt that up to a certain extent he may be while he is being stimulated. I think the strongest point that pro-opiumists have made for us was what Sir John Strachey said the other day, that the Sikhs could not go to war without a supply of opium. A man is all very well, while he is in camp; I have had Sikhs in some of the regiments I have been with; they are all right, but if you go on service and they cannot get their opium, they are done for.

1919. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) That is the same with daily meals?—Precisely, but you provide for daily meals; you do not provide opium, at least the Government does not. That is all I wish to say on the first subject. A good many points that tell in our favour have been admitted by the pro-opiumists. Then I wanted to say a word on another subject if you will allow me. Dr. Mouat said that opium does not swell the number of patients in hospitals. Of course, I have had charge of lots of hospitals in the last 30 years, and I have had charge of jails also. Dr. Mouat says that in the

statistics that he took in 1841-47 in Calcutta, out of 56,392 patients admitted into hospital, "not a single case of disease or death attributable to opium was found." Directly I heard that, I said "Why, there is not the slightest difficulty in explaining this." We have to send in Government Returns of the sick people under certain printed heads. Amongst these there are "diseases of the brain," "diseases of the spinal cord," "diseases of the respiratory organs," &c. There is a column for "alcoholism," there is no column for opium at all, and therefore a man who comes in with disease of any kind, dysentery or diarrhoea, caused by opium, is not put down as an opium patient, but is put down as a man with dysentery or diarrhoea. Dr. Mouat ought to have said "attributed" and not "attributable." Then Dr. Sir George Birdwood, I think, and Dr. Mouat and several others, if I remember right, said that there were no deaths from opium, that opium did not cause death. Well, if there were great neglect of sanitary arrangements in a street, and a man died of typhoid fever, if that man was put down in the Return as having died of typhoid fever, would it be true to say that he *did not die* of neglect of sanitary arrangements; and opium causes conditions of body in which certain diseases set in, and therefore it is not right to say that opium is not the cause of the death.

1920. You would call it a pre-disposing cause, would you not?—Just as the neglect of sanitary arrangements is a pre-disposing cause of typhoid fever—exactly the same thing, and that seems to me a very simple thing. Then Dr. Mouat said that opium does not fill our jails with criminals. Well, I have had charge of the "House of Correction" and the common jail in Bombay for 14 years, and I have always had people suffering from opium in the jails—a perfect nuisance they are; but, of course, when an opium eater steals money or clothes or any thing else to satisfy his craving it stands to sense that he is not put down as "opium eater," he is put down as "thief," and that is simply and solely the reason you have no returns in jails of opium criminals. I have always had the greatest trouble with those opium prisoners. They have to be examined most carefully; they conceal opium in their hair, in their mouths, under their nails, under their armpits, between their legs, and in all kinds of possible, and almost impossible, places. You have to search them all over. There was one man who pretended to have a great gumbel, and would not open his mouth. I insisted on opening it, and a great piece of opium came out. And then, besides that, there is no difficulty in an opium eater having a friend outside getting opium in the jail. I do not say anything about bribing the warders—that is done sometimes—but at a pre-concerted signal their friends throw it over the wall. It is in such a little quantity that they can easily get it. I have always stopped liquor entirely, even in cases of *delirium tremens*, and I have never been afraid of any bad effects from doing so; but I have been absolutely afraid to stop opium. I was afraid of the men killing themselves. If you stop the opium they howl all night. One witness said that he had never heard a man howling, but it is quite common. Of course, I am speaking of habitual opium eaters. A man will keep all the other prisoners awake at night with howling if you stop his opium. I have been obliged to give them a little opium from time to time. I always gave so little that they were not, of course, in the least bit satisfied with it, but I dared not stop it altogether. You cannot get any work out of these men; they are not fit for anything. Dr. C. Valentin, President of the Medical Training Institute, Agra, is not able to come here now, but you may see him in Agra, in India. He gives a testimony which will be important. He says: "25 years ago I made this matter a special study in the central prison of Jeypur. There were from 800 to 900 prisoners, more than three-quarters of whom used opium, and quite half of them to excess. I had ample opportunities of studying its effects upon their moral and physical nature." This is not according to my experience, because we got the wretched miserable Hindoos in Bombay, but he is among the Rajputs. "Quite one-half of the violent forms of crime was committed under the effects of opium. With a plug of opium in his mouth a Rajput was ready to burn a village, loot a mail cart, cut a person down with a sword, cut off a woman's nose, or throw a child into a well. In the first or second stage of the action of the drug the opium eater was fit for any form of mischief. When the third stage has set in he was useless—a maudlin idiot. When the effect had passed off the opium eater was miserable and unable for

"mental or physical exertion. I have never known an instance of a confirmed opium eater voluntarily laying aside the habit." This can be confirmed by Dr. Valentine on the spot. So much with reference to prisons.

1921. (*Chairman.*) We must confine ourselves as far as possible at this late stage of our English inquiry to evidence at first hand?—The next point is, "Do you consider that opium is a prophylactic against fever." There is one authority, just to mention it in two words, Dr. Morrison, the medical missionary at Rampore Bauleah, Bengal. He has treated from 6,000 to 10,000 patients annually for 15 years, and though 80 per cent. suffered from malaria he never heard one native hint that opium prevented fever. That is my experience too. For 30 years I have been in India. I have been in malarious places. I have been in Gujerat, North Sind, and so on, but I have never once been asked by any native for opium as an antidote for fever; they never hinted at such a thing, and I do not believe that any of the natives use it as a prophylactic for fever. I should like to say one word about the children.

1922 We shall be glad to hear that?—In the petition sent to the House of Commons by 48 native medical men in Bombay—this is a copy of it; I bring it because there is a picture of two of the leading medical men in Bombay upon it, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang and Dr. R. N. Khory. It is stated in the 5th paragraph "That your petitioners also desire to draw your attention to the great harm which results from the practice of giving opium in the form of a small pill to children. This is done by parents to save themselves trouble, but the evils that spring from the practice are of a serious nature. Numerous cases of opium poisoning arise from it, many of which end fatally." And yet we find that Government is selling children's pills. Here is a translation of a Government notice posted up in the Null Bazar, Bombay, dated July 15th 1891; signed by "J. M. Campbell, Land Revenue, Customs, and Akbari Collector." "At present the right of selling children's pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors, and such pills can be bought of all Government opium shops in Bombay." Government is selling pills for children, and children are remarkably susceptible to opium. My own grandchild, the daughter of the Chief Presidency Magistrate in Bombay, when six weeks old, was nearly poisoned by a nurse who put opium under her finger-nail and gave it to the child to suck to keep her quiet. She was insensible for 15 hours.

1923. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) I beg your pardon, did you say the Government are selling pills?—The Government are selling pills for children.

1924. You mean the licensed vendors, the retail vendors; that is not Government?—Yes, but Government has given the permission. "At present the right of selling children's pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors." That is by the British Government. It is signed by the Collector of Customs and Akbari, Mr. Campbell. They have given them a special licence to sell children's pills in the bazar.

1925. (*Chairman.*) Do you admit that in certain cases these pills might be desirable as a treatment?—You might just as well turn a box of opium pills loose in a nursery and let the ignorant English nurse use them as she likes.

1926. In competent professional hands?—But they are not. Here is a picture of an opium baby I did myself in Bombay with his mother. They feed these children on opium until they are very thin, absolutely skeletons. I remember a child in the common jail in Bombay more like a dried monkey than a human being, a thousand times worse than that child. That one has got a great big belly, thin arms, and an old man's face.

1927. You are a limner of no mean skill, Dr. Partridge?—Well, I draw a good deal. Cases I have seen are a thousand times worse than that child.

1928. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I was going to ask you whether these pills were sold by druggists?—No, they are only sold at opium shops by permission of Government.

1929. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) It would not require permission of Government?—Yes, nobody is allowed to sell opium pills.

1930. I mean to say, a man is allowed to sell opium only up to a certain limit, but it would require no separate permission to sell a pill?—Well, but these are called children's pills.

1931. That is a name that has been given them by the seller, not by Government?—But this is a Government notice, written and signed by Mr. Campbell on the 15th July. These are the words of the Government stuck up in the Null Bazar, Bombay.

1932. What is the wording?—"At present the right of selling children's pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors, and such pills can be bought of all Government opium shops in Bombay." That is the official document.

1933. What date is that?—15th July 1891, signed by J. M. Campbell, Land Revenue, Customs and Akbari Collector. It is one of the most staggering things I ever read when I know that children are so easily killed by opium.

1934. You are a man of a certain amount of Indian experience; do you not think that the fact was that the chemists were selling opium under the name of children's pills, and that it was found necessary to restrict the sale therefore to licensed opium vendors?—It would not restrict the sale; I should call it increasing it.

1935. I suppose the chemists were stopped?—I do not know anything about that.

1936. The native chemists?—The hakims give pills out of their own dispensaries. Somebody said the old women gave opium; they do not do that.

1937. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) Is there no explanation of that circular?—I have no explanation.

1938. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Do you not think the explanation I gave is probably the right one?—I do not know at all, except the fact of the circular. Of course you can speculate to any extent about it.

1939. (*Chairman.*) I might put this question to you. Are you aware that after an inquiry in the House of Commons reference was made to India, and it was ascertained that there were formerly 300 unlicensed shops where children's pills could be bought, but since the matter has been put under regulations there are now only 12 such shops?—I did not know that; but it does not make the slightest difference if it is so, except in the quantity that is sold. You would have to go into one kind of shop instead of another. But if you ask any English mother if she would like an ordinary—sensible, if you like,—nurse to have a box of pills to give to the children just as she liked, why she would be half dead with horror.

1940. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Is there anything in the English system which would prevent a mother giving opium pills to her child?—Well, they give it in some of these syrups and things.

1941. A mother may go to a chemist's shop and buy all the opium she likes and give it to her child?—They have no right to do it, whether they could or not.

1942. My opinion is that there is practically no restriction?—Oh, there is some restriction.

1943. There is no real restriction, I think.

1944. (*Chairman.*) There is no practical restriction in this country?—It is not prohibited; you cannot stop it, but you can hinder it; a chemist could be punished for doing it.

1945. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) He could for poisons, but I doubt if he could for opium?—He is bound to put a label "poison" on opium.

1946. (*Chairman.*) Persons can purchase a poisonous substance in England and use it for an injurious purpose?—Yes. There is another point; it is an important one, because it comes from the Ophthalmic Surgeon in Bombay, Dr. Machonachie, a man whom I know very well. "A boy aged 18 months was taken to him from Thana in February 1893. The child had been suffering from opium diarrhoea, and had been to Dr. Lazarus of the Scotch Free Dispensary, Thana, who told the parents that the practice of giving it opium must be stopped. This the parents promised to do. Soon, however, its eyes became ulcerated and it was taken to Bombay." "Dr. Machonachie pronounced the case hopeless. 'Its eyes,' he said, 'have been ruined by opium.' It is very common for natives to dose their children with opium, and it often causes this condition of the eyes. I have hundreds of native children brought to me whose sight is utterly destroyed by opium. Some are even in a stupor when brought here." They are ill-fed, and opium is given to quiet them. The child was taken back to Thana and shown to Surgeon-

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Major Kirtirkar at the Civil Hospital, who said:—"I have many cases of children dosed with opium. I register them in my books as chronic cases of opium. They usually begin with diarrhoea and often lose their eyesight by suppuration of the cornea. This is *very common* among natives." In further confirmation of this: there is a statement in "Bombay Guardian," August 5, 1893. From Captain Yeshwanti Bai of Salvation Army: "An infant one month old, was brought to me from another village for medical treatment. The little mite's eyes had been utterly destroyed through the evident administration of opium, which the mother confessed to have given in large quantities, and its face was already getting that old mannish expression seen in opium-drugged babies. I am always having babies brought to me affected in some part or other through opium."

1947. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You referred to those unlicensed opium dens, or saloons as we call them, and the Despatch of Lord Kimberley on the subject, suggesting that the law wanted strengthening?—No; I do not myself know anything about it.

1948. The Despatch of the 16th March of this year; you do not know anything about it?—No; I do not know anything about it.

1949. It is a Parliamentary paper; I wanted just to ask you: You have referred to the opium criminals in jails, do you know anything at all about the proportions? You can only express a very common opinion?—No. We generally had, I suppose, eight or nine opium eaters—no smokers. I have never had an opium smoker in jail in my life; they do not smoke opium except in the dens in Bombay. Generally there were eight or nine I suppose, some of them bad enough to be in hospitals, some of them sent to their work.

1950. Do I understand that you consider that a good many of them had got into jail through crimes committed in order to obtain opium?—The usual crimes with opium criminals are gambling and stealing. These petty crimes are what they come into jail for. An opium eater must have his opium.

1951. My question was, whether you have any idea as to the proportion of those cases to the total number?—No, I cannot tell you for certain at all. We always had some seven or eight perhaps.

1952. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) You criticise Dr. Mouat as to no deaths being attributable to opium according to Bengal jail returns?—Yes.

1953. Could not and would not Dr. Mouat and the other doctors below him have had a column added of "Opium habit" as well as "Alcoholism" if they had thought the facts called for it; would it not have been their duty if they had thought that deaths were attributable to opium, to ask that a column should be

The witness withdrew.

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Mr. T. Hutton.

Mr. POLHILL TURNER and Mr. THOMAS HUTTON called in and examined.

1961. (*Chairman.*) You have both been serving in China as missionaries?—(*Mr. Hutton.*) Yes.

1962. Are you generally acquainted with the testimony which has been given by the various representatives of the missionary societies whom we have had the advantage of hearing?—Yes.

1963. You will perhaps take it from me that so far as the Commission has had the opportunity of confirming the opinion, we are satisfied that the missionary bodies at any rate by a large majority are impressed by the fact that the opium trade has involved a great moral harm on the Chinese people. You may accept it that we have received this testimony, and so far as the evidence of the missionaries who have appeared before us is concerned it is practically almost unanimous; therefore we do not wish unnecessarily to repeat the same evidence. You have sought to appear before us, as I understand it, because your field of labour has been in the mountainous districts of China?—(*Mr. Turner.*) Exactly.

1964. In what parts of China have you been serving?—Kan-suh more especially, the most north-westerly province—three provinces. Kan-suh, Si-chuen, and Shen-si.

1965. Has Mr. Hutton been in the same districts? Will you state what they were?—(*Mr. Hutton.*) On the borders of Mongolia, in the north-west of Kan-suh, and also through the north of the Shen-si Province. I have snapped it out here (*showing map*).

added?—Yes, I think so. For a long time there was no column for alcoholism; I think that has been added comparatively recently; in fact, for many years I do not remember a column for alcoholism at all; that has been added lately.

1954. I suppose you know Dr. Mouat pretty well; I suppose we may assume that he did not think that deaths were attributable to opium, or he would have had a column added?—On the principle, you see, that they do not look upon opium as the primary cause of it, and as I said, they would not necessarily put typhoid fever as "neglect of sanitary arrangements"; you would have in the return of mortality in England "typhoid fever."

1955. It would be just as much their duty to put in a column for "opium deaths" as to put a column for deaths due to alcoholism?—I should think so; if I were Inspector General of Prisons, I should.

1956. You referred to Dr. Valentine's evidence about the audacity of criminals under the effects of opium; do you not think that he would himself admit that the intention of committing violent crimes of that kind precedes the taking of the drug, and that it is taken by such criminals merely to give them temporary strength and courage?—No; I do not think that at all. I do not think that he means that at all.

1957. You have had much experience in India—medical experience—how would you propose to establish a system in India whereby opium would be available for medical purposes and not for such purposes as doses to keep children quiet. You referred to the common habit?—There would be more difficulty in doing it in India than in England. If we cannot restrain it in England altogether, of course it would be more difficult in India.

1958. There are no chemists you know, except perhaps one or two in the principal towns?—There are plenty of shops where native medical men dispense their own medicine.

1959. But are those people reliable? If you allowed them to deal in opium at all, would they not turn their shops into opium shops?—Very likely; they are all bribeable, the lower classes as well as the others. Of course there are many who would not misuse the license, just like chemists in England.

1960. You would suggest no method?—There is but one method. Government could absolutely stop the sale of opium. The less opium there was in the market the less they would be able to get. Now it is as common a thing as dirt; a child could go and buy opium up to a certain amount. They never think of prohibiting it. You cannot stop children going to public-houses buying beer although it is illegal, but you can check it.

The witness withdrew.

1966. We have had your missionary station map?—The red line is the route that I took through China.

1967. Would you say that there is a difference in type in the people among whom you have laboured as compared with the Chinese of the south?—(*Mr. Turner.*) In the province of Kan-suh they are a little more stolid, more like our northerners in England, but the main characteristics are the same.

1968. Will you tell us your general view as to the effect of the opium habit among the people among whom you have laboured?—My belief, sir, is just the same as that of those missionaries who have given testimony as to the physical and moral effect on the natives. The particular town in which I was labouring was a mountainous town, about 7000 feet above the level of the sea.

1969. The name of it was?—Sining, in the Province of Kan-suh. Wherever I have travelled opium is consumed just as largely as in any other province that I have visited. In that town they told me on more than one occasion that 50 years ago the drug was unknown, but now it is just as largely smoked as anywhere in China. The people themselves say by eight-tenths of the population. That is a little exaggerated of course, but I think one-third is not too large; but I have always wherever I have been had the introduction of opium attributed to us. *Yang yau*, foreign smoke, is the name they give to opium; *Yang ren* is the name we are called,—foreigners, and of course they couple the two together.

1970. The opium consumed in the vicinity of Sining bore the name of a foreign smoke?—Foreign smoke. Yes.

1971. But as a matter of fact was the opium smoked in the vicinity of Sining a local production?—It is now, probably at the beginning it was not, but they accused us of bringing it to them.

1972. But now at the present moment?—(Mr. Hutton.) Native opium is called a foreign smoke, although it is produced in Chinese territory; that is the stigma that is put upon us.

1973. We understand it is called foreign smoke, but, as a matter of fact, is the opium which is consumed in the vicinity of Sining a locally produced article?—(Mr. Turner.) It is now produced locally.

1974. Is there any other special point that you would like to bring before us?—(Mr. Turner.) No, your Lordship, I have not.

1975. And now, Mr. Hutton, you have put before me a map with a track upon it representing a journey that you have made?—(Mr. Hutton.) Yes, your Lordship.

1976. Describe your journey would you?—With regard to a letter which was read from a gentleman of the name of Mr. Duff this morning, if it is the same Mr. Duff as I think it may be, I think he was a merchant in the Port of Chin-Kiang. During the last three years I have been in China, I was also stationed in that port. There was one remark in the letter referring to the hill tribes; he says, "they are not so addicted to opium—smoking as the people who live in the plains." Well, on this journey that I took—

1977. Beginning at Shanghai was it?—From Shanghai to Hankow, up the Han River, and through Kansuh to Ninghsia on the Mongolian frontier; then along the Great Wall, through the province of Shan-si and Chih-li to Tien-tsin. With the exception of a few missionaries that I met with at our different stations, and a few Roman Catholic priests, I did not meet with any European officials, Consuls, or merchants, until I reached Tien-tsin. I was away nearly two years on that journey. I wore the Chinese dress, to a great extent partook of Chinese food, and, except when I was travelling by boats, I stayed in Chinese inns; and throughout the hilly districts I should think that eight out of ten people who used to stay in the inns at night used to smoke opium.

1978. (Sir W. Roberts.) That would be only adult males you are speaking of?—Adult males. That is especially more in those parts which were higher and healthier than in the low and flat parts of the centre and south of China. I should think there were more opium smokers in the Province of Kan-suh than down south. The Province of Kan-suh is very much given up to it, and the statements of those gentlemen who, like Dr. Lockhart, have given evidence after being at home for 10 or 20 years confirm my conviction that of late years opium-smoking has very much increased. I asked a native at Ninghsia on the Mongolian border, a man that I employed as a teacher, how many smoked opium there, and he said that out of every 100 he thought 80 smoked opium.

1979. That is again speaking of the adults; the adult males?—Yes; but in some of the towns 20 or 30 per cent. of the women also smoke opium.

1980. (Chairman.) You have shown us that as far as your powers of observation have enabled you to form a judgment, and you have had unusual opportunities of travelling through a rarely visited part of China, the opium habit appears to be on the increase. Now what would you say as to its moral and physical effects?—I used to employ three men on a cart journey. Two of them did not appear to take opium, but the third man, an opium smoker, at nearly every place we got to had his cart detained on account of debts that he had contracted on a previous journey, and I finally had to abandon that man altogether, and sacrifice what I had advanced for the use of his cart, and I had to hire another man. Then we employed a man for a cook; he was an opium smoker. If we had known that, we should not have engaged him, for opium smokers are not to be trusted in buying things for us on the streets. We found that we had to pay for the provisions which he purchased nearly half as much again as we had to pay when we employed another man who did not smoke opium. In the practical experience that I have had of these men I should never, if possible, employ in any position of trust a man who smoked opium in any degree.

1981. (Sir J. Lyall.) All these remarks apply exactly to drinkers of spirits in England in the same class of life, do they not?—No, I do not think so. As far as I can see, I do not think that drinking has the same demoralising effect upon men as smoking opium. Of course, the Chinese are in a lower grade to some extent, than that of people here at home. I agree with the evidence that has been given by other missionaries that opium-smoking has a worse effect upon men, morally and physically, than alcoholic drinks.

1982. (Chairman.) In the North of China is the population of a higher physical ability, would you say, than the people living further south?—Yes.

1983. And notwithstanding the fact, as you say, that 80 per cent. are smokers of opium?—I was going to qualify this a little: that is true so far as they are not carried away by the opium habit. By the Chinese it is attributed to another reason. In the northern parts of China much more wheaten bread is eaten, whereas in the central and southern parts to a great extent the natives exist on rice, and of those who live on wheat the Chinese themselves say: "They are Northern men; they have been living on wheat."

1984. And they are stronger men?—They are stronger.

1985. And better able to take a certain quantity of opium with impunity; is that the case?—I have not met with any men that I have considered could take it with impunity.

1986. Any opium?—Yes.

1987. Now, Mr. Turner, you have heard the opinion of your colleague in the missionary field with reference to the moral and physical effects of the consumption of opium; what do you say on this point; do you confirm what he said?—(Mr. Turner.) Thoroughly. All my experience goes to show that a man who smokes opium has a barrier placed in the way of listening to any truth that you may tell him about Christianity, which is not in the way of a man who does not smoke opium. It is a barrier raised by the mere fact of the man becoming an opium smoker which does not exist without his smoking opium. And for the physical matter, I am sure anybody, who has laboured in the interior where we have, could not have any two opinions about it. A man beginning to smoke opium is on the downward road. I do not think the cases where a man goes on smoking a small quantity are many.

1988. You think that once you begin to use it at all you readily pass on to excess?—Yes.

1989. (Sir J. Lyall.) You seem to put some weight on the fact that opium is called "foreign smoke." I should like to know for what reason?—Yes. (Mr. Hutton.) I have been in China altogether about eight years; I had a chapel, kept it open in the afternoons, and had visitors coming in. Our preaching is in the form of question and answer to a large extent, and invariably the first question is, What country do you belong to? and when we said that we came from England, in many cases they replied, "Oh, that is where the opium comes from." I explained to them that it came from India; but that is not sufficient, for they said, "India is under British rule."

1990. And so the name affects the people's ideas and prepossesses them against you?—In the Chinese language there are several terms for opium, but the commonest is "yang," a term of reproach.

1991. I do not know whether it is the case in China, but it is the case in the great part of the East, is it not, that a terrible and disgusting disease is called a foreign disease in the same way?—Yes, the same term is used for that disease.

1992. It is so in China?—Yes; I have seen that placarded about too. It is understood that opium is a foreign thing, and, of course, the terminology is not changed in applying it to the opium which is grown by the natives themselves.

1993. But there is evidence that opium was imported by the Arabs and Portuguese before we ever imported it; and is it not probable the name dates from those times before we had anything to do with it?—I have read a good deal as to the original introduction of opium, but I am not qualified to give any opinion upon it at all; for practical purposes it is fathered upon the foreigners, and we are practically the foreigners in China.

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1994. (*Mr. Mowbray.*) Are there many other missionaries besides English missionaries in the part you have been? You mention that the first question asked was where you came from?—Yes, there are some American missionaries in the coast regions; but the only missionaries in the more distant stations that I have referred to are our own China Inland Missionaries, and the Roman Catholic priests in Kiang-su.

1995. Do the Chinese make any difference between the English missionaries and the American missionaries?—They are beginning to do so. These things are changing in China; the Chinese are getting much more enlightened on these matters than they were. They used to class all missionaries together; now they make a distinction between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and they have also got the length, to some extent, in the parts where missionaries are more commonly known, of distinguishing between French and English and German, and so forth.

1996. Would you say that the American missionaries succeeded better because they could not have the opium question thrown in their teeth?—That is a question which I could not answer.

1997. And can you say anything with regard to the Belgian priests that you have met with, whether their work was less hampered than your work?—I think the Roman Catholics are all agreed, so far as their profession goes, with all missionaries in China, that opium-smoking is wrong, and that no opium smoker should be admitted to their church. But many of the Chinese condemn all foreigners *en masse*; they want to get rid of them altogether.

1998. Whether they have introduced opium or not?—I do not think they can get the length of distinguishing sufficiently.

1999. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You have spoken about these servants that you have had, cartmen and others that you had, who were dishonest or unsatisfactory; were they what have been called in this room, confirmed sots, or were they what you would call moderate smokers, that is to say, how far have they gone?—I should say they were not as far gone as some I have seen. I have had men coming to me, and begging to be cured of the opium habit. I used to carry opium medicine and sell it, and the Chinese, who had not much money, would give really a large sum to buy that opium medicine. They felt the habit on them so strongly that they would do anything to get rid of it; so, while we gave other medicines away, we always made it a rule to sell opium medicine to these men, and they were willing to pay a good price in order to get cured.

2000. These servants of yours, would you call them moderate smokers, or would you call them confirmed sots?—Well, I do not approve of the phrase moderate at all, in the sense of moderate smoking of opium, because I think to any extent it is an injury. They were not so confirmed as many in the use of it, and did not take so much, but the Chinese vary greatly in the amount they use. (*Mr. Turner.*) I should say that a sot was a man that did nothing, who was unable to follow any other occupation than just smoke during the day, but a man who would be able to go with a cart could hardly be called a sot.

2001. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) I understand, Mr. Hutton, from you, that you passed through populations, or resided amongst populations of whom 80 per cent. of the adult males were opium smokers?—(*Mr. Hutton.*) This was the opinion given to me by my teacher. I asked his opinion on the number of smokers in Ning-hsia, and he said it was an exception to find a man who did not smoke.

2002. Did those populations appear to you weakly and degenerate?—Yes, the people in that city did.

2003. The entire population seemed to you to be degenerate?—Yes, and they complained to us—it is not exactly bearing upon this question; but they said that within 10 years rice has increased in price from 20 to 30 per cent., because the rice growers had taken to grow opium, and the whole outside of the city in every district was just covered with the poppy.

2004. You are quite clear that they were an unhealthy population?—Yes.

2005. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Does not the same land grow rice that grows poppy?—The land was very rich there, it was irrigated by water from the Yellow River, and the opium from that place was said to be of very fine quality.

2006. I think I have read that they take a crop of rice off the land in the winter, and then a crop of opium in the spring?—I think it may be so.

2007. You say that the whole population of the town looked degenerate, which you attribute to opium, but a recent traveller in Yunnan said that, though the population was extraordinarily addicted to opium, they looked to him very robust and energetic, and they were extremely industrious. Can you explain that your impression is the other way?—My impression is, the opium is doing them a great injury.

2008. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) But were they affected, I mean speaking broadly of the entire population, did they appear to you affected, or were they successful commercial people?—Well, I have seen in the case of opium smokers, the same conditions as I have seen at home before I went out. Some of the best workmen that I knew at home were slaves to drink, and I knew a man at home that would come to work on a Thursday morning, and could earn as much money in a few days as the man who had been at work the whole of the week. I think that there may be some exceptions amongst the Chinese opium smokers in the same way; but my own conclusion would be that if that man had not taken the drink for three days in the week, he would have been so much better than the other men instead of reaching their level. I have had coolies in China that did not smoke opium, and I have just been amazed at what they could carry, and the hardships that they could undergo. I knew a non-smoker who started with me one morning about 7 o'clock, travelled all day on foot through the snow, carried a coolie load for me amounting to about 40 lbs., and all day long he kept in front of me. I was walking, and had nothing whatever to carry. We got to our destination about 8 o'clock in the evening, and during the time he travelled about 30 miles, and that man was quite fresh in the evening after travelling all day. There is no doubt about the Chinese being a wonderful race, of great powers and physical endurance; but they would be better than they are if it were not for the opium.

2009. (*Chairman.*) Have you anything more that you would like to say to us?—(*Mr. Turner.*) I think the Chinese, wherever I have met them, admit that opium is a curse, an unmitigated curse; and I have heard of some cases where coolie owners would not employ coolies who smoked; but now I believe the habit is getting so universal that it is very difficult to get two or three coolies who do not smoke. Three coolies are usually employed to carry a sedan chair, and it is very seldom that you can get two of them who do not smoke; it is most exceptional. As a rule they smoke very often, but one who does not smoke is almost an exception.

2010. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) Those chair-bearers perform extraordinary feats in the way of carrying, do they not?—They do, but no doubt the opium has a militating effect against their work. They have to stop at any rate once in the day and keep you waiting while they smoke their opium, and anybody who rides in those chairs with opium smokers know what the disadvantages are; you have men thoroughly unreliable. —(*Mr. Hutton.*) May I just add one thing. I was going to say I think most of the opium dens are brothels, that the two things go together; but I never met with a confirmed opium smoker that took wine to any extent. The two things cannot go together. Opium smokers have told me that they could not drink wine if they took opium. And opium smokers can take very little food. When we arrived at inns in the evenings after a day's journey, those that do not take opium can sit down and eat three or four big basins of rice and vegetables; but the poor opium smoker is shaking and wanting his pipe; that is all he cares for.

2011. That is sufficient to account almost by itself for the emaciation, I suppose, which is commonly observed?—Yes, that accounts in part for their weakness as compared with the other men.

The witnesses withdrew.



Mr. ALEXANDER MICHIE called in and examined.

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2012. (*Chairman.*) You have had great experience have you not, Mr. Michie, in China and Japan?—As regards length of time, my Lord, yes.

2013. You have been 40 years years in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Japan?—Yes 40 years from first to last.

2014. You have been occupied as a merchant, have you not?—Yes.

2015. You have also been in the interior of the Si-chuen Province?—Yes.

2016. As delegate of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

2017. You have had considerable acquaintance with Chinese officials have you not?—Yes, a certain amount.

2018. When did you return from China?—This summer; three months ago.

2019. Can you tell us what in your opinion, as far as you have been able to gather, is the general public opinion about the opium habit?—Amongst the Chinese, my Lord.

2020. Amongst the Chinese?—I think it may be said generally that the use of opium is deprecated. It is usually spoken of in an apologetic manner. A man who smokes opium heavily is always ready with some excuse for doing so.

2021. You think it more generally deprecated than the use of alcohol in European countries?—I do not think so.

2022. How far does the opium habit prevail, as far as your experience goes; is it very prevalent?—It is universal as regards area, but its prevalence in a particular community is a matter that is extremely difficult to be definite upon.

2023. Should you say that opium smoking was as common as tobacco smoking is in Europe or less common?—Probably much less common than tobacco.

2024. Is much tobacco smoked in China?—Yes very largely; they are constantly smoking tobacco.

2025. Do the same people smoke tobacco and opium?—Yes, sir.

2026. Have you had many employees who have smoked opium?—I have had large numbers one way and another in my employ, but I do not recall many cases of opium smokers. Probably they were numerous, but it is not easy to tell. It is not always easy to distinguish the opium smoker from a non-opium smoker, unless he has carried it to a great excess.

2027. You never had to dismiss a man, a clerk, or comprador, or any of those men, on account of opium smoking?—No, never, but I must say that I always shared the common prejudice against employing an opium smoker. If you could help it you would prefer a man who was not an opium smoker; for one thing, if you are travelling he is a nuisance because the odour is unpleasant, like the smell of stale tobacco about the clothes. And you can tell at once if there is anyone in a boat's crew that smokes opium, the smell is disagreeable; and so on board steamers the same objection is felt, and in restaurants and so on.

2028. It has been said by a great many witnesses that they do not believe in such a thing as the moderate use of opium, that is, they believe that, if a man once takes to the habit of smoking opium, he must inevitably become an immoderate smoker of opium sooner or later, and probably sooner?—I have heard these statements for many years, but I must say I have never been able to see on what ground they rested. And so far as my own observation goes the fact is not so. I think moderate smoking is very much more common than inveterate smoking. For example, you can hardly go to a Chinese dinner without having the opium pipe there; and when the guests have sat a long time at the table, and eaten a great deal, and drunk a good deal, one will retire to the divan where the opium pipe is and have a whiff of opium, and by-and-bye when he has finished he rejoins the other guests; another one will go, and so on, just as you take a cigarette after dinner, or a glass of wine. That is the common practice. And amongst the men who did so I did not notice that there were many whom you would call confirmed opium smokers. The difficulty, of course, of obtaining information on such subjects in China is very great. I have often myself

tried to get some details, but could rarely get beyond generalities. Even medical missionaries, friends of my own, whom I have asked what is the effect of opium, what is the pathological effect, and so on, could only answer in generalities, and they said that they really had not the opportunity of following the thing out. They see a man to-day, and they do not see him again; perhaps they have him under their observation for a few weeks, and they do not hear of him any more, and so it is in what you may call society, you cannot trace the history of the man, at least I have never been able to get any facts of that sort.

2029. (*Mr. Pease.*) With regard to your saying they leave the table where they are and take a whiff and come back again, on many occasions do they not lie down and take a dose after they have taken a whiff?—Many of them will lie down and smoke opium the whole night.

2030. But those who just leave the table and go and take a whiff and come back, do you find them bright and lively—there is no sleepiness about them?—On the contrary, they are brightened by it.

2031. You did not observe any reaction after the opium?—Well, you do not see them afterwards; you go home to bed, and they go home to bed, and there is an end of it.

2032. (*Sir J. Lyall.*) It has been said by many witnesses that the habit of opium-smoking destroys the honesty and the truthfulness of the people who use it. Have you in your dealings with Chinamen—you have had to deal with a great many Chinese merchants and people I suppose; have you noticed any difference in honesty and truthfulness between the opium smokers and the non-opium smokers?—I cannot say that I have. Dishonesty in opium smokers is common enough amongst the poor people, who become dishonest in order to buy opium; but amongst the merchants and official classes I have not noticed that which has been stated by so many people, in my own experience. Perhaps I have been singularly fortunate, but it so happens that amongst the men whom I have been obliged to trust in an extraordinary degree, more so than I have had to trust anyone, even of my own countrymen, amongst those have been some of the most inveterate smokers, and I have never found that my confidence was abused on that account.

2033. Opium-smoking is not known in Japan; it is prohibited in Japan?—No; opium-smoking is not known in Japan.

2034. How do the Japanese compare with the Chinese in honesty and truthfulness?—Well, it is generally asserted that they are inferior to the Chinese in solidity of character and solidity of physique, and all that.

2035. I suppose you went out to China with some views about opium; did you change or modify your views?—I got some ideas when I got there, I think; in fact I took for granted the general report that was current, chiefly on the authority of missionaries. Perhaps I took exaggerated views of it—I was very young—but I almost expected China to be depopulated in a few years; but after 40 years' experience I do not find that such expectations have been verified at all.

2036. It has been very commonly said that our connexion with the opium trade has had an important effect on the Chinese attitude towards Englishmen?—I do not believe anything of the sort; I have never found a trace of that. I think a Chinaman will always say what he thinks you want him to say, and I think it is exceedingly dangerous to draw any general conclusions from what a Chinaman tells you, especially in answer to leading questions. If it is permitted to refer to an illustration, perhaps wide of the mark, I would say that we have had lately a great deal of a particularly offensive class of literature published by the Chinese, in which every conceivable thing is raked up that would detract from the character of foreigners generally. The most disgusting and extravagant charges have been circulated broadcast by eminent literary men, and I think that, if there had been any strong feeling in regard to opium, there would have been some trace of it in some of these publications; but, so far as I am aware, it is quite absent, and I take that as tolerably conclusive evidence that that strong anti-English feeling is not on account of opium.

2037. Do you think there is any difference observable in their attitude towards, for instance, the

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Germans and the French, and towards us?—No, not certainly not to our detriment. May I refer to the evidence given by one of the last witnesses?

2038. (*Chairman.*) If it is with a view of expressing an opinion of your own, yes?—I heard one of the gentlemen saying that the Chinese were beginning to discriminate between the English and the American missionaries. That recalled to my mind a circumstance that occurred in Peking some years ago when there was an American Bishop or some high official connected with some of the mission churches. He had interviews with certain Chinese officials, and he was employing as his interpreter another American missionary whom I knew very well and who told me the history. He was perhaps the most apostolic missionary that I ever came into contact with. And the Bishop wished him to say to the Chinese that the Americans occupied a different position from the English missionaries, that they had not done this and that, and that particularly they had not gone to war with them and they had not brought opium to them and so on. But his interpreter refused to translate. He said it was mean and it was in its effect untrue.

2039. What are your views as to the relative effects of excess in opium or alcohol?—Well, that is an exceedingly difficult question to answer. I can only say that I have had very intimate friends who were addicted to both, and of the two I think I prefer those that were slaves to opium rather than those who were slaves to drink; I would trust them more. I would trust an opium-smoker sooner than a drunkard. I speak without prejudice, having had among my friends some of my own countrymen who were unfortunately slaves to drink, and I have had Chinese friends who were slaves to opium, and of the two I would prefer—it is a matter of my own judgment—to trust the Chinese.

2040. (*Sir W. Roberts.*) You have mixed a good deal with the better classes of Chinese apparently, the literati and merchants?—Yes to a certain extent, a very moderate extent. No foreigner mixes much with the literary class.

2041. You have seen them in their inner life?—Yes.

2042. And is a large proportion of that class opium smokers?—No doubt.

2043. Would you roughly say one-half of them?—Such an estimate would be a mere guess.

2044. Would it be your impression that fully one-half of them were opium smokers?—Probably; yes, I should say so, but still these estimates must always be taken as being vague.

2045. You would not call that class a degraded class?—Certainly not.

2046. Or a class showing degenerate health?—No, certainly not.

2047. Has this habit of opium smoking, among these better classes been going on for two or three generations, or more successive generations?—I should think so, but that is another point in which it is extremely difficult to be accurate, because foreigners who get out to China for the first time are very apt to be told that everything is new; that everything that is objectionable is recent; that it was not so in the old times. I found that when I was in the Si-chuen Province 25 years ago; they were saying then what they say now, that they had just begun to smoke opium.

2048. And we may take it from you, that from your long experience in China you have known persons who were opium smokers filling respectable positions, having good characters, and being good citizens all that time?—I think so. I have left men with whom I have had to do in Chinese ports so far gone with opium, having taken it for many years, that I considered their lives were not worth a year's purchase, and I have returned after many years and, to my surprise, have found them as vigorous as myself and carrying on their business as keenly as ever.

2049. You look on the opium habit as like the alcoholic habit and that you think if they moderately indulged in opium they would not be injured?—I would not say that they would not be injured, all I say is I know habitual opium smokers who have carried on their business with great vigour and for many years.

The witness withdrew.

The Commission adjourned till the 15th November at Calcutta.

## APPENDIX I.

PAPER read by Mr. G. H. M. BATTEN before "The Society of Arts," on the 24th March 1891.

[Mr. Batten was unable to give evidence before the Commission, as he was out of England. His paper was cited in Sir John Strachey's evidence. And the Commission directed that it should be printed as an appendix to Sir John Strachey's evidence.]

## THE OPIUM QUESTION.

By G. H. M. BATTEN (formerly of the Bengal Civil Service).

The violent and persistent attack, by an English association, on one of the most valuable of the products of India, with the avowed object of sweeping it from the face of the earth, renders it the duty of everyone who has the welfare of India at heart to examine the grounds on which that attack is made. Having for a long period served the Government of Her Majesty the Queen in India, and having had special opportunities of making myself familiar with the facts relating to Indian opium, I accepted the invitation of this Society to read a paper on the subject, with the desire to help, so far as in me lies, to clear away the widespread ignorance of it which prevails in this country.

Apart from moral considerations, the question, so far as India is concerned, is generally discussed as if it were one affecting only the public resources of the Indian Administration, but it is much more far-reaching. The amount of revenue realised is but a part, and not the greater part, of the actual pecuniary value of the poppy crop and its products, while the well-being and happiness of hundreds of thousands of the people of India would be greatly affected by its extinction. I propose in this paper first to show the real value of that crop, and what it is that India is asked to sacrifice in order to satisfy the theories of a party of English philanthropists, whose excellent intentions in the cause of morality are only equalled by their determination to ignore all but the one side of the question, on which they have fixed their attention, and which serves their purpose.

It must be admitted that one of the surest signs of the progressive prosperity of a country is the increase of its external trade. The conditions which favour the development of foreign commerce are peace and liberty; the establishment of good and equitable laws and their just administration; the utmost freedom, consistent with the rights of others, to individuals in utilising the sources of production at their disposal; the extension of facilities of communication within the country and with other countries; lightness of taxation—in a word, all the conditions of good government. Tried by this test, the British Government of India can show a splendid record. So long as the exclusive trading privileges of the East India Company existed they acted as a check on the free development of foreign trade, but on their final abolition in 1833, when the trade of India was thrown open to the mercantile world, it rapidly increased. In 1833-34 the value of the total exports of merchandise from British India was under *Rx.* 8,000,000 sterling. In fifteen years after that, they had about doubled. The increase then became more rapid, and, when assisted by the extension of railways in India, advanced by leaps and bounds. In the year 1890-91 the value of merchandise exported from India was over *Rx.* 100,000,000, or more than twelve times the exports of 1833-34.

Long before British rule was established in India, opium was exported thence to China, and the trade in it, in common with all other trade, naturally developed under that rule. In the five years ending with 1833-34, the average quantity of opium exported was about 17,500 chests. The highest point to which it has ever attained was in 1879-80, when 105,508 chests were exported, but the present average is about 90,000 chests. Thus, while the general exports have increased twelve fold, opium exports have increased only about five and a half times in volume in fifty-seven years. The cause of this will be found in the restrictive measures of the Government of India, to which I shall presently refer.

India is essentially an agricultural country, and nearly the whole of its exports consists of products of the soil. One of the most important and valuable of

these products is the opium-yielding poppy. It is impossible to state with accuracy when this plant was first introduced into India. There is little record of its early history, but it is known that the Muhammadans had succeeded, in the 15th century, in introducing the cultivation of the poppy into Cambay and Malwa, and that when the Emperor Akbar, in the latter half of the next century, established the Moghal Empire over Central India, he found Malwa opium a characteristic product of that country.

Dr. George Watt, who has recently compiled a complete monograph on the subject of opium, which has been printed by order of the House of Commons, points out that Abul Fazl (the historian of Akbar's times) "specially states that poppy culture was chiefly practised in Fatchpur, Allahabad, and Ghazipur. We learn that the founder of the Moghal civil dynasty and his successors regarded opium as of necessity a State monopoly. They found it, however, at once "the most convenient and successful course to farm "out the right to manufacture and to sell the drug."

Dr. Bernier, the French traveller, who was in India from 1656 to 1668, speaking of the Rajputs and their martial qualities, wrote: "From an early age they are "accustomed to the use of opium, and I have been "astonished to see the large quantity they swallow."

Tavernier, who was in India at the same period, incidentally mentions the Dutch trade in opium, which they obtained from Burhanpur in exchange for their pepper.

Captain A. Hamilton, in 1727, wrote: "The Chiefs of "Calicut for many years had vended between 500 and "1,000 chests of Bengal opium yearly up in the inland "countries, where it is very much used."

The Abbé Raynal, in 1770, described Patna as being the most celebrated place in the world for the cultivation of opium, and stated that, besides what was carried into the inland parts, there were annually 3,000 or 4,000 chests exported, each weighing 300 lbs.

There is ample evidence in the old records of the India Office, which have lately been examined by Sir George Birdwood, to prove that a large trade had been going on in opium between India and surrounding countries long before the East India Company, in 1773, undertook the supervision of the manufacture of opium in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The Company, in fact, inherited from the Moghal Government this important and legitimate source of revenue on an article of luxury which India had shown itself capable of producing in high perfection, and for which there was a large demand both in and out of that country. At first they continued the system of farming out the exclusive right of opium manufacture, but this was found to entail many abuses. Amongst them was the pressure brought by the contractors, in spite of the most stringent regulations to the contrary, on the cultivators, whom they forced to carry on the cultivation, and whom they cheated in various ways. It also led to the adulteration of the drug and its illicit vend. The consequences were so injurious to the revenue, that, in 1797, the contract system was abandoned, and the Government assumed the monopoly of manufacture through its own agencies, a system which has remained in force until the present day. There was, indeed, at that time, no practical alternative. The strongest opponent to the system of Government manufacture would hardly contend that the growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium should have been left free and unrestricted, as that would infallibly have led to a great increase in the produce of the drug, and probably to its deterioration. On the other hand, if it ever entered into the conception of the court of directors to suppress, in the interests of morality, the cultivation of the poppy in the territories then in their possession, it is doubtful whether they would have had the power in those times to have done so, and it is certain that they could not have controlled the production of the vast poppy-growing tracts outside those territories in Malwa, Cambay, and elsewhere. The only result would have been that the opium consumers in India would have been supplied from sources outside British territory, and that the export trade would have been trans-

ferred to ports other than British. It would certainly have been impossible in those days to establish a Customs line to prevent the entry of opium into the Company's possessions. The Company would have sacrificed its revenue, and no one would have been benefited except the people of the territories outside the Company's possessions, at the expense of those within them.

The State monopoly continues to be administered by the Bengal Government, although its operations now extend into the North-west Provinces and Oudh. Under it, no person may cultivate the poppy except with a licence from the Government, and every cultivator is bound to sell the opium produced from his crop to the Government, in whose two factories, at Patna and Ghazipur, it is manufactured into the opium of commerce. A portion of the manufactured opium is retained for consumption in India through vendors licensed by the Excise Department, and the remainder is sold monthly, by auction, in Calcutta to merchants, who export it. The Government prescribes rules for the cultivation of the poppy, the manufacture, possession, transport, import or export, and sale of opium, and any contravention of such rules is subject to stringent penalties, which may extend to imprisonment for one year or fine of 1,000 rupees, or both. Poppy illegally cultivated, and opium the subject of any offence against the law, is liable to confiscation, together with the vessels, packages, and coverings in which it is found, and their other contents, and the animals and conveyances used in carrying it.

Like most crops, the poppy is subject to wide seasonal fluctuations, which formerly greatly affected the market prices of opium, led to speculation and gambling amongst the buyers for export, and caused corresponding uncertainty in the Government revenue. When, owing to the shortness of the supply, the price in Calcutta rose high, the direct effect was to stimulate the production of other opium competing in the foreign market with the Bengal drug, and amongst these the native production of China. Thus—and I would call particular attention to this fact, as having an important bearing on the question before us—the diminution of the supply of Indian opium to China was an incentive to the extension of poppy cultivation in China. To remedy the evils thus arising from the uncertainties of the seasons, the Government decided, twenty-five years ago, to limit the sales of opium in Calcutta to a quantity which would permit the formation of a reserve stock in plenteous years to meet deficiency in years of scarcity.

In the six years previous to 1867, the number of chests sold in a year varied from 21,423 to 64,111, and the price from Rs. 1,449 to Rs. 956 per chest. In 1867 the system of regulating the quantities annually sold, with the view of preventing such extreme oscillations in the price, was commenced.

In 1869, owing to short crops, before there had been time to form a sufficient reserve, there were less than 45,000 chests brought to auction. Sir Richard Temple, who was in charge of the financial department, in his Budget statement, made the following remarks:—

"The Government of Bengal is taking active measures for increasing the supply of opium for the China market to 50,000 chests annually, and for securing a reserve supply which may assure the public as to the quantity to be brought to sale, and may conduce to the checking of undue speculation in prices. There is fear that unless the supply can be improved next season, after these two deficient seasons, the cultivation of the poppy in China itself will be stimulated. For some time past positive accounts have been received of the increase of this culture in China. So it is clear that unless Bengal produces enough opium the Chinese will raise it for themselves. And if the Chinese will have opium, they may as well get it first-rate from us, as second-rate at home, and they may as well consume it taxed as untaxed. Again, if they do not procure it from us, they might procure it from other countries of Asia. The culture of the poppy in Persia is increasing, and some 4,000 chests are exported annually from that country."

Here we have an exposition of the policy of the Government of India. Recognising the fact that the Chinese demand a large supply of opium, and that to whatever extent India was unable to satisfy that demand, it would be met, either by increase of the produce in China itself, or by increased imports from other countries, the Government of India has thought it right, in the interests of the people of India, to shape its measures so as not to lose the natural advantages India possesses in the superior quality of its produce. Any one familiar with the records of the Government

of India relating to this subject, must admit this is a fair representation of its policy and motives, and that nowhere in those records can be found any indication of a desire to stimulate the consumption of opium by the Chinese.

In pursuance of this policy, the Government yearly regulates the extent of the poppy cultivation, guided chiefly by the market prices and the stock of opium in hand. No one is forced to grow a crop of poppy against his will. The sole inducement is the price offered by the Government for the produce. For the past ten years this price has been 5 rupees a seer, which is exactly equivalent to 2½ lbs. troy. The Government makes advances, not bearing interest, before the crop is sown, and from time to time during its progress, thus saving the ryots from the exorbitant demands of the village money-lender. The crop, which is sown in the autumn and gathered in the spring, succeeds an autumn crop usually of Indian corn. The yield of opium per acre varies. For the five years ending 1889-90, the average produce per acre was a little over 16 lbs. avoirdupois, which, at 5 rupees a seer, gave the cultivator a gross return of near 40 rupees per acre. In addition to this, he receives payment for the poppy flower petals and the stalks and leaves, which are used in the factory for packing the opium cakes. The total average annual payments by the Bengal Government to the poppy cultivators exceed Rs. 2,000,000.

Besides the produce purchased by the Government, the seeds of the poppy are an important article of consumption and commerce. They are eaten parched, or employed as a condiment in the preparation of food; but perhaps their chief use is for the expression of oil, for which purpose they are not only largely used in India, but are exported in considerable quantities, chiefly to Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom. The average produce of seed per acre, after deducting what is required for sowing, is stated to be about 260 lbs., yielding, by native processes, from 80 to 100 lbs. of oil. This oil is edible, and is used largely in Europe, either as a substitute for, or adulteration of, salad oil. It is also used for illumination, mixing with paints, soap, and varnish-making. The oil-cake is eaten by the poorer classes and by cattle, being rich in nitrogen. The young seedlings, which are removed at the first weedings of the crop, are sold and eaten as a salad. I may state that these by-products of the poppy crop are perfectly free from opium.

In spite, therefore, of the labour entailed in the culture of the poppy, which requires frequent watering, and in spite of the vicissitudes of the season, which greatly affect this crop, the cultivation is popular, and the refusal of licences is looked upon as a grievance by the ryots, as well as the landowners, to whom they pay their rent.

As I have already stated, the cultivator is bound by law to deliver the whole of the opium produced to the Government agents. It is then manufactured at the factories at Ghazipur or Patna, into the opium of commerce, under the supervision of the scientific experts who are employed by the Government. The greatest care is taken to preserve the purity of the drug and the uniformity of its consistence. It is owing to this care, added to the natural advantages of soil and climate, that Indian opium has maintained its high reputation in the Chinese market, where it is admitted by the practical test of price to be far superior to the drug produced in China. Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General in China, in a report written in 1881, states that "the native product sells for one-half of the price obtained for the foreign drug." By "consistence" is meant the per-centage of fine opium obtained after evaporating the moisture. The standard differs in the two agencies. At the Patna factory (Behar Agency) the standard is 75, and at Ghazipur (Benares Agency) the standard is 70, for what is called "Provision opium," that is, opium to be sold for export, while for Excise opium, intended for consumption in India, the standard at each factory is 90. By the end of July, the manufacture is finished, but the airing and drying are continued until October, when it is formed into balls, weighing each 3½ lbs. avoirdupois, and packed in chests. Forty balls are allotted to each chest of provision opium, which thus contains 140 lbs. From the difference of consistence a Behar chest contains 105 lbs. of fine opium, while a Benares chest only 98 lbs. of fine opium. A chest of Excise opium from the superior consistence contains one cwt. of fine opium.

The Provision opium is sent to Calcutta, where it is sold for export at auction by monthly instalments. The average quantity sold annually for the five years

ending 1889-90 was 55,349 chests. During the last three of these years, and to the end of 1891, it was 57,000 a year. During the present calendar year, 1892, it has been notified that not more than 54,000 chests will be sold. In determining the number of chests to be annually manufactured and sold, the Government is guided principally by the state of the reserve stock, the aim being to keep up a reserve equal to half a year's supply. It is also guided, as I have already stated, by the prices obtained at auction. If the prices rise much, production in China and Persia is stimulated, and it is necessary to increase the production in India to maintain its market; on the other hand, if the prices fall low, and opium becomes cheap, consumption is stimulated, and the production has to be restricted. The object of the Government, as I have explained, is to maintain, so far as possible, uniformity in the price, and thus to avoid fluctuations in the market and in the revenue.

The average annual auction sale proceeds for the five years ending 1889-90, were Rs. 6,267,703, giving the average of Rs. 1,132 per chest. In the year 1890-91 they fell below Rs. 6,000,000, owing to the extension of the cultivation in China. The published statistics of the exports of opium from Calcutta, closely conform to these figures, showing an average export of 56,388 chests, valued at Rs. 6,175,542.

The Bengal Government supplies the Excise Department not only in Bengal, but also in all the other provinces, except the Madras and Bombay presidencies, with opium for consumption in India. The average quantity so supplied is about 4,500 chests a year, and the price credited to the Opium Department is Rs. 7½ a seer, equivalent to Rs. 435 a chest. The average receipts from this source amount to Rs. 200,000 a year. The opium is sold to the consumers through licensed vendors, to whom it is supplied at an enhanced price, and who have to pay fees for the licenses to vend. The average receipts by the local governments from this source amount to about Rs. 800,000 a year.

The declared value of the poppy seed exported from Bengal on the average of the five years ending 1890-91, was Rs. 175,000.

Summing up these figures, we obtain the following result for the Bengal poppy crop:—

	Rx.
Auction sale proceeds on opium for export	6,000,000
Excise opium credited to opium department	200,000
Receipts of Provincial Government from the vend of Excise opium	800,000
Value of poppy seed exported	175,000
Total Rx.	7,175,000

In order to arrive at the ultimate annual value of the Bengal poppy crop, we must add several items which cannot be precisely estimated. These are the profits to Indian merchants and shippers on the opium exported, the profits to the Indian vendors of Excise opium, the value of the poppy seed consumed in India as seed-oil or oil-cake, and of the young plants used as food, and finally, the value of the illicit opium, which, in spite of all precautions, the cultivators are able to pass into consumption. On a moderate estimate, the value of this large trade cannot be taken at less than Rs. 3,000,000, bringing up the annual total value of the Bengal poppy crop to over Rs. 10,000,000, or, say, 7,000,000*l.* sterling.

The territory in which this crop is produced may be described as a belt of country between 500 and 600 miles in length, with an average breadth of 180 miles, running north-west and south-east, between the 78th and 85th parallels of longitude, and the 24th and 29th parallels of latitude. The total area may be taken at about 100,000 square miles lying in the provinces of Behar (Bengal), the North-West Provinces and Oudh. The average area cultivated with poppy for the five years ending 1889-90 was 527,200 acres, but in the last of those years was only 482,557, or 754 square miles, only three-quarters per cent. of the whole tract referred to, and this for only half the year, as another crop is almost invariably obtained from the same land during the other half. In the year 1889-90, no fewer than 1,322,355 cultivators were employed on the crop, while over 3,000 Hindoos and Muhamedans were employed by the Government in the factories and administration of the department.

The only other province in British India where the poppy is allowed to be cultivated is the Punjab. It is

there grown under license in nearly every district. In 1889-90, the total area so cultivated was 14,458 acres, or under 23 square miles. Formerly, an acreage duty of Rs. 2 per acre was charged throughout the province, but, under new rules, it may be increased to Rs. 8, and has been increased to Rs. 4 in several districts. The cultivator may dispose of his poppy crop standing, to license-holders, who extract the opium; or he may extract the opium himself, and dispose of it, or of the produce, in the shape of poppy heads, to licensed vendors. The average annual supply of opium from this source, for the three years ending 1889-90, was something over 1,650 maunds, which would be equivalent to 1,100 Bengal Excise chests, though, probably, the opium is less carefully manufactured, and is of a lower consistency. The poppy heads are used as an infusion, forming a poppy tea, which is drunk by the Sikhs, who are forbidden by their religion to use tobacco in any form. The value of the Punjab poppy crop can only be estimated. The average retail price of the opium is about Rs. 20 a seer, or Rs. 800 a maund, so that, from this source alone, it yields Rs. 132,000 on the average annual produce. Adding the value of the poppy heads, seed, and other by-products, and of illicit opium, which cannot fall short of Rs. 18,000, we get a total of Rs. 150,000, or say 100,000*l.*

Outside of British India, the cultivation of the poppy is confined to certain native states in Central India and Rajputana, and the territory of the Gaikwar. The opium there produced is known by the generic name of Malwa opium. There are no trustworthy statistics showing the acreage under poppy, or the total quantity of opium produced. After providing for the home consumption within the native states, which must be a very large quantity, as the habit of consuming opium there has been long established and is widespread, the remainder is consumed in those parts of British India not supplied with Bengal opium, also in Hyderabad and Mysore, or is exported by sea to China, the Straits Settlements, &c.

The importation of Malwa opium into British territory is subject to very stringent regulations. Previous to the year 1831, by separate treaties with the native States, the British Government reserved to itself a monopoly of Malwa opium, which was purchased by the British Resident at Indore, and sold by auction either at Bombay or Calcutta. But in that year it was deemed advisable, chiefly on account of the large quantity of opium smuggled to the Portuguese settlements on the coast, to relinquish the monopoly (which involved much unpalatable interference in the internal affairs of the native States), to open the trade to the operations of private enterprise, and to substitute, as a source of revenue, the grant, at a specified rate of duty, of passes to cover the transit of Malwa opium through British territory. This rate was at first fixed at Rs. 175 a chest, but as the resources of the administration for the prevention of smuggling improved, the British Government have been enabled gradually to increase the pass duty until it amounted to Rs. 700 per chest. In fixing the rate, regard is had to the prices obtained for Bengal opium. If the rate be too low, Malwa opium is unduly favoured in its competition with Bengal opium, and if it be too high, not only is smuggling encouraged, but the price of Bengal opium rises, leading to an increased cultivation of the poppy either in Bengal or in China. The present rate on opium for foreign export is Rs. 600 a chest, except on a small number of chests, weighed at Ajmere, where the rate is Rs. 625. The rate on opium imported for local consumption in the Bombay Presidency remains at Rs. 700 per chest.

All opium transported out of the native States of Central India, Rajputana, and Baroda, has to be weighed and tested at scales established at convenient places in those States under the superintendence of officers of the British Government. The transport is permitted only under passes granted on payment of the duty and by certain specified railway routes. The annual quantity passed at the scales may be taken now at 30,000 chests. A chest of Malwa opium contains the same quantity as a chest of Bengal provision opium, namely 140*lb.* avoirdupois; but its consistency is considerably higher, being from 90 to 95 per cent. of fine opium. Consequently, it has a higher average value. The average exports for the five years ending 1890-91 were 32,540 chests, valued at over Rs. 4,000,000. The remainder of the Malwa opium leaving the native States—about 2,000 chests—is consumed in India, chiefly in the Bombay Presidency; but the Madras Presidency, Hyderabad, and Mysore are also supplied



from this source, and some goes to the Punjab. The value of these 2,000 chests may be taken at about Rx. 250,000, making a total value, for 32,000 chests, of Rx. 4,250,000. To this must be added, as in the case of the Bengal opium, the profits of the merchants and shippers exporting the opium, and of the vendors in India, say nearly Rx. 1,500,000.

The average annual exports of poppy seed from Bombay are valued at Rx. 212,697. They amounted, in 1890-1, to Rx. 310,930. Thus, the total annual value of the Malwa opium brought into British territory, and of the Malwa poppy seed exported from India, cannot be less than 4,000,000.

There remains to be considered the value of the Malwa opium consumed in the native states of Central India, Rajputana, and Baroda; also the value of the Malwa poppy seed not exported from India, and of the other by-products of the crop. As I have already said, there are no data available for ascertaining or estimating the acreage under poppy cultivation in the native states in question, much less for determining the quantity and value of the whole products of that crop. The population of those states is 21,750,000, or about one-tenth of the population of the rest of India. We know that the people of these states have, for centuries, been in the habit of consuming opium, we know that the restrictions placed on the cultivation of the poppy, and on the vend of opium in British India, do not exist in these states, and we know that a vast quantity of opium is smuggled out of them. If we estimate the value of the crop, exclusive of the value of the product licitly exported, at 2,000,000, it will certainly be under the real value.

The total annual value of the poppy crops in India thus appears to be as follows:—

	£
Bengal crop - - -	7,000,000
Punjab crop - - -	100,000
Malwa crop, licitly consumed in British India and exported by sea - - -	4,000,000
Malwa crop, consumed in Central India, Rajputana, and Baroda, and smuggled thence - - -	2,000,000
Total - - -	<u>£13,100,000</u>

This is divided between the producers and manufacturers, the landlords, the British and native administrations, the middlemen, merchants, shippers, vendors, &c. of India, and is paid by the ultimate consumers, principally Chinese.

Before leaving the commercial side of the question, there is one point to which I should like shortly to refer. It is the effect on the rupee exchanges which would be produced by the cessation of the opium trade from India to China. The disbursements of the Government of India in England, usually called the Home Expenditure, are now about 17,000,000, annually. In order to provide this sum, the Secretary of State draws bills on India, which are purchased by persons in England who have to make payments, chiefly for the purchase of produce to be brought from the East for sale here. The Secretary of State's bills are, therefore, paid by the excess of exports from India over the imports to India. It is evident that, if there were a reduction in the excess exports from India, the demand for the Secretary of State's bills would be *pro tanto* reduced, and the exchange value of the rupee would fall. India exports to China—including the Treaty Ports—annually, merchandise to the value of near 14,000,000 of tens of rupees, the greater part of which is opium, and imports from thence merchandise and treasure of the value of very little over 5,000,000. How and where is the account adjusted? It is in England, to which China sends tea, silks, and other produce. Practically, therefore, the opium sent by India to China is paid for by remittances from England to India, which form part of the demand for the Secretary of State's bills. The cessation of this part of the demand would, therefore, have a very injurious effect on the rate of exchange at which those bills are sold, and would increase the heavy loss to which India is put by the rise in the silver price of gold.

Thirteen millions sterling is a very moderate estimate of the sum India is asked to sacrifice annually by suppressing her opium trade. The demand for this sacrifice is made not by the people of India, not by the people of China, not by the responsible administrators of those countries, but by an irresponsible

party of philanthropists seeking to obtain their ends by the despotic action of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which India has no representatives.

What are the reasons put forth for demanding the despotic destruction by a foreign country of a valuable Indian industry, which, besides satisfying an internal demand in India itself, provides one-tenth of the whole export trade of merchandise from India?

The basis of this demand is the hypothesis that, except for medicinal purposes, the use of opium is wholly pernicious, that it demoralises and ruins, body and soul, the consumer, and that it produces no countervailing benefits which for a moment can be compared with the evils it causes.

A second reason given is that the English people have created the demand for opium by the Chinese, that they have compelled the importation of Indian opium into China by force of arms, and that they are, therefore, morally responsible for the asserted degradation of the Chinese from the use of this drug.

I shall now proceed to examine the validity of these reasons, and I shall begin with the second.

If there is one fact more certain than any other connected with this question, it is that the people of China have used opium for centuries before the people of England had any voice in the affairs of India. A valuable "Historical Note on Opium in China" has recently been drawn up by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Service, and published by order of Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China. From this note it appears that opium was first brought to China by the Arabs early in the 8th century, and it is frequently mentioned by Chinese writers of that time. It seems at first to have been valued for its medicinal qualities; but that it was not confined to this is proved by quotations from the Chinese poets of the 10th century. One, named Su Chê, writing on the poppy, which he grew in his garden, says:—

"It is sown with wheat, and ripens with panicked millet; when growing, it may be eaten like the vegetables in spring. The seeds are like autumn millet. When ground, they yield a sap like cow's milk; when boiled, they become a drink fit for Buddha. Old men, whose powers have decayed, who have little appetite, who, when they eat meat, cannot digest it, and when they eat vegetables cannot distinguish their flavour, should take this drink. Use a willow mallet and a stone basin to beat it. Boil it in water that has been sweetened with honey. It restores tranquility to the lungs and nourishes the stomach. For three years the door has been closed, and I have gone nowhere and come back from nowhere. I see here the 'Hermit of the Shade' (a Taoist priest) and the long-robed Buddhist priest; when they sit opposite I forget to speak. Then I have but to drink a cup of this poppy-seed decoction. I laugh, I am happy, I have come to Ying-ch'uan, and am wandering on the banks of its river. I seem to be climbing the slopes of the Lu Mountain in the far West."

Recipes for the use of opium medicinally appear from time to time in the works of Chinese writers of every subsequent century. Barbosa, a Portuguese geographical discoverer, who wrote early in the 16th century, affords evidence that the Arabs had begun to grow opium in India, and that it was exported to Siam and Pegu; and that it was brought to Malacca by Arabs and Gentiles (Hindoos) to exchange for cargoes of Chinese junks. In the Chinese tariffs of 1,589 and 1,615 opium is entered and rated. After citing a mass of evidence on the subject, Dr. Edkins concludes that—

"It appears plain that from the latter part of the 15th century, the manufacture of native opium has existed in China; and it is not only in recent years that there has been both native and foreign opium in this country."

It was not, however, until the first half of the 17th century that the practice of smoking opium commenced in China. This practice followed on the introduction of tobacco which was brought to China about 1620. Dr. Edkins writes:—

"In the time of the last Ming Emperor, who reigned from 1628 to 1644, tobacco smoking was prohibited, but the habit spread too rapidly to be checked by law. The origin of opium smoking is thus accounted for. Various ingredients were in various countries mixed with tobacco to try their effect; among them was opium."

In spite of repeated prohibitory edicts the habit of tobacco smoking became almost universal.

"This immense popularity of tobacco smoking was an indication of the readiness of the Chinese nation to adopt the use of narcotics. The same thing which took place in the 19th century with opium smoking occurred in the 17th century with tobacco smoking. The Confucian mind was shocked, the sense of propriety was wounded; but this did not prevent the rapid spread of both these modes of indulgence in all circles. Prohibitory edicts were issued in vain by Emperors animated by paternal affection for their people."

Opium smoking seems first to have commenced in Formosa. A native author quoted in 1746 described the process of smoking opium mixed with tobacco and hemp. It was used as an aid to sensual indulgence. In the year 1729 an edict was issued on opium smoking, prohibiting under the severest penalties the sale of opium, and the opening of opium-smoking houses. From that time forward they have been in theory a crime, but in practice have never been so treated. Opium continued to be imported and passed at the custom-houses, and the cultivation of the poppy in China continued to extend. It was not until 1773, after the conquest of Bengal by Clive that English merchants took up the import trade, which had steadily increased in the hands of the Portuguese, and it was not until 1781 that the East India Company became the traders in the drug. In 1767 the imports into China are said to have reached 1,000 chests, and the duty was three taels a chest. The statistics of trade from India were not then registered with the care and accuracy introduced later by the East India Company. It will be seen that the Abbé Raynal, in 1770, gives an export of from 3,000 to 4,000 chests from Patna alone. It was nominally imported as a medicinal drug, but in practice was used as a medicine and for smoking. It is thus amply proved that the English are not responsible for the introduction or use of opium in China.

In the beginning of this paper I have shown that the extension of the opium trade is only a part, and not an undue part, of the general extension of foreign trade which has developed under the English administration of India. But, it is said, the English have forced this trade on the Chinese. The war with China, which terminated in 1842, has been called the Opium War, and its immediate cause was no doubt the seizure and destruction by the Chinese of a large number of chests of Indian opium belonging to English merchants. But contemporary history shows that the real objections of the Chinese were not to the import of opium, but to the necessity of paying for it in silver. Commander J. Elliot Bingham, who served in that war, and wrote its history, shows that the imports into China of opium, metals, cotton, &c., exceeded the exports of tea, silk, &c., by 2,500,000 sterling. The Chinese held the economic fallacy that this state of things was injurious to their country, as it drained away their silver. The Imperial edicts enlarged more on the abstraction of their sycee silver than on the injury from opium to the morals of the people. One high Chinese official memorialised the Emperor "to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the Custom House it shall be delivered to the Hong merchants only in exchange for merchandise, and that no money be paid for it;" and further, that the exportation of money and sycee silver be prohibited. But to whatever extent the wars with China were connected with smuggling of Indian opium, it is certain that since 1858, when the Treaty of Tientsin was signed the Chinese Government has had a perfectly free hand in the matter of the importation of opium. By that treaty certain commercial concessions were arranged which included the legitimatising of the import of opium, subject to a duty being levied thereon. But in the treaty itself there was no mention of or allusion to the opium trade. Lord Elgin wrote that he intentionally abstained from urging any treaty recognition of that trade. The preparation of the tariff devolved on Mr. Lay, the Chinese Secretary to Lord Elgin's special mission, at the desire of the Chinese no less than that of Lord Elgin. Mr. Lay, in a letter to the "Times" of the 22nd October 1880, wrote:—

"When I came to 'opium,' I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was, 'We have resolved to put it into the tariff as foreign medicine.' I urged a moderate duty in view of the cost of collection, which was agreed to. This represents with strict accuracy, the amount of 'extortion' resorted to. . . . The Chinese Government admitted opium as a legal article of import, not under constraint, but of their own free will deliberately."

In the "Times" of the 25th of same month, a letter appeared from Mr. Laurence Oliphant, who was secretary to Lord Elgin's Mission, in which he confirmed the statement made by Mr. Lay. He says he, with the Commissioner appointed by the Chinese Government, went through the tariff elaborated by Mr. Lay with the subordinate Chinese officials:—

"When we came to the article 'opium' I informed the Commissioner that I had received instructions from Lord Elgin not to insist on the insertion of the drug in the tariff, should the Chinese Government wish to omit it. This he declined to do. I then proposed that the duty should be increased beyond the figures suggested in the tariff; but to this he objected, on the ground that it would increase the inducements to smuggling."

I trust that the delusion that the opium trade now existing with China was 'extorted' from that country by the British Ambassador may be finally dispelled."

In 1876, a convention or agreement, called the Chefoo Convention, was arrived at between the Governments of Great Britain and China, in which the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, promised to move his Government to make certain special arrangements as to the import of opium. These arrangements were finally carried out by an additional Article, signed at London in 1885. By this Article an addition to the import duty of 30 taels per chest was agreed to. It amounts to a further 80 taels per chest, and frees the opium from any further duty or tax whilst in transport in the interior, being, in fact, a composition of the *likin* tax. When the package is opened at the place of consumption, it is subject to any tax which may be levied on native opium.

During the three years ending 1890, the average import of opium into China was 78,360 piculs or chests, valued at 30,577,235 Haikwan taels. The average import duty was 2,355,650 taels; the opium *likin*, 6,278,922 taels, making a total receipt averaging 8,634,572 Haikwan taels per annum. What is called the par value of a Haikwan tael, measured in gold is 6s. 8d., that is, there are three such taels to the pound sterling. At this rate, the receipts of the Chinese Government from the import of opium are equivalent to 2,878,000*l.* a year. The great appreciation which has taken place in the value of gold has, of course, lowered the exchange value of the silver tael, and this, no doubt, affects China in the payment of debts to gold standard countries; but for internal purposes the value of the tael has been little affected. This large revenue, equal now to about 2,000,000*l.*, and forming more than one third of the entire Customs revenue of China, is collected by the department presided over by Sir Robert Hart—a department admirably administered, and scrupulously accounting for its collections to the Imperial Government at Peking. The *likin* for which the payment of 80 taels per chest is a composition, was formerly collected as transit duties by the local Chinese authorities through whose provinces the opium passed. The Imperial Government received only such portion of the collections as they could manage to get out of the Provincial Governments, who, on the other hand, strove to retain as much as possible. The arrangements under the Chefoo Convention are, therefore, very advantageous to the Imperial Government at Peking, which cannot afford to dispense with this large revenue derived from the import of opium.

Another result of the Chefoo Convention has been greatly improved arrangements for the prevention of smuggling of opium from Hong Kong. A mixed Commission was appointed, including a Chinese officer of high rank, which resulted in an Ordinance of the Hong Kong Legislature passed in May 1887, by which the movement of opium into, within, and from Hong Kong is strictly regulated with the view to the prevention of smuggling into China.

It is clear then that Indian opium is now imported into China with the full approval and consent of the Chinese Government, who are at liberty to terminate the present arrangement at any time by giving twelve months' notice of their desire to terminate it. It is equally certain that Great Britain would never fire a gun to force Indian opium on the Chinese.

I have already referred to the early history of opium in China. Sir Robert Hart said, in 1881, that "Native opium was known, produced, and used long before any European began the sale of the drug along the coast." The production of opium in China has gone on steadily increasing, and has been encouraged by the restrictions and heavy taxation placed on India opium by the Government of India. All travellers and the consular

authorities testify to the vast areas under poppy cultivation. The produce of native opium has been estimated to be from three to ten times the quantity of the imported drug. Chinese opium is now much better prepared than it formerly was, and it has practically driven Indian opium out of the markets of Northern China, and, so far as we know, it supplies the bulk of the demand in the inland and western provinces. The local drug is much cheaper than imported opium. The Burma revenue officers are constantly striving to prevent importation of cheap Chinese opium into Burma.

Of the numerous recent travellers in China I will quote only Mr. Hosie, a consular agent, who, in 1883, travelled from February to June through the provinces of Sse-ch'nan, Yünnan, and Kueichon. His diary has almost daily references to the extensive poppy cultivation through which he passed. In many places it was the principal crop. With regard to the Government prohibition he writes:—

"I have noticed in several places west of the provincial capital a proclamation, dated the 9th November 1882, by the Governor-General of Sse-ch'nan, prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy, and enjoining a more extended sowing of the cereals. It was always more or less mutilated, whether intentionally or not I cannot say. At all events poppy was frequently growing on the side of the road opposite to that on which the proclamation was posted. It is one thing to issue instructions, another to see that they are carried out."

The prohibition is evidently in the nature of a pious opinion, meant for show and not for use.

Mr. Hosie, writing on the 5th June 1883, says:—

"It seems superfluous daily to mention poppy as a crop. To-day, however, it was exceedingly prominent, growing everywhere on the hill-sides and bottom lands. Large rice bowls, heaped with the drug, were exposed at the door of almost every shop in every hamlet and village, not a bowl here and there, but several, eight being a very common number. In fact the whole country reeks and stinks of opium."

With these facts before us, how can it be maintained that the consumption of opium in China can be affected by the imports of Indian opium, except in so far that these supply a purer and more expensive article, the suppression of which would lead to larger products of native opium of inferior quality?

I will here quote the opinion of the Rev. F. Galpin, of the English Methodist Free Church, a respected missionary at Ningpo, an important port on the east coast of China. When asked, about ten years ago, to join in a petition to the House of Commons against the opium, he refused to do so, and, in his letter of refusal, wrote:—

"I beg to express my hearty dissent from the idea presented in the petition that the Chinese people or Government are really anxious to remove the abuse of opium. The remedy has always been, as it is now, in their own hands. Neither do I believe that if the importation of Indian opium ceased at once, the Chinese Government would set about destroying a very fruitful means of revenue. On the contrary, I feel sure that the growth of Chinese opium would be increased forthwith."

I could multiply to any extent the evidence of the extensive cultivation of poppy in China, but I think I have said enough to show that it is a fact which cannot be denied.

I will now proceed to discuss the crucial question as to the effects of consuming opium, of which there are various forms. In China the usual form is by what is called smoking opium. In India it is eaten. In Europe it is drunk in the form of laudanum, or a tincture prepared in spirits of wine. We must consider what is the effect on the average consumer, and not confine our attention to the cases of those persons only who indulge in the habit to excess, cases which I shall show are exceptional.

The Anti-Opium Society look at only one side of this question, and they arrive at their conclusions by generalising over the whole number of opium consumers the results observed or recorded in the case of frequenters of what are called "opium dens." Even in these cases they make no allowance for the fact that many of the indulgers in the drug have been led to the habit by painful diseases, from which they have sought and found relief in opium, and that these diseases—not due but antecedent to the resort to the drug—largely account for the wretched appearance and condition of the patients. This is much as if one who derived his knowledge of the effects of alcohol solely from the gin palaces, or lower drinking shops in London, should con-

clude that habits of intoxication, brutality, and social and physical degradation there to be seen, were typical of the mass of alcohol consumers in England; in short that everyone who was not a total abstainer was a confirmed drunkard. We know this is untrue, and that the great body of Englishmen, whether of the upper or the working classes, take their liquor in moderation, and with positive benefit to themselves. So, too, with the consumers of opium in China and India. To prove this there is the evidence of numerous Englishmen who have resided for a long time in those countries, and whose duty it has been to acquaint themselves with the facts. Some of this evidence I will put before you.

It may be safely said that all but a very small percentage of the people of this country are absolutely ignorant of the normal effects of the habit of using opium. The popular ideas on the subject which prevail are largely due to Thomas De Quincey, who, in 1822, published the confessions of an English opium eater. Many have read this fascinating work, and many more have heard of it, and look upon De Quincey as the "shocking example" of such a habit. But I venture to say that his confessions completely disprove the allegations put forward by the opponents of the use of the drug. De Quincey (I am quoting Mr. Henry Morley) inherited a delicate and nervous constitution. His father died of consumption at the age of 39. In his youth he ran away from school, and, in the course of his subsequent adventures, passed through a period of hardship and want. He wrote that while wandering in Wales, where he seldom slept under a roof, he was reduced to one meal a day.

"From the keen appetite he says, produced by constant exercise and mountain air, acting on a youthful stomach, I soon began to suffer greatly on this slender regimen, for the single meal which I could venture to order was coffee or tea. Even this was at length withdrawn, and afterwards, so long as I remained in Wales, I subsisted either on blackberries, hips, haws, &c., or on the casual hospitalities which I now and then received in return for such little services as I had opportunity of rendering."

Soon after this he came to London.

"And now began the latter and fiercer stage of my long sufferings; without using a disproportionate expression, I might say, of my agony. For I now suffered, for upwards of 16 weeks, the physical anguish of hunger in various degrees of intensity, but as little perhaps as ever any human being can have suffered who has survived. . . . Let it suffice to say that a few fragments of bread from the breakfast-table of one individual (who supposed me to be ill, but did not know of my being in utter want), and these at uncertain intervals, constituted my whole support."

To these hardships he attributes the pains, which subsequently drove him to the daily use of opium. In 1804, when he was just 19 years of age, after suffering for about 20 days from excruciating rheumatic pains of the head and face, with hardly any respite, at the advice of a friend he took his first dose of laudanum. He thus describes the result:—

"That my pains had vanished was now a trifle in my eyes; this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me—in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed."

From this time, for about eight years, he regularly took laudanum, though not daily. He writes: "And how do I find my health after all this opium eating?" And he thus answers the question:—

"If I dared to say the real and simple truth, though to satisfy the theories of medical men I ought to be ill, I never was better in my life than in the spring of 1812; and I hope sincerely that the quantity of claret, port, or 'particular Madeira' which, in all probability you, good reader, have taken, and design to take, for every term of eight years during your natural life, may as little disorder your health as mine was disordered by the opium I had taken for eight years between 1804 and 1812."

In this last year he suffered much in bodily health from distress of mind connected with a very melancholy event, and in 1813 the internal pains he had suffered from in his boyhood again attacked him. He then began to take opium daily, and the habit so grew upon him that in a few years he was taking it at the rate of 340 grains a day, or about half a pint of laudanum. With marriage in view he gradually reduced it 40 grains. In 1816 he married, and had a large family of sons and daughters. He occasionally relapsed into excess of opium-taking, until the close of 1844. From that time

he reduced his allowance to 6 grains a day, and in his latter years De Quincey's life passed peacefully, free wholly from distress of mind. He died in 1859, in his 75th year. Here we have, then, the instance of a man, of a naturally delicate and nervous constitution, whose early life was subject to great physical hardship, who from the age of 19 indulged in the use of opium—for a long period in excessive quantities—and who yet retained his mental qualities unimpaired, led an active literary life, was one of the most brilliant, accomplished, and intellectual writers England has produced, and who lived to the good age of 75 years.

Now what does De Quincey, with his unparalleled experience, says of the effects of opium-taking? Here are his own words with respect to its bodily effects:—

"Upon all that has hitherto been written on the subject of opium, whether by travellers in Turkey (who may plead the privilege of lying as an immemorial right) or by professors of medicine, writing *ex cathedra*, I have but one emphatic criticism to pronounce—Lies! lies! lies!"\*

Again—

"It is not so much affirmed as taken for granted, by all who ever mention opium, formally and incidentally, that it does or can produce intoxication. Now, reader, assure yourself, *meo periculo*, that no quantity of opium ever did or could intoxicate. As to the tincture of opium (commonly called laudanum), that might intoxicate if a man could bear enough of it. But why? Because it contains so much proof spirit, and not because it contains so much opium. But crude opium, I affirm peremptorily, is incapable of producing any state of body at all resembling that which is produced by alcohol, and not in degree only incapable, but even in kind. It is not in the quantity of its effects merely, but in the quality that it differs altogether. . . . The main distinction lies in this, that whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony."

With respect to the allegation that the elevation of spirits produced by opium is necessarily followed by a proportionate depression, De Quincey simply denies it—

"Assuring my reader that for 10 years, during which I took opium at intervals, the day succeeding to that on which I allowed myself this luxury was always a day of unusually good spirits."

Again—

"With respect to the torpor supposed to follow, or, rather (if we were to credit the numerous pictures of Turkish opium eaters), to accompany the practice of opium eating, I deny that also. Certainly, opium is classed under the head of narcotics, and some such effect it may produce in the end; but the primary effects of opium are always, and in the highest degree, to excite and stimulate the system. This first stage of action always lasted with me, during my noviciate, for upwards of eight hours; so that it must be the fault of the opium eater himself if he does not so time his exhibition of the dose (to speak medically) as that the whole weight of its narcotic influence may descend upon his sleep."

De Quincey, in fact, used to take his dose before going to the Italian Opera, as he found it greatly increased his mental activity and appreciation of the entertainment. He observes that it is remarkable that, during the whole period of years through which he had taken opium, he had never once caught cold (as the phrase is); not even the slightest cough. It was not until De Quincey commenced to wean himself from the habit of taking excessive doses of the drug, that he experienced what he calls the pains of opium. It kept its hold on him "by the tortures connected with the 'attempt to abjure it.' Nevertheless, he succeeded, in a few weeks, in bringing down the quantities to a moderate amount. He writes: "The issue of my case 'is at least a proof that opium, after a 17 years' use 'and an eight years' abuse of its powers, may still be 'renounced.'"

So much for the experiences of an English opium eater. They are quite consistent with the assertion that the moderate use of opium, by a person in good health, may be continued for years, not only without any harmful effects, but with absolute benefit.

\* Since De Quincey wrote this, the views of the medical profession as to the effects of opium consumption (especially such members of the profession as have had wide experience in India and China) have greatly modified, and are now more in accordance with the conclusions of De Quincey.

Let us now see what is the effect on the Chinese, who resort to the more innocuous habit of smoking opium. In February 1882 three lectures were given in St. James's Hall by the late Mr. William Brereton, and were subsequently published under the title, "The 'Truth About Opium.'" Mr. Brereton lived and practised as a solicitor for nearly fifteen years in Hong Kong, where he had daily experience of the custom and effects of opium smoking. He was in no way engaged in the opium trade, and had no pecuniary interest in it, but felt it is his duty to endeavour to dispel what he called the unfounded delusions which have taken possession of the public mind on the subject. His book is a storehouse of facts and arguments. It is written in a bright and intelligent style, and I strongly recommended its perusal to anyone interested in the question. The fact have never been denied, or the arguments answered by anyone having a personal knowledge of the subject. I shall take the liberty of quoting largely from this book.

Mr. Brereton commences by stating that, having had daily intercourse with the people from whom the best and most trustworthy information on the subject of opium and opium smoking could be obtained, his experience is that opium smoking as practised by the Chinese is perfectly innocuous, and that this is a fact so patent that it forces itself upon the attention of every intelligent resident in China who has given ordinary attention to the subject. He quotes numerous high authorities in support of this view. The first is Dr. Philip Ayres, Inspector of Hospitals of Hong Kong for many years, who both in India and in China made the subject of opium consumption a special study, and who had a large native practice amongst the Chinese.

In a report to the Government of Hong Kong for the year 1881, Dr. Ayres wrote:—

"I have come to the conclusion that opium smoking is a luxury of a very harmless description."

In an article of the "Friend of China," written by Dr. Ayres, he says:—

"My opinion is that it (opium smoking) may become a habit, but that that habit is not necessarily an increasing one. Nine out of twelve men smoke a certain number of pipes a day, just as a tobacco smoker would, or as a wine or beer drinker might drink his two or three glasses a day, without desiring more. I think the excessive opium smoker is in a greater minority than the excessive spirit drinker or tobacco smoker. In my experience, the habit does no physical harm in moderation. . . . I do not wish to defend the practice of opium smoking, but in the face of the rash opinions and exaggerated statements in respect of this vice, it is only right to record that no China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated opium smoker met with in print, nor have I found many Europeans who believe that they ever get the better of their opium smoking comrades in matters of business."

Another authority is Mr. John Crawford, F.R.S., a *savant* of high reputation, who had been Governor of the Straits Settlements, and who had resided and travelled for many years in those parts of the East and India. In 1856, he published a "Dictionary of the 'Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries.'" This is what he writes about opium:—

"Opium is at present largely consumed in the Malayan Islands, in China, in the Indo-Chinese countries, and in a few parts of Hindustan, much in the same way in which ardent spirits, malt liquor, and cider are consumed in Europe. Its deleterious character has been much insisted on, but, generally, by parties who have had no experience of its effects. Like any other narcotic, or stimulant, the habitual use of it is amenable to abuse, and as being more seductive than other stimulants, perhaps more so, but this is certainly the utmost than can be safely charged to it. Thousands consume it without any pernicious results, as thousands do wine and spirits, without any evil consequence. I know of no person of long experience and competent judgment who has not come to this common-sense conclusion."

He then proceeds to quote Dr. Oxley:—

"A physician and naturalist of eminence, and who has had a larger experience than any man of Singapore, where there is the highest rate of the consumption of the drug."

Dr. Oxley wrote:—

"The inordinate use, or rather abuse, of the drug most decidedly does bring on early decrepitude, loss of appetite, and a morbid state of the secretions; but I have seen a man who has used the drug for 50 years



in moderation, without any evil effects; and one man I recollect in Malacca who had so used it was upwards of eighty. Several in the habit of smoking it have assured me that, in moderation, it neither impaired the functions nor shortened life; at the same time, fully admitting the deleterious effects of too much."

Mr. Crawford sums up the question by this assertion:—

"Not the use, then, but the abuse of opium is prejudicial to health, but in this respect it does not materially differ from wine, distilled spirits, malt liquor, or hemp juice."

Dr. Eatwell, First Assistant Opium Examiner in the service of the Government, gave the following evidence:—

"Having passed three years in China, I may be allowed to state, as the result of my observation, and I can affirm thus far, that the effects of the abuse of the drug do not come very frequently under observation, and that when cases do occur, the habit is frequently found to have induced by the presence of some painful chronic disease, to escape from the suffering of which the patient has fled to this resource. . . . As regards the effects of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people, I must affirm that no injurious results are visible. The people are generally a muscular and well-formed race, the labouring portion being capable of great and prolonged exertion under a fierce sun, in an unhealthy climate."

Dr. Eatwell concludes by observing that:—

"The proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than does the moderate use of spirituous liquors; whilst, at the same time, it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effect upon the victims, and less disastrous to society at large, than are the consequences of the abuse of the latter."

For many years previous to 1858, Dr. Sinibaldo de Mas had been the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Court of Spain at Peking. He had travelled much in China, India, Java, Borneo, and Malacca, and learned the Chinese language. In 1858 he published a book in French entitled "*L'Angleterre, le Chine, et l'Inde*," in which special reference is made to the opium question, with which he says he had made himself fully acquainted. I will only quote a few words:—

"It is a well known fact that in all these countries, notwithstanding their unwholesome climates, the opium-smoking Chinese are remarkably healthy and strong. These very opium-smokers are employed as farm labourers, masons, and porters, enduring great fatigue and performing the most arduous labours: they have acquired such an excellent reputation as colonists that efforts have been made during the last few years to induce them to settle in Lima and Cuba. The percentage of deaths among these people does not exceed the usual rate, and I must confess that having known numbers of Chinese emigrants in the various countries I have mentioned, I have never heard of a single death or any serious illness having been caused by opium smoking."

Baron Richthofen, the most experienced traveller who ever visited Sse-ch'uan, after noticing the extraordinary prevalence there of the habit of opium smoking, says:—

"In no other province except Hunan did I find the effects of the use of opium so little perceptible as in Sse-ch'uan."

Mr. Colman Baber, who knew more of that province and its people than any living Englishman, says:—

"Nowhere in China are the people so well off, or so hardy, and nowhere do they smoke so much opium."

Mr. W. Donald Spence, Her Majesty's Consul at Tchung, in 1881, visited the capital of Sse-ch'uan. He reported the enormous extent of the cultivation of the poppy, and described whole districts as being one vast poppy field, and he thus speaks of the people:—

"I found the people of Sse-ch'uan stout, able-bodied men, better housed, clad, and fed, and healthier looking than the Chinese of the Lower Yang-tze. I did not see amongst them more emaciated faces and wasted forms than disease causes in all lands. People with slow wasting diseases, such as consumption, are, if they smoke opium, apt to be classed amongst the 'ruined victims' of hasty observers; and amongst the cases of combined debility and opium smoking I saw, some were, by their own account, pseudo-victims of this type. There were some, too, whose health was com-

pletely sapped by smoking combined with other forms of sensual excess. And no doubt there were others weakened by excessive smoking simply, for excess in all things has its penalty. But the general health and well-being of the Sse-ch'uan community is remarkable: to their capacity for work and endurance of hardship, as well as to the material comforts of life they surround themselves with, all travellers bear enthusiastic testimony."

Time will not allow me to extend these quotations, although there is a mass of concurrent evidence on the subject. I will, however, add that of Sir Henry Pottinger, H.M.'s Governor-General and Minister Plenipotentiary in China, contained in a despatch written some 60 years ago, to the Foreign Office:—

"I cannot admit in any manner the idea adopted by many persons, that the introduction of opium into China is a source of unmitigated evil of every kind and a cause of misery. Personally, I have been unable to discover a single case of this kind, although I admit that, when abused, opium may become most hurtful. Besides, the same remark applies to every kind of enjoyment when carried to excess; but, from personal observations since my arrival in China; from information taken upon all points; and, lastly, from what the mandarins themselves say, I am convinced that the demoralisation and ruin which some persons attribute to the use of opium, arise more likely from imperfect knowledge of the subject and exaggeration, and that not one hundredth part of the evil arises in China from opium smoking which one sees daily arising in England, as well as in India, from the use of ardent spirits, so largely taken in excess in these countries."

The picture drawn by the opponents of opium is that those who are in the habit of using it are a set of degraded, depraved, miserable wretches, enfeebled in mind and body, unfit for the active duties of life—thieves, vagabonds, and beggars. They do not admit—or, at any rate, never refer to the possibility of—the existence of moderate consumers, who, although they take their daily dose, are not only none the worse for it, but are actually benefited. The only exception which I have found is the Venerable Archdeacon Moule, who was for many years a missionary in China, and who has recently published his recollections of his life in that country. The Archdeacon is violently opposed to the opium trade, and has no words too bad for it: but he writes:—"Instances which have come under my notice make me think that opium smoking is already taking the place, not of abuse of alcohol (which it has hitherto held) in Chinese moral estimation, but of the use of alcohol; and that it is becoming possible to take the drug in moderation." He very sensibly adds that the Chinese have a fair right to say to the English people, "If you would prohibit our opium, abolish your alcohol."

But this ingenuous discovery of the possibility of the Chinese taking opium in moderation, as the mass of Englishmen take alcohol in moderation, has been known to every resident of China who has taken the trouble to inform himself of all the facts, and has not confined his attention to opium dens.

I will now examine the evidence as to the effect of opium consumption by the people of India. A Parliamentary Blue Book was published on this subject a few weeks ago. It contains the reply of the Government of India to a memorial of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, complaining of the increased consumption of the drug in India—a complaint which has been triumphantly disproved. This Blue Book contains the opinions of experienced officers engaged in the administration of the country, writing from their own personal knowledge, which it was a part of their duty to acquire, as to the effects of opium consumption on the people of India.

Now, let us see what these experienced gentlemen say. I will quote their evidence from every part of India.

The Province of Assam has a population of a little over 4,000,000, or about 2 per cent. of the whole population of British India. They consume 13 per cent. of the whole quantity of opium retailed by licensed vendors in British India. The following is the testimony of Mr. Driberg, Commissioner of Excise in Assam:—

"I am not prepared to admit that the present use of opium in Assam is a 'vice.' In most cases it is a necessity. When we first acquired Assam (I now speak of the Assam Valley) every villager grew his own opium, just as he now does his vegetables or his



chillies for his curry. He has no tax to pay for his opium field, no restrictions placed on him. The former rulers recognised that a certain amount of the drug was necessary. Taking it broadly, and excluding tea gardens, the valley is inhabited by two classes; the Cacharies, Lalongs, Meches, and other aboriginal tribes, who reside on the higher submontane tracts, or along the high banks of the larger rivers, and the Hindus, the Kolitas, Koshes, Keots, and others who reside in the low-lying country, subject annually to inundation, and always damp. The former people do not use opium; they do not require it; but the lowlanders use it. They are the opium eaters of Assam. They live in a low, damp part of the country. Year after year parts of their villages are submerged and temporarily abandoned; and these people use opium to counteract the damp and malaria. They themselves say that they would die from fevers, if they did not use opium; and I have known medical men, who have had much experience of the province, hold the same view. These people are opium eaters, but not of the class described in the papers. They are good agriculturists, good subjects, and good fathers of families. They take their opium just as a good Englishman would take his peg. Of course, there are Assamese who take too much opium, just as there are Englishmen who take too much liquor; but, that opium eating is always a vice I am not prepared to admit, so far as Assamese are concerned; and, that it is increasing, I deny, and the statement I have referred to proves my view. In the Surma Valley, little opium is consumed. The people there use ganja, rather than opium; and even there, the consumption of this drug is smaller now than it was in 1874-75, and the duty is higher."

The views of Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, an officer of long and wide experience in India, will be gathered from the following paragraph of his report to the Government of India:

"As to the proposal to limit the possession of opium to one tolah instead of five, its effect on the ordinary consumer of opium would be undesirable. A quarter of a tolah is a common, perhaps the commonest, dose taken daily by those who are addicted to the use of opium, and it is within Sir Charles Elliott's personal knowledge and experience that this quantity is taken by innumerable persons in all parts of India, from Rajputana and the Punjab to Assam, without any injury or physical deterioration; that heavy tasks are easily performed under the stimulus it supplies; and that the prevalent belief is that the stimulus is wholesome, even in a dry climate, and is especially beneficial in moist and marshy countries like Eastern Bengal. The consumer of such a dose can now procure his supply for 20 days by one visit to an opium shop; if the limit were reduced to one tolah, he would require to visit the shop every four days—an annoyance which there is no reason for imposing upon him, and the inposition of which would lead to increased smuggling and to breaches of the law."

The opium agent of Behar writes:—

"We have to consider the consumers of opium in the malarious alluvial tracts which form a great proportion of the area of these provinces. The use of opium by these people is not so much a vice as a necessity. Their vegetable diet would not keep them alive without stimulants, and I doubt whether it would be for their benefit to stop their opium and drive them to ganja or spirits. On the comparatively dry laterite soil the people are spirit drinkers. On the alluvial mud they either use opium or the far more deleterious ganja.\* I do not believe that the prevention of the cultivation of the poppy in British India would cut off the supply of a drug which bears so high a value as opium, which the people believe to be so necessary to them, and which from its small bulk is, if the smell is disguised, very easily smuggled. I also doubt whether there is any equally efficient febrifuge within the reach of the people, and whether their health would not suffer greatly if they could not procure opium. It does not appear to produce such insanity as ganja does, and where people are as well fed as the Mahomedan ryots of Eastern Bengal, I am informed that opium smoking does not injure them. It is said to be opium smoking on insufficient food that affects the health."

"In conclusion, I may say that I believe there has been much exaggeration as to the scenes of intoxication to be witnessed in the chandu and madak shops. As I have already said, there is none in the retail opium

shops. I have visited shops in which more than a score of persons have been smoking chandu or madak without seeing any person lying intoxicated, or unable to answer my questions intelligently. I have also, however, seen persons in other shops lying asleep, and presumably intoxicated, but not many. It is, I believe, usual for the smokers of chandu, the Chinese preparation of opium, to sleep, presumably intoxicated, before leaving the premises; but in the madak shops this is by no means always the case, and I have seen many get up and go away quietly from the shop after smoking the drug. They have told me that they have no desire to sleep after it."

The Commissioner of Excise in the Central Provinces writes:—

"The eating of opium (as distinguished from smoking it) in moderate quantities, though generally held in disrepute and regarded as a vice by those who do not indulge in it, is not considered to be always harmful. Indeed, the current belief is that in certain localities and for certain ages and constitutions its use may be actually beneficial and conducive to health and longevity."

The Financial Commissioner of Burma says:—

"The Chinese at Bhamo and also in Mergui assured me that they could not exist in malarious countries, such as those in which the jade and amber mines and the tin mines are situated, without opium. As far as I know the use of opium is universal amongst the Chinese and hill tribes in feverish tracts. I believe that they seldom abuse the use of the drug, and I have every reason to suppose that its use is beneficial under certain conditions."

Sir Charles Aitchison, who was Chief Commissioner of Burma, says:—

"There are large numbers of the non-Burmese community, constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population, to whom the drug is a necessity of life, and by whom it is rarely abused."

Mr. Copleston, the Commissioner of Excise in Burma, gives similar testimony. He says:—

"The use of opium by the Chinese and natives of Madras, who consume a considerable quantity, is not known or believed to work special evil either to individuals or to society, the reason being that these people do not abandon labour and active pursuits in order to eat or smoke opium, and its bad effects are therefore thrown off. The Chinese especially are well nourished, and this fact, too, appears to be an important one. In this case opium may almost be called a legitimate luxury."

It is true that the authorities in Burma seem to have arrived at the strange conclusion that opium is a benefit to everyone in that country, except the Burmese themselves, to whom it is said to be an unmitigated evil. No definite evidence of this is adduced. It seems to be based on the expressed opinion of certain Burmese gentlemen who do not use the drug.

The Government of Madras reports the result of the visit by an official to most of the "opium dens" in the town of Madras:—

"1. Most of the smoking dens were visited, and in each from 10 to 20 smokers were seen. They were of all ages—from 20 to 60 years of age—and comprised both Muhammadans and Hindus. Several professions were represented—jutka drivers, native doctors, musicians, professional beggars, butchers, sweetmeat sellers, and petty shop-keepers. Some were smokers of a few months, some of 20 and 30 years' standing."

"2. In most cases the smokers left immediately after they had finished their smoke. They purchased 8 pies to 2 annas and 6 pies worth each. Each smoker usually brought some sweetmeats or sugar-cane with him, and ate or chewed it while smoking. This, it was said, was done as the opium produced a bitter taste in the mouth."

"3. To see any smoker more affected than a man who had taken his usual glass of liquor was very rare, and in such cases it was said that the man had either taken his smoke out of time or had smoked more than he was used to."

"4. No women or children were seen in the dens, and it was stated that they do not frequent them."

"5. Cases of emaciation from the effects of opium smoking were not seen. Many of the old smokers seen were, on the contrary, very robust and well-conditioned; notably among these might be mentioned the keeper of one of the dens, a Chinaman, who is reported to have smoked for over 30 years, and who is now over 50 years of age; a vendor of country spirits, a smoker for over

\* Hemp.

20 years; and a Muhammeden Hakim of about 45, who has smoked for over 10 years.

"6. Most of those spoken to admitted that the habit once contracted was difficult to give up, but they said that it did them no more harm than the workmen's glass of liquor did, if they did not exceed their usual quantity.

"7. Several complaints were made that the opium was now so dear, that what a few years ago cost 3 or 4 pies could not now be purchased for 1 anna."

The report from the Government of the North-West Provinces does not enter into the question of the effect of consumption of opium on the people. The poppy is largely cultivated in these provinces, and the facilities for the illicit use of the drug are naturally great. The absence of any mention in the Government reports of any marked evil effects on the population is, at any rate, negative evidence that no glaring abuses exist.

The Government of the Punjab reports:—

"The ratio of consumption of opium to population is not so high as to be a cause of anxiety in regard to the health and morals of the people. In the few tracts where the habit may be said to be general among certain classes of the population, it is of old standing, and does not seem to do so much harm as might be expected. The people, on the contrary, assert that they find it a protection against fever."

The Commissioner of Excise in that province writes:—

"The Government of India requests that the general questions raised may be discussed as far as they affect the Punjab, and in replying to the Government of India it should, I think, be forcibly pointed out that, apart from financial considerations, any attempt to prohibit the sale of opium, except for medicinal purposes, would in this province be most unpopular, and consequently politically inexpedient; while, if the poppy were grown without restriction, and the sale of opium were allowed free, the consumption of opium and its preparations would inevitably increase. Sikhs, Hindus, and Muhammadans alike eat opium, and at present the residents in the Phulkian States are the largest consumers.

"The memorialists themselves admit that in malarious tracts opium is useful as a prophylactic, and I think that the opportunity afforded by the presentation of this memorial should be taken to state clearly that the poppy has been cultivated and opium eaten in the Punjab from a period antecedent to British rule: that the drug, when taken in this form in moderation, is not believed to be necessarily prejudicial; and that, although indulgence in the habit may legitimately be restricted by taxation, and thereby made a source of revenue to the State, prohibition and unrestricted consumption are alike out of the question."

The collector of Nasik, in the Bombay Presidency, writes:—

"My own opinion is—and it is formed after 23 years service actually among the people and in nearly every part of the Bombay Presidency and of the Mysore Province—

"1. That opium smoking or eating, as practised by the vast majority of people who use the drug, is not carried to excess.

"2. That the moderate consumption of opium is no more harmful than the moderate consumption of liquor, and in many cases, like the moderate consumption of liquor, is distinctly beneficial.

"3. That the increased revenue from opium is due (a) to the more effectual steps to prevent smuggling, (b) to the increasing population, and (c) to the increasing prosperity of the people, which gives them more money to spend on luxuries.

"4. That the 'opium sot' is a much less harmful person to his family and to his neighbours, and the community generally, than the drunkard; and

"5. That Government, even if it tried, could no more prevent the consumption of opium than the consumption of drink. It would be useless to attempt to achieve either end: it would be worse than useless. It would, in my opinion, be a blunder, for I can see no weight in the reasoning that would prevent the vast bulk of the population indulging moderately in the opium luxury, simply because a very small minority harm themselves by indulging in it to excess.

"As regards those parts of India which I know well, and those alone, it is a gratuitous assumption that opium smoking causes 'widespread misery and demoralisation,' and so also is it that 'the British connexion with the opium trade' is a 'serious hindrance to missionary work.' Apart from the fact that the Govern-

ment of India has nothing to do with missionary work, I have never once in 23 years heard a single missionary—and I have met dozens—specially refer to or quote the opium trade as interfering with his endeavours. The proposition is true in the abstract, no doubt, but in the same manner that the abstract proposition is true that the existence of public-houses in the slums of London interferes with Christian effort there."

The Collector of Khandesh, also in the Bombay Presidency, who has served many years in that district, expresses his disbelief that the consumption of opium is having any bad effects on the people of agricultural districts. He writes:—

"Reading the extracts printed in the selections forwarded by the Government of India, it strikes me that the gentlemen who penned the highly coloured accounts of opium dens must have been shown the worst haunts in large towns, and that they and those who think with them inveigh against the use of opium much as teetotaliers at home attack the use of spirits and beer and wine, because of the evils of the gin palaces of our great cities. I am not prepared to admit that the use of opium in moderation is more harmful than the use of whisky. Every one who has served in Gujarat must have seen many sturdy Rajputs who took their opium regularly and were none the worse for it."

Mr. Campbell, collector of Bombay, after quoting the accounts of opium dens given by the Anti-Opium Society, goes on to say:—

"In my judgment, the picture which these accounts give of the opium smokers is overdrawn and misleading. The statement that in Bombay houses children smoke, is supported by so much precision and detail as to make it difficult to suppose the writer was mistaken. At the same time, cases of allowing children to smoke must be extremely rare. I have never seen a child smoking, or who had smoked, or who was intended to smoke. I have never seen a child in a smoking house, except the child of one of the shopmen, who professed to be, and was, I believe, aghast at the idea of allowing his child to smoke. I have not heard, either from inspectors or smokers, of the case of a child being allowed to smoke; on the contrary, after special inquiry, the Chief Inspector assures me that such cases are unknown. As to the men smokers, and the effect of smoking on their character, appearance, and health, the descriptions under their review seems to me misleading. I have no fault to find with the general description of a Bombay chandul house, given at page 9 of the reprint:—'A dirty, dilapidated, nondescript shop, with its shutters up. . . . Raised

'platforms, with some hundred recumbent and semi-recumbent figures, all men, except three women and a few lads. . . . Groups of smokers, some half lying, half sitting, others curled up, or reclining at full length.' Except that, so far as I have seen or can learn, no youths under 11 attend these smoking-houses, this description seems to me accurate. The Poona description is also moderate:—'A low-roofed room, with 25 to 30 persons, in groups of five or six round each lamp, most of them intent on their pipes, a few in a semi-conscious state.' On the other hand, I have seen nothing to justify the following passages:—'Human swine of both sexes . . . most immodest attitudes . . . handsome young women sprawling on the senseless bodies of men.' Such sights, I believe, are not to be found in Bombay smoking houses. In a room of 40 or 50 smokers all but three or four are awake. The bulk of them have done a hard day's work. They are tired and indolent. In opium-smoking houses assaults or acts of violence are almost unknown. Of the smokers very few are unable to answer questions clearly and readily. Even those asleep awake when lightly shaken. Even when suddenly aroused they can at once tell their name and calling. 'If you had to go out now and work, could you go?' Almost always the answer is 'Yes, we could.' Again, as to the effect of opium smoking on character. It is true a share of the smokers are beggars, and a share of them are bad characters. It is true the houses are watched by the police, for thieves meet in them and scheme crimes. Still, are all or nearly all the smokers not-do-wells? Not nearly all. So far as I have seen, a Bombay opium-smoking house is much like Dr. Morison's description of a Bengal smoking house:—'Almost all the smokers are of the labouring classes, tailors, day labourers, and one or two shopkeepers. So far as I could judge by questioning the smokers in Bombay smoking houses, about two-thirds are regular working craftsmen and labourers.

I asked the assistant collector to frame a separate estimate. His estimate was:—‘At the fewest 70 per cent. regular craftsmen and labourers; at the most 20 per cent. beggars, and 10 per cent. bad characters.’ I made a further personal test in three houses taken at random. The result was:—In one house of 11 smokers all were craftsmen in regular work; in a second house of 25 smokers all were craftsmen in work; in a third house of 47 smokers one was a woman, nine were beggars, the rest were craftsmen and labourers. I have made the chief inspector take a similar test in 14 more houses. The result is, of 227 smokers 188 are workers, 38 are beggars, and one is a thief. It is probable that some among the workers are bad characters. Still care was taken to ascertain that in most cases the smokers are actually employed on the work they named. The estimate that two-thirds of the whole smokers are able to do, and do, regular work as labourers, weavers, embroiderers, sailors, drivers, cartmen, blacksmiths, mill hands, fitters, barbers, and also as small traders and shopkeepers, sellers of firewood, fish, tea, coffee, tobacco, and cloth seems well within the mark.

“Similarly, as regards the effect of the smoking on the health and the appearance of the smokers, the descriptions seem to me overdrawn and misleading. ‘Of horrible destructions of God’s image more terrible than delirium tremens, idiocy, or lunacy,’ I have seen none. Of the starved and emaciated shrivelled warnings I have seen surprisingly few. The bulk of the men, I should say over two-thirds, though smokers of 8, 12, 20, and in one case of 40 years’ standing, were in body and face to look at well nourished and healthy. To many of them I, in surprise, asked the question which Dr. Morison asked in Bengal:—‘You have smoked four or five years and are stout and strong. How is this?’ The explanation in Bombay is the same as the explanation in Bengal:—‘Smoking does not injure those who are well fed as it injures the starving. On the point of appearance and harm to health I checked my first impression by my assistant’s experience. His answer was:—‘Almost none, except the old and the beggars, not more than 10 per cent. in all are emaciated.’ I made a personal test in three houses. In one of 11 smokers all seemed healthy and well nourished; in a second of 25 smokers, one old man was emaciated; in a third of 47, though the beggars looked dissipated, none were notably withered or broken. In the 14 houses specially tested by the chief inspector, 10 were found emaciated or slightly withered. In almost every case the emaciated and withered were over 50 years of age. So far as I can judge, the assistant collector’s estimate is correct, that, except some of the old and some beggars, very few opium smokers are notably withered or emaciated.”

The whole of Mr. Campbell’s report deserves attentive perusal.

The last report I shall quote is that of the Commissioner in Sind. He says:—

“The society assumes that the consumption of opium, even in a moderate degree, is detrimental to man both physically and mentally. It is far from certain, however, that this assumption is correct, and we have the evidence afforded by whole tribes who have habitually, from generation to generation, taken opium. As instances may be taken the Rajputs and Bhils. Their energy, endurance, and bravery cannot be said to have been affected by their addiction to opium. Throughout the country one meets with people who take opium in moderation, and for much the same purpose and with much the same result as the English gentlemen of the present days takes his wine.”

Such is the evidence of persons who are in the best position to know the facts. I could add much more to the same effect. It completely establishes the contention that it is the abuse and not the use of opium which is harmful, that the moderate use is the rule, and that excess is the exception.

I now come to the proposals of the “Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade,” as to the actual practical steps to be taken to arrive at their object. I find them in a pamphlet published by the Secretary of that Society in 1890. The first two and the fourth are thus stated:—

1. That the Bengal system of licensing the growth of the poppy and of manufacturing opium be at once stopped, except so far as may be needful for legitimate medical use.
2. That the necessary measures be at once taken, by raising the tax or otherwise, to prevent any extension of the cultivation of the poppy in Malwa, so as to compensate for the diminution of the supply from Bengal.

4. That the retail sale of opium throughout India be limited by measures having the same object as the provisions of the Pharmacy Act in Great Britain, namely, to restrict the sale to that which is required for medical use alone.

It will be observed that nothing is said of the poppy cultivation in the Punjab; perhaps the Society are not aware of its existence. I assume that they would propose to stop that also. Otherwise smuggling from that province would assume enormous dimensions. Then, I would ask, what is meant by “legitimate medical use?” When we find whole tribes of people, living in malarious and fever-stricken tracts; using the opium daily as a prophylactic, is that a legitimate medical use? Or is it intended that no one shall be permitted to purchase opium except under the written authority of a duly certificated member of the medical profession? How many of the opium consumers in India are within reach of an English doctor? Could you trust the native Baidi Hakims, and Pansaris, the doctors and druggists of the country, with this power? Anybody with any knowledge of India would laugh at such an idea. How then are you to meet this great practical difficulty?

It may be possible in British territory, by the exercise of despotic power, to prevent the poppy being grown, but what are “the necessary measures” so vaguely suggested for preventing its extension in the native States? Every tyro in Excise or Customs administration knows that the power to raise duties on an article in large demand is limited by the means of preventing its illicit production and sale, and that if you increase the profits of smuggling, you will proportionately have to increase your preventive measures. Unless British officers and establishments were appointed to overrun the native states, and to interfere with the agricultural operations of the people, the cessation of the growth of the poppy in British territory would infallibly lead to an enormous extension of the cultivation in native states. The export thence of opium could only be prevented by Customs barriers and patrols round Rajputana and Central India, involving a line between 2,000 and 3,000 miles in length, and heavy expenditure on the establishment. How would the native states concerned regard such measures? I have no hesitation in saying that the discontent occasioned not only in those states, but amongst our own people, including the Sikhs—from whom the flower of our native army is recruited—would constitute a very serious political danger.

I was myself in charge of a Customs’ line, 2,500 miles in length, the greater part of which was maintained to keep salt produced in native states from entering British territory without the payment of a heavy duty. I am well acquainted with the evils of that barbarous system, the destruction of which I was one of the first to advocate, and spared no efforts to accomplish. It was achieved by entering into treaties with the states possessing salt sources, under which British establishments are permitted to supervise their salt works, and tax the produce before it leaves them. But this could be accomplished only by paying the states concerned compensation, in the shape of lump sums of money and annual assignments, which are met from the taxation of the salt consumed by their people. But how are you to conciliate the native states for interference in their poppy cultivation? Will the people of India, or the people of this country, submit to be taxed in order to compensate these native states, and to reconcile their rulers to an army of British preventive officers scattered over their territories? And if you reconcile the rulers by paying them, how are you to conciliate their people, who have been accustomed for centuries to the unrestricted use of opium? Without such preventive measures British India will be supplied with the Malwa drug, which, from its great value in a small bulk, is comparatively easy to smuggle. And these preventive measures must be of the strictest kind, involving the searching of the persons and goods of all travellers, and domiciliary visits, to detect the carriage, and prevent the storing of the drug.

I now come to the third proposal of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. It is as follows:—

3. That the Chinese Government be approached with proposals for diminishing the export of Malwa opium, simultaneously with the suppression of the growth of the poppy throughout China.

I do not wish to use disrespectful language, but I can hardly speak of such a proposal with gravity. The Chinese Government, who have for centuries fulminated futile edicts, threatening the heaviest pains and penalties against the growth of the poppy and the use of opium, but whose officials have never had the will or the power to enforce them, and who are known to connive at the open and unconcealed infringement of the law, are to be "approached" by the British Government, with this request: "Now that we are doing our best to deprive you of Indian opium, which your people for centuries have demanded on account of its superior quality; now that we have, by our restrictive measures, encouraged the growth of the poppy in China, and the home production of an inferior article, to such an extent that whole provinces are covered with its cultivation; now that we are mulcting your import customs revenue of about 2,000,000*l.* sterling a year; will you be good enough at once to stop the cultivation in China, and deprive your people of an article which we believe to be an unmitigated evil, although there is a large body of Englishmen who, from personal experience, have testified that it is harmless to the great mass, who are moderate consumers?" How would such a request be met? If the solemn and self-possessed Chinaman has any sense of humour, by inextinguishable laughter.

But why should our philanthropy stop here? I read a statement a short time ago in a paper called the "Foochow Echo," to the effect that some of the Chinese are planting poppy in the place of tea. If they meet with success, it is said others will follow their example and give up tea altogether. It is the competition of Indian tea in the markets of Europe which has lowered the profits on China tea. Let us trust that India will not be asked by the Anti-Opium Society to give up producing tea in order to prevent the Chinese turning their tea gardens into poppy fields. And what of the hypocrisy of a people who not only derive nearly half of their public revenue from the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, but support from this consumption an enormous commercial industry of brewers, distillers, hop and barley growers, merchants, importers, agents, and vendors, what of their hypocrisy in asking India and China to forego the profit derived from the opium trade?

I am aware that many of the opponents of opium would also prohibit the use of alcoholic drinks in the United Kingdom, but before "approaching" China let the people of this country set the example and make the liquor traffic, except for purely medicinal purposes, illegal; let them forbid by law the cultivation of the hop plant, and the growth of barley for distillation or malting; let them forbid the import of wine and spirits from the Continent of Europe and elsewhere, and then they will be in a position to "approach" China with a prayer for the destruction of the poppy cultivation and the trade in opium.

It has been suggested that if the culture of poppy were prohibited other crops would take its place and thus supply a great part of the loss. But would the farmers of Kent be satisfied if the temperance party were to say to them, "We will pass a law to prohibit your cultivating hops. You can, however, grow potatoes or gooseberries instead?"

It is true that a more moderate party in this country does not go the length of prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in Bengal. They are shocked at the direct management by the Government of these industries. No question has been more fully discussed in India than this, there are volumes of correspondence relating to it, but the upshot of all these discussions has invariably been the recognition of the fact that, under any other system, the cultivation could not be so well restricted, that smuggling would be more rife, that the cultivators would be more rife, that the cultivators would be brought under influences of speculators, from which they are at present guarded, and that whatever evils now exist would be largely increased. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade recognise this, and in the pamphlet I have quoted declare that the proposal is entirely inadequate, and that their demand is nothing short of absolute prohibition.

India has had the advantage of drawing from England, for more than 100 years, a number of upright, honest, and able administrators. It is remarkable that there is not a single instance of an Englishman who has been directly responsible for the well-being of India, and who has had an important voice in its administra-

tion, who has ever suggested the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy. That has been left for a party of irresponsible persons in this country, whose want of knowledge is patent to everyone who has studied the question on the spot.

I will give one recent and striking instance. There is internal evidence that no one who joined in the memorial of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, of the 30th July 1890, which is published in the recent Blue Book on the consumption of opium in India, had the most elementary knowledge of India, or if there were such a person he could not have read the memorial. In it Lucknow is described as being in the Punjab, and Lahore as being in the North-Western Provinces! This blunder is as stupendous as would be that of persons memorialising for the suppression of alcohol in Europe, who should place Paris in Scotland and Dublin in Holland.

There have just come into my hands two articles from native newspapers, published, one in Calcutta, the other in Bombay. The Calcutta paper is called "Bengavasi." It has the largest circulation of any of the Bengal papers, being about 20,000. The following is a translation of an article which appeared in that paper on the 30th January last:—

"What harm does Government's opium business do to us? Does Government press us to eat the drug? Or is it that the sight of an opium shop creates such a craving for the article that one cannot help eating it? Now, the opium shops, as such, possess no attractions for the people, their existence merely making it easy for habitual opium eaters to buy it for their use. We believe that most of those who use opium suffer from some disease, and use it medicinally. Opium is a medicine in gout and in all diseases of the bowels and kidneys. That opium used in old age prolongs life is also a common belief. For all these reasons many people use the drug in large or small doses, and gradually become confirmed opium-eaters. It is not the sight or appearance of the opium shops, which by the way is the most revolting possible, that attracts men thereto. Nor is it the case that men eat opium for the purpose of showing their loyalty to Government, which trades in that article. Nor, again, do people go to the opium shops from the consideration that by buying opium they would help to rescue Government from its financial embarrassment. Habitual opium-eaters can do without their daily bread rather than forego their regulation dose of the drug. Again opium is largely used as a medicine in all systems of the medical treatment—allopathic, homoeopathic, ayurvedik. People resort to the opium shops for all these purposes, and not a man is attracted to them by their mere appearance, as is the case with liquor shops. An opium shop has nothing of the wine shop's attractive glitter of glass and beauty of label. Nor does a dose of opium produce that exhilaration of spirits which makes the wine-bibber sing and dance in joy. What attractions then does an opium shop possess for the public? We do not really see that an opium shop licensed by Government can hold out any temptations to men. Its appearance is rather calculated to repel men from it. If it had been otherwise, if the mere sight of an opium shop had been enough to attract customers, we would have freely condemned the opium business of the Government.

"A person under the influence of opium does not become querulous or boisterous. Nor does a habitual opium eater bring beggary and destitution upon himself and family, and die an untimely death. The number of untimely deaths among opium eaters is very few. If it had been otherwise, we should have been the first to condemn the opium trade, and ask Government to discontinue the sinful business.

"It is true that opium is used for committing suicide. But those that will commit suicide will commit it even if they do not get opium for the purpose. Government does not trade in arsenic or ropes, and yet many people put an end to their lives by swallowing the former or drawing the latter round their necks. If Government discontinues its opium business, others will take it up, and there will still be cases of suicide from opium poisoning. We are, therefore, really unable to understand what harm is done by the Government's trade in raw opium.

"These remarks apply in some measure to the different preparations of opium, and particularly to guli. The guli shops present a most repulsive appearance. As it is, however, desirable on various grounds that such shops should cease to exist, the writer would not object to Government's directing their abolition.



"What good will the changes now proposed to be made in connexion with Government's opium business do to the country? And is it possible to do the amount of good that is expected? We do not see that the Government's opium business does any harm to anybody. Opium cultivation will not cease even if Government gives up the business. Nor is it desired that that cultivation should cease. Now, suppose Government gives up the business, and somebody finds himself at liberty to grow and sell and purchase opium. Suppose the opium shops, flourishing as before, with this difference only, that the signboards put up in front of the shops no longer contain the words 'By order of Government.' The accounts are made up, and they disclose a large deficit in the finances. Government, however, must meet its regular expenditure, and that means that the people must raise the money from other sources. It is thus clear that the people will gain nothing by the abolition of the Government's trade in opium."

The "Bombay Samachar," a Guzerati paper, which has the largest daily circulation in Bombay, has the following article on the 19th February last:—

"The opium agitators in England seem to be insensible to the great pecuniary loss that would be inflicted on the people of India by a prohibition against the production of opium in India and its export to China. To the ranks of the opium agitators in England an addition has now been made in the person of Miss Sundrabai Powar, an Indian lady. In an address recently delivered by her at Sheffield, Miss Powar asserted that the use of opium had created great mischief in India, and that as she could not quietly bear this sight she had gone to England to plead for the abolition of the opium monopoly. It is not known in Bombay who Miss Powar is, and what she did while she was in India to stop the alleged evil effects of the consumption of this drug. Miss Powar accuses the Government of India of having encouraged the opium trade in the interests of revenue, but no mischief whatever, we assert, has been created in India by the consumption of opium. On the other hand, considerable evil has been caused by a free use of country and European spirits, particularly among the educated persons, and the Government of India is very particular about increasing its revenue from this source. Miss Powar ought to bear in mind that there is more need for checking the consumption of spirituous drinks than the use of opium."

Mr. Samuel Laing, when Finance Minister of India in 1862, made the following remarks:—

"This much seems certain in speculating on the probable continuance of a demand for opium in China. Every civilised or semi-civilised race of mankind seems to affect some peculiar form of nervous stimulant, and as the natives of Northern Europe take to alcohol, so the Chinese take to opium. Possibly, in each case, the craving is for something to supply an innate want. The Englishman, the Dane, the German, and the Russian resort to that the specific effect of which is to raise the spirits and produce temporary exhilaration. The Chinese, whose greatest deficiency, as shown by the whole history, religion, and literature of the race, is in the imaginative faculties, resorts to that which stimulates the imagination, and makes his sluggish brain see visions and dream dreams. Be this as it may, the fact is certain that, under all circumstances and in all climates, as the Englishman is a drinker of beer, so is the Chinaman a smoker of opium. We have, at the bottom of our opium revenue, one of the great natural instincts of a large population, upon which English Chancellors of the Exchequer confidently rely for half their revenue."

I have not dealt with the comparative physiological effects produced by the use of alcohol and opium, and other drugs; but I hope some of the more scientific gentlemen here this evening will speak on this point. From all I have learnt on the subject, I believe that the excess of the use of alcohol is far more destructive to the human frame than that of opium, for one attacks the tissues and the other produces only functional derangement. If the people of India are deprived of opium, the consumers of it, it will infallibly have recourse to alcohol or to hemp, which grows wild in many parts of the country, and the effects of which are, when taken in excess, maddening.

Indeed much of the evil character which is given to opium is due to its being frequently adulterated with or used with hemp. The *hashish*, from which the English word "assassin" is derived, and the *bang*, which is notoriously the stimulant used by fanatics in

India when intent on reckless slaughter, are nothing but hemp. It would be beyond the power even of Parliament to eradicate hemp from India.

From the mass of evidence to be found in the writings of members of the medical profession who have acquired their experience amongst the people who use opium as a stimulant, I will quote a few passages.

Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, in the "Bengal Dispensatory," 1841, writes:—

"The longevity of opium eaters is, in many parts of the East, of proverbial notoriety. . . . When the habit is but moderately followed, it appears to occasion no greater evil than the proportionate indulgence in wine or other spirituous liquors."

Dr. D. McPherson, in his book on "The War in China," 1843, has the following passage:—

"From the earliest periods in every nation, and among every people, we find some description of stimulus in common use among them; and were we to be led away by the popular opinion that the habitual use of opium injures the health and shortens life, we should expect to find the Chinese a shrivelled, and emaciated, and idiotic race. On the contrary, although the habit of opium smoking is universal amongst the rich and poor, we find them to be a powerful, muscular, and athletic people, and the lower orders more intelligent and far superior in mental acquirements to those of corresponding rank in our own country. The Chinese themselves affirm that the use of the drug acts as a preventive against disease, and, in this opinion, when smoked in moderation, I am inclined in part to agree with him. The particles, by their direct and topical influence on the nerves of the lungs, which carry the impressions they receive to the heart, brain, and spinal cord, and through them to all parts of the body, may thus, to a certain extent, guard the system against disease, and, by its tonic influence, strengthen the several organs. This opinion gains strength, when we call to mind that a peculiar active principle in opium—the narcotine—has of late been employed, with considerable success, in Bengal, as a substitute for quinine. It may also be mentioned that, at the time fevers prevailed so extensively among our troops at Hong-Kong, but comparatively few of the Chinese suffered, though exposed throughout to the same exciting causes."

Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner for Madras, drew the attention of the Government to the great consumption of opium in the Godavery district. An investigation was ordered, and the officer who reported on it, in 1874, came to the following conclusion:—

"I believe that the extensive use of opium in this district is due to the extensive prevalence of fever, and that if fever could be checked, so would the use of the drug. Conversely, I think it unadvisable to attempt arbitrarily to stop its consumption at present."

Dr. Vincent Richards, who was in medical charge of Balasor, in Orissa, where opium eating is very common, made very careful inquiries into the matter, and collected elaborate statistics connected with it. He wrote, in 1877:—

"I estimated that about one in every twelve or fourteen of the adult population used the drug, and I believe the habit is somewhat increasing. The greatly increased consumption of the drug dates from the famine year 1866, when it was, if I remember rightly, nearly trebled; since when it has, I believe, pretty steadily increased. This is not the result of a growing abuse of the drug by individual consumers, but of a more extended use of it amongst the general population. There can be no doubt that opium eating was greatly resorted to in the famine year, because it mitigated the sufferings arising from hunger and sickness, and enabled the poor people to live on less food."

Opium eating—at any rate at Balasor—does not conduce to either crime or insanity, since the inhabitants are a particularly law-abiding race, and the insanes are only '0069 per cent. of the population. . . . The general conclusions I arrive at are—1st, that opium is taken habitually by about 2 to 10 per cent. of the adult population of Balasor, and that the average daily allowance for a man is 7 grains, and for a woman 5 grains; 2nd, that moderation is the rule; 3rd, that moderate doses include from 2 to 16 grains *per diem*, according to circumstances; 4th, that opium eating is much more common in unhealthy localities than in healthy ones, even though they are situated in the same district; 5th, that the drug may be, and is sometimes, taken in very large doses—30 grains and upwards—without producing any very serious ill-effect, much depending on the constitution of the individual,



and his habituation to its use; 6th, that whatever the effects of the excessive use of the drug may be, when taken in moderation, it is positively beneficial, where such diseases as fever, elephantiasis, rheumatism, &c., are prevalent, and when food is scarce; 7th, that the effects of even the excessive use of opium are harmless, both to the individual and to society, compared with those of the excessive use of alcohol."

The views of Sir William J. Moore, who had an extended experience in Rajputana, and was afterwards Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay, are well known, and I hope that he will again state them on this occasion. They fully accord with those I have already quoted. There are literally volumes of evidence of a similar character.

We have, then, a great consensus of opinion arrived at by a number of independent persons of high character and reputation; gentlemen of ability and integrity, who have attained to responsible positions, in which they have had the best opportunities of ascertaining the truth; whose duty it has been to state the truth; and who have had no personal interest in perverting it. They deliberately declare that the daily use of opium in moderation is not only harmless, but of positive benefit, and frequently even a necessity of life; that this moderate use is the rule, and that excess is the exception. On the other hand, we are told by a society, chiefly consisting of Englishmen who have no personal knowledge of the facts, that all this evidence goes for nothing, and that the use of opium, except for strictly medicinal purposes, is an unmitigated evil, and ruins everyone who habitually has resort to it. If we accept this view, which differentiates opium from every other stimulant used by great masses of people, we must believe that all those experienced persons who have testified to the direct contrary are either grossly incapable or grossly dishonest. It is no use mincing words; a man must be one or the other who, having lived for years amongst an opium-consuming people, and having made a careful study of the effects of the habit, deliberately declares as the result of his inquiries that which is untrue. And on what is the opposition based? Chiefly on the statements of English missionaries in China. I respect the sincerity and the high and noble purposes of these gentlemen, but as the French phrase it, they have the defects of their qualities. They are filled with a burning zeal to better the physical and spiritual condition of the poor and miserable Chinese with whom they are brought into contact. In the prosecution of the objects for which they are struggling, they find numerous instances of the

degradation which is produced by the abuse of opium. They are met by the astute Chinaman with the argument that opium is an evil thing, and that the English who import it into China are out of court when advocating morality. They fall into the trap, and jump to the conclusion that it is the opium trade which prevents their making faster progress in the evangelisation of China. Only one side of the question is brought prominently to their notice, and that the worst side. Their experience is almost entirely confined to towns on the sea coast. They knew little or nothing of the millions of the healthy, industrious population in the interior of the country to whom the use of opium is as common, as moderate, and as beneficial as that of beer is to the people of England.

In conclusion, I would say to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade—You may make this a party question; you may win votes relying on the uninstructed philanthropy of your fellow countrymen; you may, through Parliament, use the despotic power of the British Government to destroy one of the most valuable products of India, and subject the people to new taxation in order to supply the loss of revenue now paid chiefly by the Chinese; you may deprive hundreds of thousands of Her Majesty's Indian subjects of a prophylactic which enables them to resist fatigue, to sustain privation, and to save life; you may thereby increase suffering, sickness, and mortality; you may cover India with an army of preventive officers to watch another army of smugglers, created to satisfy a natural demand of which you have suppressed the legitimate supply; you may harass the people by personal searches and domiciliary visits; you may thus create discontent amongst our native subjects, and disaffection in the best forces of our native army; you may, by unwarranted and unprecedented interference in their internal administration, and, owing to the pecuniary losses both rulers and subjects will sustain, disgust and alienate the native States of Central India and Rajputana, our bravest and most loyal allies; you may drive the consumers of opium to alcohol and hemp; you may do all this, but you will never persuade the Chinese to follow in your footsteps, and abandon the ever-increasing culture of the poppy. In short, you may inflict on India a cruel injury, the extent and the consequences of which you are incapable of calculating; but you will fail in any way to benefit China, unless you count it a benefit greatly to extend the cultivation of the poppy, and the manufacture of opium within her borders.

## APPENDIX II.

### HISTORICAL NOTE ON OPIUM and the POPPY in CHINA.—By DR. EDKINS, of the Chinese Customs Service.

Shanghai, May 1889.

[This paper was cited by witnesses before the Commission; it is now out of print and unobtainable. The Commission therefore ordered it to be reprinted as an Appendix to the China evidence.]

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INTRODUCTION.

This Historical Note on Opium in China, which has been prepared by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Service, is published by order of the Inspector General of Customs.

E. McKean,  
Statistical Secretary.

Inspectorate General of Customs,  
Statistical Department,  
Shanghai, May 1889.

OPIMUM: HISTORICAL NOTE, OR THE POPPY IN CHINA.

1°.

That the poppy was cultivated very early in Italy is clear from a passage in Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of Tarquin, mentions it in a way to show that in the time of the last of the Roman Kings it was commonly sown in gardens. Tarquin's son was in a city of Etruria, devising means to betray it to his father without himself losing the confidence of the people, who believed father and son to be in a state of hopeless alienation, he having come to their city with wounds on his body, which he said had been inflicted by his father as a punishment. He sent a messenger to his father for advice. The father\* took the envoy into his garden and struck down all the tallest poppies. Sextus Tarquinius knew what this meant, and by procuring the death or removal from the city of all the chief inhabitants, succeeded in persuading the remainder to submit to his father's rule.

The poppy is also alluded to in Homer as a garden flower. He describes an arrow aimed at Hector as missing him, but striking in the chest another son of Priam. He proceeds, "Just as a poppy in a garden hangs " on one side, its head laden with fruit and with the " dew of spring, so he bent on one side his head, made " heavy by his helmet."† The first mention of poppy

juice is by Hippocrates, who calls it *σπός μήκωνος*. From *σπός*, "juice," was formed *σπιον* in Greek, and *Opium* in Latin. *Μήκων* is the Greek name of the poppy. Hippocrates lived in the fifth century before Christ. He was famous as the founder of Greek medical literature, and to him certainly the virtues of the poppy were known.

In Virgil we find the poppy described as pervaded by lethean sleep ("Lethæo perfusa papavera somno."—*Georg.*, i, 78), and he sometimes speaks of the "lethean poppy" or the "sleep-giving poppy" ("soporiferumque papaver."—*Æneid*, iv., 486). He borrowed from Greek mythology, according to which the waters of the river Lethe, which flows through the regions of the dead, cause those who drink of them to forget everything, as is said also to have been the case with the lotus-eaters of Homer. The poppy is in Virgil connected not only with the mythology of the world of the dead, but with the worship of Ceres. This goddess is represented as holding the poppy in her hands. Conjecture has been busy in attempting to account for this, and it has been supposed that it was because the poppy grows wild in corn fields in European countries, or because the seeds of the white poppy were eaten as food to give an appetite, Ceres being thought of by the ancient mind as the bountiful giver of food. To the ancient imagination, however, it would be quite enough to think of the poppy as the prettiest of the flowers which grow up wild in the midst of wheat, and on this account to dedicate it to the service of the goddess of the wheat-field. When, in the first Christian century, Pliny wrote his "Natural History" (20, 18 (76), 199) and Dioscorides his "Materia Medica," the word "Opium" was already introduced, and the sleepy effects of it were everywhere known.

2°.

The Arabians of the Caliphate studied Greek medicine and practised it. Opium became well known among them by its Greek name, which took the form *afyûn*, through the Semitic habit of changing *p.* to *f.* In Persia it appeared with the same form (*afyûn*), interchanged with *abyûn* and *apyûn*, which latter became, as will be seen, the parent of the Chinese name *ya-pien*. Both the Arabs and the Persians had national names for the poppy: the Arab called it *klash-klash*, and the Persian *kôknâr*. Hence we may gather that the poppy was anciently known as a garden flower as far eastward

The poppy among the Arabs.

\* Huic, nuntio, quia, credo, dubiæ fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex, velut deliberandum, in hortum ædium transit, sequente nuntio filii: ibi, inambulans tacitus, summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse.—Livy, i., 54.

† μήκων δ' ὡς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥτ' ἐν κήπῳ, καρπῷ βριθομένην νοτήσι τε εἰαρηγῆσιν, δὲς ἐτέρωσ', ἤμυσε κάρη πύληκι βαρυθύνειν. Iliad, viii. 306-8.

as Persia, while its medical applications were made by the Greeks.\*

The Arabs  
in China.

In the times of the Caliphs the Arabs began to visit China,† especially after the founding of Baghdad, A.D. 763, and became traders in drugs, precious stones, brocades, rose water, and such things. Previous to the T'ang dynasty the poppy was apparently unknown to the Chinese botanists and physicians, and when it was brought to them their attention was drawn to the form of the heads which enclosed the seeds, then used in making a soporiferous decoction according to the directions of the Arab doctors; consequently they invented names for it, based on the appearance of the poppy heads. The seeds looked like millet seeds, if not in colour, at least in shape, and therefore they called the heads *mi-nang*, "millet bags."

The Arabs  
at Canton.

The early arrival of the Arabs by sea at Canton may be illustrated by the following extract from the "Pan-yü-hsien-chih":—"In the T'ang dynasty, on occasion of the opening of trade with foreign ships, the Mahommedan King Mahomet sent his mother's brother from Western countries to China to trade. He built a tomb and monastery, called respectively *Chien-kuang-t'a* and *Hua-shêng-sü*. Soon after the monastery was completed he died, and was buried in the tomb [still existing outside the North Gate], in accordance with his intention."

## 3.

First  
mention of  
cultivation  
of the poppy  
in China in  
the eighth  
century.

In the reign of T'ang Ming Huang, in the first half of the eighth century, an author named Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i, in a work which he calls "A Supplement to the Pên-ts'ao," quotes from an earlier writer, Sung Yang-tzu, a statement that "The poppy has four petals. It is white and red. Above them is a pale red rim. The seeds are in a bag, which is like one of those arrow-heads which have air-holes to make a sound as the arrow cuts through the air. Within there are seeds like those of millet."

At this time, early in the eighth century, the Arabs had been trading with China for at least a century, for Mahomet's death occurred A.D. 632, and that of his uncle not long afterwards. It was easy for the poppy to be cultivated with the jasmine and the rose everywhere throughout the country. We know, indeed, from the "Nan-fang-ts'ao-mu-chuang," a work which dates from the beginning of the fourth century, that the jasmine and the henna, plants which must have come with the Arabian commerce, were already in China when that book was written. But the first distinct mention of the poppy is in the work of Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i.

Second  
mention.

In the work on trees, called "Chung-shu-shu," written by Kuo T'o-t'o, it is said that "The poppy, *ying-su*, if sown on the 9th of the 9th month or on the 15th of the 8th month, the flowers will be large and the heads full of seeds." This passage occurs in the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng.‡ The author's biography was written by Liu Tsung-yüan, and we therefore know that he was living in the latter part of the eighth century. He resided near the capital, in Shensi. From this it must be concluded that the poppy was then cultivated in the neighbourhood of what is now Si-an-fu (provincial capital of Shensi).

Early poem  
on the  
poppy.

The poet Yung T'ao, a native of Ch'êng-tu-fu, in Szechwan, in the closing years of the T'ang dynasty, wrote a poem, entitled "A poem on leaving a winding Valley and approaching my Western Home." It says "Passing the dangerous staircase I issued from the winding defile of the Pao Valley. After travelling across all the intervening plains and rivers I am now near my home. The sadness of the traveller in his journey of 10,000 *li* is to-day dissipated. Before my horse I see the *mi-nang* flower." This short poem shows that at the time when it was written the poppy was cultivated near Ch'êng-tu-fu.

## 4°.

From about 756 to 960, a space of two centuries, little is said in Chinese books of the Arabs; yet at that time two Mahommedan travellers came to China and wrote accounts of what they saw and heard. Recently their works have been translated into European languages. This shows that the Arabs did not cease during this interval to visit China. Information in regard to the medical qualities of the poppy would be originally furnished to the Chinese by the Arabs; it is on this account that in the *Pên-ts'ao* of the K'ai Pao period (A.D. 968 to 976) the poppy is introduced as a healing plant.

The two  
Arab travel-  
lers.

## 5°.

In the year 973 the Emperor Sung T'ai-tsu gave an order that Liu Han, and a Taoist, Ma Chih, with others, nine in all, should prepare the medical work known as "K'ai-pao-pên-ts'ao." In this the poppy is called *ying-tzu-su*, and it is stated that "Its seeds have healing powers. When men have been taking the stone that confers immortality, feel it powerfully operating, and cannot eat with appetite, they may be benefited by mixing these seeds with bamboo juice boiled into gruel and taking this."

The name *ying-su* here used, and previously by the earliest T'ang dynasty authors on this point, means "jar millet," from the resemblance of the poppy head to the kind of jar which the Chinese call *ying*.

The poppy  
enters the  
Chinese  
Pharma-  
copœia.

Among the poets of this period were two brothers named Su; one was the celebrated Su Tung-p'o. In a poem of his occurs the following passage: "The Taoist advises you strongly to partake of the drink called *chi-su-shui*. The boy may prepare for you the broth of the *ying-su*."

Poem of  
Su Tung-p'o.

The brother, named Su Chê, wrote a poem which he called "A Poem on the Cultivation of the Medical Plant (*Ying-su*) or Poppy":—

Poem of Su  
Chê.

"I built a house on the west of the city. The ground in the centre was laid out in rectangular divisions. Where the windows and doors left a space, firs and bamboos helped to fill up the vacancy. The thorny bushes were pulled up, and a garden made to grow good vegetables and other plants. The gardener came to me to say, 'The *ying-su* (poppy) is a good plant to have.' It is called *ying* because, though small, it is shaped like a *ying* (jar); it is called *su* because the seeds are small and look like *su* (millet). It is sown with wheat and ripens with panicked millet — *chi* (*Panicum miliaceum*); when growing it may be eaten like the vegetables of spring. Its seeds are like autumn millet. When ground they yield a sap like cows' milk; when boiled they become a drink fit for Buddha. Old men whose powers have decayed, who have little appetite, who when they eat meat cannot digest it, and when they eat vegetables cannot distinguish their flavour, should take this drink. Use a willow mallet and a stone basin to beat it. Boil it in water that has been sweetened with honey. It does good to the mouth and to the throat. It restores tranquillity to the lungs and nourishes the stomach. For three years the door has been closed, and I have gone nowhere and come back from nowhere. I see here the Hermit of the Shade (a Taoist priest) and the long-robed Buddhist priest; when they sit opposite I forget to speak. Then I have but to drink a cup of this poppy-seed decoction. I laugh, I am happy, I have come to Ying-ch'uan, and am wandering on the banks of its river. I seem to be climbing the slopes of the Lu Mountain in the far west."

There is a small river in the province of Anhwei which is called Ying-shui. The city mentioned was on the banks of that river, which is famous in history. The mountain called Lu-shan is in Western China, on the north of the celebrated O-mei-shan. The poet went to live at Ying-ch'uan when he was old. As a boy he had lived with his brother near the Lu Mountain.

Notes on the  
poem.

## 6°.

\* Opium is also mentioned in the Jerusalem "Tahmid" (seventh century). Aboda Zarah, ii., 40 (*ophion*) as being a dangerous medicine.

† China in the early Han dynasty opened foreign trade by way of Cochin China. Under the Wei dynasty international trade was established at certain points on the border between North and South China. In the Sung dynasty, A.D. 971, a superintendent was appointed at Canton, Hangchow, and Ningpo, to overlook foreign trade. Earlier than this we read of an officer called Shih-po-sü, appointed to Canton to superintend foreign trade, as the title implies. This was in the T'ang dynasty.

‡ Kindly lent from the Russian Legation Library, Peking.

§ This statement shows that at that time there prevailed an extensive use of mercury, taken under the idea that it would prolong life, and that the effects were found to be very injurious.

The Emperor Jen Tsung, of the Sung dynasty, about the year 1057, ordered the compilation by Su Sung and others of the work known as "T'u-ching-pên-ts'ao." The magistrates of all cities were ordered to supply information on all medical plants in their vicinity, according to the method before employed in preparing the previous work, called "Ying-kung T'ang Pên-ts'ao," made in pursuance of an order given by the Emperor Kao Tsung, in the T'ang dynasty, to the Prince named

"Materia  
Medica",  
of the  
eleventh  
century by  
Su Sung.

Cultivation of the poppy mentioned.

Ying Kuo-kung. In this work it is said by Su Sung that "The poppy is found everywhere. Many persons cultivate it as an ornamental flower. There are two kinds, one with red flowers and another with white. It has an odour not very agreeable. The fruit is like a flower vase, and contains very small seeds. Gardeners manure the land for the poppy every other year. The seeds are sown in the 9th month. In the spring they are, if thus manured, seen growing with great vigour; otherwise they will not thrive, and if they grow at all they are weak and slender. When the capsules have become dry and yellow they may be plucked."

Medical use of poppy seeds.

He also says that "In cases of nausea and vomiting a drink made from poppy seeds in the following manner will be found serviceable. Three-tenths of a pint of the seeds of the white poppy, three-tenths of an ounce of powdered ginseng, with a piece 5 inches in length of the tuber of the Chinese yam, are to be cut and ground fine. Boil it, adding  $2\frac{3}{10}$  pints of water. Take of this six-tenths of a pint, and add to it a little syrup of raw ginger with fine salt. It should be mixed well and distributed into doses, which may be taken early or late, and no harm will follow from taking other kinds of medicine at the same time."

The biography of this writer in the "History of the Sung Dynasty" says of him that he was a man of large mind, who would not take part in quarrels. He held to the rules of politeness and the laws of the State. Though high in station he lived like a poor man. From the invention of writing downwards, whatever there was to read and to learn in classics, histories, and the works of various authors, together with diviners' books, the 12 musical tubes, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and medical botany, there was nothing with which he was not familiar.

The white variety of *Papaver somniferum*.

In regard to what kind of poppy is meant by Su Sung, writing in the 11th century, it may be well to refer here to the statement made by the German traveller Kämpfer, who towards the end of the 17th century was attached as physician to the Embassy sent to Persia by the King of Sweden. He says that the poppy from which opium was then manufactured in that country was the white poppy. It becomes plain, then, that in the time of Su Sung, though the name of opium had not yet appeared in books, yet the plant that was able to produce it was commonly known. The celebrated English botanist, Lindley, says that the poppies from which opium is made are those with red and those with white flowers.

## 7°.

Twelfth century use of seeds to counteract the effects of mercury.

At the beginning of the 12th century, in the reign of Hui Tsung, one of the Court physicians, named K'ou Tsung-shih, compiled a work called "Pên-ts'ao-yen-i." In it he says that the flowers of the poppy are in some kinds extremely abundant in their leaves, and that the number of seeds in the heads is beyond computation. "They are in size like those of the *ying-li*,\* and white in colour. The seeds are cooling in their nature; if taken in good quantity they are beneficial for such affections as diarrhoea, and act favourably on the bladder. Those who have been taking cinnabar, if they have them ground and boiled with water, adding honey, and prepared in the form of broth, will find them beneficial in a high degree."

First use of capsules in twelfth century.

In the botanical section of the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* the following extract is found, taken from the work "Shan-chia-ch'ing-kung," by a Sung dynasty medical writer named Lin Hung, who, from his language implying the use of the capsules of the poppy with the seeds, we must suppose to have belonged to the Southern Sung. He is speaking of what he calls poppy-milk fish, by which is meant the juice hardened into cakes and taking the shape of fish. "Take poppy-heads, wash them well, and grind out their juice. First place some meal in a jar, covering the bottom. By means of a gauze bag filter the poppy milk upon it, removing the portion that floats above and allowing the thicker part to remain. Place it in an iron pau and let it boil for a little. Sprinkle rapidly some weak vinegar on it, and take it up from the pan into the bag and press it into a cake. It should then be placed in such a covered pan as is used for steaming

"macaroni and the like, and there be well steamed. It is then to be sprinkled with a solution of red leaven, steamed again for a short time, taken out, and made up in cakes shaped like fish."

A poem of Hsieh K'o, written in the Sung dynasty, is found in the work known as "Kuang-ch'ün-fang-p'u." "There seem to be tiny spots of ointment of lead on the tips of the flowers. It is as if they told me that the spring is advancing, but the snow is not yet melted. I see a thousand poppy heads full of black seeds. The east wind will blow and they will be like millet of the best size and quality." The comparison with snow indicates the colour of the poppies.

Another poem on the poppy.

Yang Shih-ying, a native of Fukkien when the Sung dynasty was closing, says in a medical work, while speaking of the use of the poppy capsule in medicine, in cases of dysentery, "This is thought little of by most, but when dysentery is of long continuance, without gatherings of matter locally and pain resulting, and it is right to use astringents, if this remedy were not hand how could use be made of this mode of treatment? But there ought to be other drugs accompanying it, to modify the effect."

Use of capsules in dysentery shown by extracts from three authors.

Another Sung dynasty writer on medicine, named Wang Ch'iu, in a work to which he gave the name "Pai-i-hsüan-fang," writes that poppy seeds and capsules may with advantage be used together for both kinds of dysentery. The seeds are prepared in a pan over the fire. The capsules are roasted on a gridiron. After being pulverised they are made up into pills, with honey, of the size of *wu-tung* seeds (*Bleococca verrucosa*). Thirty pills are taken at a time, with rice gruel. These pills have been tried and found most efficient.

Another Sung dynasty author, Wang Shih, in his work "I-chien-fang" says, "The effect of the poppy capsule in curing dysentery is nothing less than magical. But in its nature it is extremely astringent, and easily causes vomiting and difficulty in digesting food; consequently, patients are afraid of it and do not venture to take it. Yet if it be prepared over the fire with a little vinegar, and black plums be added on account of their acid qualities, its use will be found satisfactory."

"If the four drugs known as the four noble medicines, viz., *tang-shên* (a coarse ginseng grown in China), *pai-shu* (*Atractylodes alba*, a medicinal plant like an artichoke), China-root, and liquorice, be mixed in due proportion and taken with it, there will be still less tendency to check digestion and prevent the food from proceeding on its way. The results will be most excellent."

## 8°.

Li Shih-chên, in the "Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu, or Chinese Materia Medica," follows a chronological order in his arrangement of passages taken from the works of the medical authors who preceded him. It may be concluded, therefore, that the use of the poppy capsule in medicine began with the Southern Sung dynasty, that is, in the latter part of the twelfth or in the thirteenth century. Yang Shih-ying published his work A.D. 1265, and Wang Shih is by Li Shih-chên placed later. The latter does not say whence the use of the capsule was derived; it may therefore be supposed that it was introduced from the West, where its healing virtues were known from the most ancient times.

Use of capsules probably derived from the West, but this is still not proved.

## 9°.

In the work called "Hsüan-ming-fang, by Liu Ho-chien, of the Chin dynasty, it is said that for asthmatic cough, with perspiration, in summer and winter of several years' standing, the poppy capsule may be used.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ounces in weight should be taken. The stem and outer membrane should be removed. Let it simmer in vinegar. Take one ounce and mix with half an ounce of black plums; let it be slowly heated and then pulverised. Take for a dose two-tenths of an ounce. Let it be administered in hot water and drunk at bed-time.

Use of capsules in North China in twelfth century.

Li Kao, a physician of the same period (born A.D. 1180, died 1252), says the poppy capsule is efficient as an astringent and in strengthening the system. It operates on the kidneys, and is useful in the cure of disease affecting the bones.

Use of capsules in North China in thirteenth century.

## 10°.

Wei I-lin, of the Yüan dynasty, a native of Kiangsi and of the city of Chien-chang, published a book called "Tê-hsiao-fang," made up of prescriptions collected by

Use in South China in thirteenth century.

\* This plant is stated by Williams to be cruciferous, and like the mustard in shape and leaves. See the drawing in the Pên-ts'ao which says it is used as a light aperient.

himself and his ancestors for four generations before his time. He says that in cases of obstinate diarrhoea of a chronic nature the poppy capsule may be used. The stringy parts should be removed, and it should be dipped in honey and held over the fire. Then pulverise it. As a dose use half an ounce. Take it with honey and hot water. These capsules have the power to strengthen the constitution. The effect is immediate.

The capsule  
"kills like a  
knife."

In the Yüan dynasty the next name is that of Chu Chên-hêng.\* He says that "The poppy capsule is used extensively for cough at the present time in the case of those who are weak and consumptive. It is employed to take away the cough. It is used also for diarrhoea and dysentery accompanied with local inflammation. Though its effects are quick, great care must be taken in using it, because it kills like a knife. He also says, "Many persons to cure cough employ the poppy capsule, and it may be used without fear, but in the first place the root of the disease must be removed, while this should be reserved as a restorative method to complete the cure. In treating dysentery the same is true. Unnatural symptoms have to be expelled and lumps removed. It would not be right to employ at once such medicines as the capsule and *lung-ku* (dragon's bones, certain fossil bones of existing and of extinct animals) in order to check abruptly the action of the stomach and intestines, for the unnatural state of things would reappear with increased severity. Other modifications of an unhealthy kind would supervene, and disease would spread without limit." The expression "it kills like a knife" may be taken as proof that the capsule of which the author is speaking is that of the opium poppy.

That a red tint was common in the poppies of that time may be concluded from the following couplet in a poem of Fêng Tzû-chên, the Yüan dynasty:—"They carry in their hair poppies which are in colour like the red clouds after rain and asters resembling the hoar frost."

## 11°.

Use of capsules in  
fourteenth  
century.

The first name that we meet with in the Ming dynasty is that of a brother of the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (Yung Lo). He was called Chou-ting Wang. He says in the "P'u-chi-fang" section of "Chiu-huang-pên-ts'ao," a medical work, "The poppy capsule prepared in vinegar is to be used for dysentery and bloody evacuations. One ounce with half an ounce of orange peel (*ch'ên-p'i*) should be reduced to powder. For a dose take three-tenths of an ounce with black prunes and hot water."

In the Ming dynasty, which lasted through the 15th, 16th, and part of the 17th centuries, the trade of China by sea with India, Arabia, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago greatly increased; at that time the Chinese ships, being provided with the mariner's compass,† ventured a little farther from land than before, and the extension of the Mongol Empire to Persia had helped to spread intercourse by sea between China and that country. Chêng Ho, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to all important seaports from Canton to Aden, succeeded so well on his first voyage that he was repeatedly dispatched afterwards, and brought back a fairly minute account of the places he visited. He was in diplomatic communication with the chief persons in authority in Aden and some other Arabian ports, in Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, in several cities in India, such as Goa, Cochin, Quilon, and Calicut, as well as other centres of trade nearer home. Can we wonder that all the principal exports in those countries became known to the merchants of Canton and Amoy? They were then probably, next to the Arabs, the chief traders in the Indian seas. When the Portuguese appeared unexpectedly at Cochin in 1498, they commenced at once a career of conquest, and quickly made themselves masters of Aden, Hormuz, Goa, Cochin, Calicut, Malacca, and many other cities. With military prestige they joined great activity in commerce, and became the chief merchants in the East. At this time, as we learn from Barbosa, opium was among the articles brought to Malacca by Arabs and Gentile merchants, to exchange for the cargoes of

Chinese junks. He also states that opium was taken from Arabia to Calicut, and from Cambay to the same place, the Arabian being one-third higher in price than the Cambay. The opium exported from this seaport may be assumed to have been manufactured in Malwa, which lies quite near it.

The Arabs, then, had already begun to grow opium in India in the 16th century. In addition to this we are also told that from places on the Coromandel coast opium was exported to Siam and Pegu. Here we also find clear indications of the activity of Arab traders in extending the cultivation of the poppy in India. The Chinese also at this time imported opium themselves, to be used medically. It is important to note this for the proper understanding of the history of opium in China.

## 12°.

Wang Hsi, an author who died in A.D. 1488, published a work which he named "I-lin-chi-yao. In it he says that "Opium is produced in Arabia from a poppy with a red flower. Water should not be allowed to go over its head. After the flower has faded in the seventh or eighth month the capsule, while still fresh, is pricked for the juice."

First mention of  
opium extract was in  
fifteenth  
century.  
Arabian  
method of  
obtaining  
opium.

He also says, "In chronic dysentery use opium of the size of a small bean, and administer it with warm water before the patient takes food (as in the early morning), when the stomach is free. Take one dose a day, and avoid onions, garlic, and soups of all kinds. If thirsty drink water with honey in it."

Wang Hsi's  
directions  
for use of  
opium.

He also says, "Opium may be used to cure obstinate dysentery of long continuance. When the flower of the poppy has fallen and the head is developed, after waiting four or five days take a large pricking instrument and prick from 10 to 20 holes in the fresh capsule. Next day, in the morning, when the sap exudes, use a bamboo knife for the purpose of scraping it into an earthenware vessel. Let it dry in a shady place. On each occasion of using it take a piece of the size of a small bean, and let it be administered on an empty stomach and mixed with warm water. Let the patient avoid onions, garlic, and all soups. If he be hot and thirsty let him drink water with honey in it."

Wang Hsi's  
directions  
for procuring  
opium from  
the poppy.

This author, it will be observed, died 10 years before Vasco de Gama arrived in India. His biography, in the "History of the Ming Dynasty," shows that he was in official charge of the Province of Kansuh for more than 20 years. His duties included the care of the Mahomedan population of Hami, Turfan, and other western cities. He must have known well the productions, the medical practice, and the customs of the Mahomedan countries; hence his minute acquaintance with opium.

Wang Hsi's  
knowledge,  
how  
acquired.

In the first of the three preceding paragraphs the "Pên-ts'ao" account of Wang's remedy against diarrhoea has been followed; in the paragraph which comes after it the fuller statement found in the Korean work "Tung-i-pao-chien" has been given. It seemed better to insert both in this list of passages, because they bear on the point of the manufacture of opium by the Chinese in their own country in the 15th century, of which there can remain little doubt if the extract from the "Tung-i-pao-chien" be fairly considered. The author first mentions the disease and then details the mode in which the medicine which is to cure it may be obtained.

Fuller  
details,  
wherefound

Both accounts are professedly taken from Wang Hsi's book. In the absence of the book itself it cannot be decided which is the more correct. Probability is in favour of the last, because it is fuller than the other.

## 13°.

In the Ming dynasty, in the middle of the sixteenth century, we find an author, Li Ting,\* in his work "I-shiao-ju-mên," saying opium or *a-fu-yung* is made in the following manner:—"Before the head opens the poppy is approached with a bamboo needle and the capsule pierced in 10 or 15 places, from which sap comes out. The next morning a bamboo knife is used to scrape the sap into a vessel of earthenware. When a good quantity has been collected it is sealed up with paper and placed in the sun for a fortnight, and then the opium is ready. Its influence and effects are most powerful, and much must not be used."

Mode of pre-  
paring  
opium in the  
sixteenth  
century.

\* See for particulars Bretschneider's "Botanicon Sinicum," page 49. He lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. His biography is found in the "Yuan-shih."

† The floating compass is mentioned by Hsu Ching, ambassador to Korea, as having been in use on board of his ship in his voyage from Ningpo to Korea in the year A.D. 1122.

\* He belonged to Chien-an-fu, in Shensi. There was in the Sung dynasty another Li Ting, who wrote on divination and the I-ching.



Medical  
use.

He also says, "In cases of dysentery with weakness, and when chronic, with all sorts of dysentery indeed, a good remedy will be found in 4 ounces of *huang-lien* (*Justicia*) prepared over the fire with *wu-chu-yü* (*Boymia Rutecarpa*) which has been separately made to simmer in water beforehand. To these are to be added 1 ounce of putchuck and 1 mace of opium. This mixture is pulverised and rolled into pills with paste made of ground rice. The pills are to be of the size of green beans. 20 or 30 are to be taken at a time, accompanied by a warm draught made with the kernels of lotus seeds which have been stewed in water. The patient is then to go to sleep well covered. The effect is marvellous." (Taken from the "Tung-i-pao-chien.")

Prohibition  
of Foreign  
trade en-  
couraged  
native pro-  
duction.

This author lived during the time when foreign trade was prohibited. He is mentioned in the "History of the Ming Dynasty" as belonging to the Chia Ching period (1522 to 1567), after which by a new law European vessels were allowed to trade with China. During the first half of that reign the Japanese made frequent raids upon the Chinese coast. This caused deep indignation, and not only they but all foreigners were forbidden to trade with China. This was in the year 1523. This naturally rendered foreign medicines scarce and dear, and therefore we are not surprised to find exact directions given by contemporary medical authors as to how opium might be manufactured from the poppy, it being then a highly esteemed drug and having been recommended by medical authors for half a century or more.

## 14°.

Kung Yün-  
lin's pre-  
scription.

The next author to be cited in the Ming dynasty is Kung Yün-lin or Kung Hsin. He says in curing white and red dysentery use opium putchuck, *huang-lien* (*Justicia*), and *pai-shu* (*Abactylodes*), each in equal quantity. Pulverise in a mortar and mix into pills with rice, making the pills of the size of a small bean. The old and the young must take half as much as the middle-aged and the strong. Take the mixture with rice water after being without food for some hours. Avoid sour things. Take nothing raw or cold. Take no oil, fat, tea, wine, or flour. The disease will be certainly checked. If thirsty drink a little rice water.

Medical use  
of poppy  
bracts of  
red and  
white  
varieties of  
*Papaver  
somni-  
ferum*.

Another method is to take from the bud of the poppy flower before it has opened the two green leaves which enclose it and drop off when the flower opens. Pulverise them and take one-tenth of an ounce with rice water. The effect will be marvellous. According as the diarrhoea is of the red or white kind, use the bracts of the red or white poppy.

This use of the bracts which envelop the poppy flower is peculiar to this author. He was a native of Kiangsi and belonged to the Medical Board in Pekin.

Golden  
elixir pill.

He also made a pill celebrated for its healing power and called the golden elixir. It was thought to be able to cure 24 different diseases, which are detailed in the "Pên-ts'ao" of Li Shih-chên, with a statement of the decoction to be taken with the pill in each case. In this pill, *I-li-chin-tan*,\* Opium was used to the extent of one hundredth of an ounce and mixed with glutinous rice, to be divided into three pills, one being a dose. If ineffectual, another was taken. It was forbidden to take many of these pills. Vinegar was not to be used, for fear of internal rupture of the visceral organs resulting in death.

In Kung Sin's work, called "Wan-ping-hui-ch'un," cited in the "Tung-i-pao-chien," there is another golden elixir, for pain above or below the diaphragm. 2½ mace of opium, with 1 mace of asafetida, half a mace of putchuck and of aloes, and a quarter of a mace of cow bezoar. The three last were first pulverised together. Opium and asafetida were placed in a cup and made liquid by dropping water upon them and stirring over a fire. The whole was mixed with honey and made into pills of the size of green beans and gilt. When the body was hot the pills were taken with cold water; when the body was chilled they were taken with boiling water.

The same physician also made purple gold pills with bezoar and other drugs, to help the good effects of opium. The preceding passages are from Li Shih-chên and the "Tung-i-pao-chien."

## 15°.

Native  
account of  
foreign  
trade before  
the pro-  
hibition.

In the work "Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao," an account of counties belonging to the Eastern and Western Seas,

\* This was also used in Pekin, says Li Shih-chên, as a prodigious and quite extensively, beyond the range of regular medicine.

it is said, "In the Sung dynasty, when merchant vessels went to sea the high officials of the ports from which they sailed went to the seashore to escort them. I have gone up the mountain at the entrance of the bight leading to Ch'uan-chou-fu (Amoy) and seen the inscriptions, with dates, on the rocks which record these things. At that time the regulations were very stringent, as if the matters in hand were of great importance. In the province of Fukkien, in the Sung and Yüan dynasties, superintendents of foreign trade were appointed at each port, under the name *Shih-po-ssü*. At the beginning of the present dynasty (Ming) this system remained unaltered, but was afterwards allowed to fall into neglect. In the period from 1465 to 1506 it happened that in the more powerful families connected with commerce there were adventurous persons who went on large ships beyond seas to trade. There were at that time bad men who secretly opened out new paths in which to gain profit, while the officers placed in charge failed to secure, openly at least, in these profitable transactions any share for the Government. At first they succeeded in gradually enriching themselves, but in course of time this sort of trade degenerated into a rivalry as to who should shoot his arrow farthest and into various irregular proceedings." The same work further says that "Along the seashore there is much land which is so full of potash and soda that the farmer can realise no harvests from it. It is only possible to look on the sea as the soil to be worked. This led to various employments connected with the sea. The rich collected a revenue from imported goods, and safely brought back with them the sheaves which they reaped in the harvest of the waters. The poor also laboured for a wage, and stretched out the hand to seize the pint measure of rice which they needed to support them in their toil. But the day of rigorous prohibition arrived. These people could not, as before, gain a living through the arrival of merchant ships. They were strong and hearty. They would not fold their hands and sit down inactive in poverty and want. Troubles consequently occurred in succession, resulting in disturbances of the public peace. Men of this class hid themselves in places beyond the local jurisdiction, and having rudely impinged on the law's net they dared not return to be apprehended. In addition to this they conducted barbarians from a distance on various occasions into the places to which they belonged."

Bad effects  
of prohibi-  
tion.

The author proceeds to say that when the prohibition was withdrawn from foreign commerce and revenue collected from goods and merchant vessels, the Government gained in revenue and the people in tranquillity. In particular the local military expenditure was supplied to a fixed extent each year from this source. He then remarks, "The duties levied were of three kinds, according to the rules then in force: there was the water duty, the land duty, and the supplementary duty. The water duty was tonnage, and was levied on the representative of the ship. The land duty was duty on goods, fixed *ad valorem*, and levied according to the quantity of goods, on the merchant doing business on shore. In respect to this, from fear of smuggling, it was the rule that the supercargo (*ch'uan-shang*) should not deliver goods until the presentation of a memorandum addressed to the merchant on shore who was the buyer of goods, stating the amount of duty for the goods mentioned, and directing him to go to the vessel and pay the duties there; after this the goods might be removed. As to the supplementary duties, they were levied in case of an error in the declared measurement of the vessel in feet, to be added to (or subtracted from) the tonnage."

Good effects  
of permis-  
sion to  
trade.

Duties  
levied.

Further, in the year 1589 a tariff was issued, stating the duties to be levied on each kind of goods and approved by the military commandant. In this tariff myrrh, gum olibanum, and asafetida, with other articles, are entered at a fixed rate of 3½ mace per cwt. for myrrh, and 2 mace per cwt. for the other two. Opium is rated at 2 mace of silver for 10 catties, or 2 ounces per cwt. In the year 1615 a new tariff was issued, in which opium appears rated at 1 7/10 mace for each 10 catties.

Tariff of  
A.D. 1589.

Tariff of  
A.D. 1615.

## 16°.

Li Shih-chên, author of the "Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu," finished that work A.D. 1578. After saying that the poppy is called *yü-mi* because it is a grain (*mi*) which can be used in making presents, and *hsiang-leu* because

Li Shih-  
chên's  
*Materia  
Medica*.

it resembles millet (*ku*), he adds that it is sown in autumn, and in winter is above ground in the form of tender stalks which may be used as food and constitute an excellent vegetable, the leaves being like lettuce. In the third or fourth month the flowering part of the plant is well advanced and protected by bracts, which fall off when the flower opens. There are four petals, which, taken together, are as large as a saucer. The capsule is in the centre of the flower, folded in stamens. The flower falls on the third day after opening, leaving the capsule at the top of the stem. It is 1 or 2 inches in length, and in size like the *ma-tou-ling* (a drug, capsule of the bladder tree). It has a lid and a short stalk. In shape it is much like a wine jar. In it there are many white grains, which can be used for making a sort of porridge for taking with ordinary food. If the seeds are ground with water, and mixed with green beans first ground so as to make a jelly, it will be found excellent. Oil also can be made from the seeds. As to the capsules, they are much used in medicine, but are not mentioned in the old "Pharmacopœia." From this it may be concluded that in ancient times the capsules were not used.

The author refers here to the Northern Sung dynasty, A.D. 960 to 1126, when the poppy first appeared in the "Pharmacopœia."

He proceeds, "In Kiangsu the double poppy is called *li-ch'un-hua*, flower of the bright spring. This is said by some to be a variety of the *ying-su-hua*; but this is a mistake. Its flower changes perpetually. It may be white, or red, purple, pink, or apricot yellow, or it may be half red or half purple and half white, and is very beautiful, and this is the reason that it is called the *li-ch'un*. It is also known as the Mountain peony's rival and the flower of the embroidered coverlid." He also says of the seeds of the poppy that they cure diarrhoea and relieve feverish symptoms, and of the capsules that for medicinal purposes they should be well washed and softened in water. "The stalk and outer skin should be removed and also the stringy fibres within. Let them be dried in a dark place and cut very small. They are then to be well mixed with rice vinegar and placed over the fire to simmer, after which they are fit for use as a drug. They may also be prepared with honey instead of vinegar. In taste and nature the capsules thus prepared are sour, astringent, and slightly cooling, without being poisonous. With vinegar, black prunes, or orange peel they are most effectual in curing diarrhoea, asthma, rheumatism, or pain in the heart and abdomen."

Proceeding to speak of opium, he says, "Formerly opium was not much heard of; recently it has been used by some in medical recipes. It is said to be the juice of the *ying-su-hua* (or poppy). While the head of this flower is still green, in the afternoon take a large needle and prick the outside skin, taking care not to wound the inner hard shell. It is to be pricked in from three to five places. The next day, when the sap has come out, take a bamboo knife and scrape it into an earthenware cup. Let it be dried in the shade. It being made in this way accounts for the fact that this article when bought in shops has mixed with it pieces of the skin of the capsule. It is a sour astringent, and can cure, etc. Especially is the elixir *I-li-chin-tan*, made with it, useful for curing a hundred diseases."

## 17°.

Poppy as a flower.

In the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" we find a passage from a work on flowers by an author named Wang Shih-mou, who lived at the end of the 16th century.\* He says, "After the peony (*shao-yao*) the poppy is the most beautiful of flowers, and grows most luxuriantly. It changes readily. If care be taken in watering and planting, it becomes very handsome, and assumes a thousand varieties of shape and colour. It even becomes yellow or green. Looked at from a distance it is lovely; when nearer it becomes less attractive. I have heard that the seeds can be used as food, and have a strongly astringent effect."

In the work on flowers published in the time of Kang Hsi, under the name "Kuang-ch'ün-lang-p'u," there is a poem on the poppy by Wu Yu-p'ei, of the Ming dynasty. "In the court which fronts the hall, a long way down, when the daylight is lengthened, before the terrace are flowers of the genii breathing out abundant fragrance. A vapour encircles them,

"and there are rain drops upon them, where they put forth their lovely forms. They have a red tint and glossy lustre, and their appearance is beautiful. They are sown in mid-autumn and must wait for the coming year. They open their flowers in early summer, and are companions to the declining sun. Another thing to be praised is their seeds, heaped up in large capsules one after the other. Why, then, be content with what is ugly and only gather rice and such-like grain?"

In the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" there is a passage from a work called "Ts'ao-hua-p'u" the book of plants and flowers, which says, "The poppy has a thousand petals and all the five colors. Its petals are shorter than those of the flower called *yü-mei-jên*, and more graceful. Through the whole garden the spring alighting upon them seem to fly as they move to the breeze. The seeds are sown in spring."

## 18°.

In the work called "Wu-li-hsiao-shih," written at the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the present, it is said of the poppy that it is sown in the middle month of autumn, at noon. After flowering, the seed vessel grows into the shape of a vase. The tiny seeds can be eaten as porridge. Oil is also obtained from them, and the capsules are useful in medicine; they are powerfully astringent. When the capsules are still green, if a needle be used to puncture them in 10 or 15 places, the sap will come out. This should be received into an earthenware cup, which may be covered carefully with paper pasted round the edge. Let the cup be exposed to the sun for 14 days; it is then opium, ready for use as an astringent, and restrains reproduction most powerfully.

Another account of the mode of obtaining opium from the poppy.

## 19°.

Carefully weighing what is said in the passages preceding, it appears plain that from the latter part of the fifteenth century the manufacture of native opium has existed in China, and it is not only in recent years that there has been both native and foreign opium in this country. Let the reader examine the various accounts of the manipulation by four different authors. Wang Hsi's book cannot now be procured, but judging by what is quoted from him in Li Shih-chên's work, he meant to describe the method of poppy culture in Arabia, and spoke particularly of a kind which yielded the opium sap in the 7th and 8th months or later. When, however, he speaks, as in the passage translated from the "Tung-i-pae-chien," of obstinate diarrhoea needing opium to cure it, and advises the physician to make opium direct from the poppy in a way which he describes, he must be speaking of a Chinese made article. Li T'ing's account differs in too many points from that of Wang Hsi to be regarded as a second-hand statement based exclusively upon it. If so, then Li T'ing is a third and independent witness on this subject, the fourth being the author of the work "Wu-li-hsiao-shih."

Résumé.

## 20°.

Early in the seventeenth century a Dutch physician named Jacobus Bontius went to reside at Batavia, and died there. What he wrote on medicine was afterwards included in the work of Gulielmus Piso, "De Indiæ utriusque Re naturali et medica Libri XIV." (Elzevir, 1658).\* The preface of Bontius is dated Batavia, 1629. He says that those nations which use opium seem drowsy, and are dull in commerce and in arms; but unless we had opium to use in these hot countries, in cases of dysentery, cholera, burning fever, and various bilious affections, we should practice medicine in vain. This was the basis of the ancient medicines, theriac, mithridate, and philonium.

Opium in Java in 1629.

The poor Indians use the leaves and branches of the poppy to prepare an inferior sort of opium, which they obtain by drying in the sun. They call *pusti*, and they themselves are nicknamed *pusti*. The rich, who indulge in the more expensive drug, are known as *afyûni*. The Greeks knew the danger of opium but not its merits, which are clearly divine, and which they failed sufficiently to explore.

Bontius' opinion of opium.

Bontius prescribed *carcuma*, made from opium and the Indian crocus, *Hsi-tsang-hung-hua*. This was his refuge in dysentery, cholera, phrenitis, and spasms. He took refuge in opium as a sacred anchor, he tells us, in desperate cases. He used poppy seeds and poppy

\* He died 1590. See Biography 175 in "Ming History."

\* Kindly lent by Dr. E. Bretschneider,

heads. He says that opium helps nature to conquer the enemy by inducing sleep, and that he could prepare it so that it should not injure even an infant.

21°.

Towards the end of the Ming dynasty the practice of taking opium medically or otherwise by swallowing it was destined to be soon changed for the habit of opium-smoking. It is requisite, therefore, in proceeding with this record to enter on the subject of tobacco and tobacco-smoking, in order to introduce by easy transition this new step taken by the Chinese in the use of opium.

22°.

In the latter years of the Ming dynasty tobacco cultivation and tobacco-smoking were introduced into China from the Philippine Islands. Here the Spaniards had settled, and they were in constant communication with America. The tobacco plant crossed the Pacific and flourished in the neighbourhood of Manila. The first place in China where it was planted was at Amoy; it was brought there by Fuhkien sailors trading to Manila. In the work above cited under the name "Wu-li-hsiao-shih," written about A.D. 1650, we are told that tobacco was brought to China about A.D. 1620, which would be about the same time that King James I's "Counterblast to Tobacco" was being circulated in England as a new publication. Tobacco was called the smoke plant" or *tampaku*, or *tan-pu-kuei*.

In the time of the last Ming Emperor, who reigned from 1628 to 1644, tobacco-smoking was prohibited, but the habit spread too rapidly to be checked by law. The origin of opium-smoking is thus accounted for. Various ingredients were in various countries mixed with tobacco to try their effect; among them was opium. Arsenic was another ingredient, which is still used by the Chinese in what is called "water tobacco."

The Manchus now took the place of the Ming dynasty. There is a historical work called the "Tung-hua-lu," which gives the events of the first century of Manchu rule in the form of a chronicle. In the year 1641 there is in this book an account of an edict which has reference to tobacco. The Emperor asks the princes and high officers, "Why do you not lead the soldiers yourselves in the practice of archery? The elder youths should practise the horn-bow and winged arrow; the younger should be skilled in using the wooden bow and willow-twig arrow. Our dynasty in military exercises makes archery the chief thing. To smoke tobacco is a fault, but not so great a fault as to neglect bow exercise. As to the prohibition of tobacco-smoking, it became impossible to maintain it, because you princes and others smoked privately, though not publicly; but as to the use of the bow,

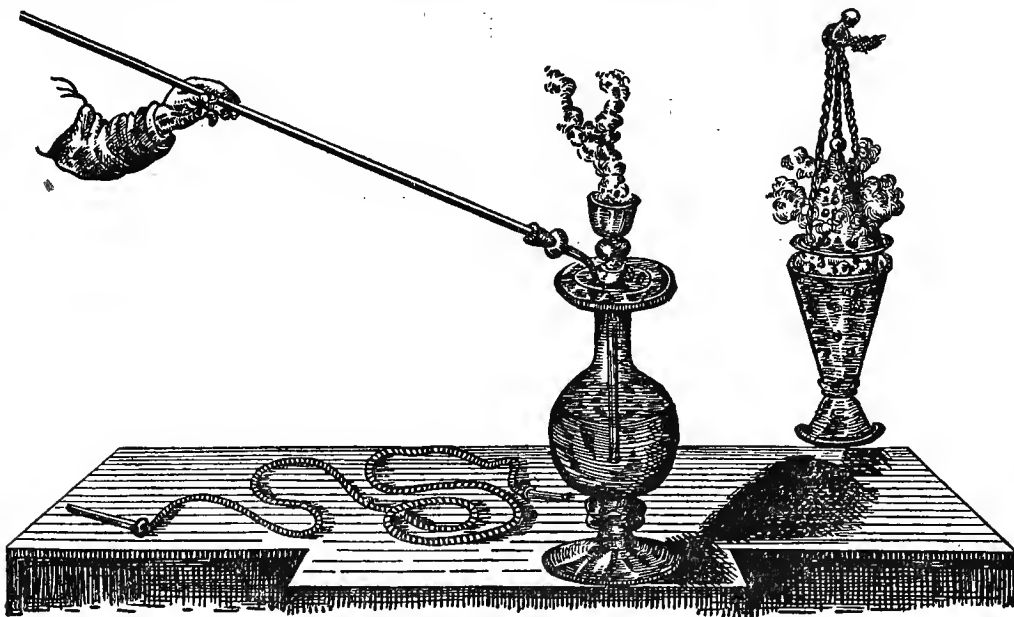
"this must not be neglected." The edicts afterwards promulgated against opium were just as ineffectual as those against tobacco-smoking; and among the causes of their failure must be included the love of opium-smoking by many in high positions, favourites and others, whom it would be very difficult to punish.

In a work called "Shun-hsiang-chui-pi," written 10 or 20 years later than this edict, tobacco-smoking is described as spreading to the city of Soochow and as being quickly adopted by all classes of the people. The author states that this circumstance was much to the detriment of morality; it had previously been a difficult thing to uphold moderation in living, but after this it was far more so. Women as well as men, the inhabitants of villages as well as of large towns, fell into the snare, till the habit became almost universal. This immense popularity of tobacco-smoking was an indication of the readiness of the Chinese nation to adopt the use of narcotics. The same thing which took place in the 19th century with opium-smoking occurred in the 17th century with tobacco-smoking. The Confucian mind was shocked, the sense of propriety was wounded; but this did not prevent the rapid spread of both these modes of indulgence in all circles. Prohibitory edicts were issued in vain by Emperors animated by paternal affection for their people. Tobacco was a less evil than they supposed; opium-smoking was a far greater evil than they feared. In both cases the Emperor was powerless. The Emperor Ch'êng Tsung, as we ought to call him, but who is better known as Tao Kuang, is much to be respected for his strong moral convictions on the subject of opium. He made really great efforts to cope with this evil, but it was in vain. The fondness of the people for inhaling a narcotic was too strong for him to overcome. He failed utterly in the attempt to put down opium-smoking even in the City of Peking. It was as hard to persuade his own people to abandon a bad habit as to conquer England in war.

The habit of tobacco-smoking became national, and went on extending itself for a century, till soon after the close of a long reign of Kang Hsi the attention of the Government was drawn to opium-smoking as a new vice in Formosa and at Amoy. It grew up in the same part of the country where tobacco-smoking had been introduced.

23°.

One of the most valuable works to be consulted on the subject of early opium-smoking, its connexion with tobacco-smoking, and the opium trade as it existed at the end of the 17th century, is the *Amœnitates exoticæ* of Kæmpfer. Some passages from this work, recording his observations on tobacco, hemp, and opium, will now be given. They were first published in 1712, but the original notes from which they were compiled were taken 20 years earlier.



[Pipe for smoking tobacco through water.]

"*Nicotiana ante sesqui circiter secula toti antiquo orbi, adeoque et Persiæ, cœpit a Lusitanis transvect- oribus innotescere. Nomen ubique habet tabaci, et pro diverso gentium idiomate tobak, tabacco, tombak et*

*tembakû*, ab insula hujus nominis Americana, quæ herbæ copiam inventoribus dederat. Plantæ vix nomen innotuerat, quin simul cultura celebrari ubique cœperit, et fumandi usus omne humanum genus stupenda

Opium smoking arose from tobacco smoking.

Tobacco smoking when introduced.

Prohibition of tobacco smoking.

Manchu prohibition of tobacco smoking.

Spread of tobacco-smoking.

Opium-smoking in Formosa.

Kæmpfer's *Amœnitates exoticæ*.

Tobacco: Kæmpfer's account.

velocitate incantaverit. Plantam, Hyosciami speciem si negamus, ex classe tamen venenatarum nequaquam eximenda fuerit; cum vertigines, anxietates et vomitus, quos fumigata in non absuetis concitat, malignitatis testes sint luculenti. Experimentis Redianis constat, olei ejus guttulum recenti immissum vulneri, pullos volucrum enecare, hominibus vero inferre periculosa symptomata. Vidi bajulos circa Casanam Tartariæ qui perforatum cornu bubulum foliis plenum, super positis carbonibus, paucis haustibus evacuabant; ex quo instar epilepticorum prosternebantur, pituita spumoque diffuentes. Quam vero venenata sint folia, eorum tamen fumus consuetudine homini fit familiaris, ut, non modo non noceat malignitate sua, sed benigniori sale serum ex capitis recessibus eliciat, ac cerebrum hilaritate impleat. Quod ut præstet felicius, Persæ fumum trahunt per machinam, aqua ultra dimidium plenam, quæ fœtidum et cerebro inimicum sulphur imbibens, fumum transmittit ab omni malignitatis acrimonia defœctum, frige factum et sincerum. Machina illa, quam *khalican* vel *khalium* vocant ampulla est sesquipedalis altitudo, vitrea, oblongo ponata collo; ejus orificium claudit orbiculus æneus, in sesquipalmarem diametrum expansus, duos in medio permittens tubulos invicem adsolidatos, æneos; unum, cujus inferior pars in ampullam demissa, aquæ immergitur; superior recipit nicotianæ cum impositis carbonibus retinaculum, infundibulo seu buccinæ orificio simile: alterum brevior, cujus demissa extremitas aquam non attingit: superior incurvata arundinem excipit longam, quæ fumus attrahitur. Tubulorum propago, proxime sub orbiculo, telaxylina arcte circumvoluta est, in eam crassitiem, quæ vitri orificium cum modica colli parte expleat atque claudat arcissime: ita evenit, ut ad suctum non possit nisi ex infundibulo fumus succedere; qui jucundo strepitu aquam penetrans, primo inane vitri spatium occupat, inde per arundinem ad os sugentis atque ipsos pulmones pergit; attractio enim, non bucca aut labiis, ut vulgo solet, sed toto pectore peragitur, quo ipso fumus per pulmones se diffundit. Si acrior herba sit, concisam prius aquæ immergunt exprimuntque, ut a crudiori acrimonia liberetur: quod idem a Sinensibus et Japonibus factitatum vidi. Modum fumandi per machinam a Persis edocti sunt Arabes Hindostani, seu Indi magni Mogolis, et, qui cum religione mores Arabum adoptarunt, nigræ quidam insulares; sed his, quod vitra deficiant, pro ampulla servit excavatus cortex eucurbitarum. Turci, Sinenses, Japonæ, Europæorum more fumum trahunt per fistulam, receptaculo tabaci accensi insertam. Nigræ gentiles fumum sine instrumento hauriunt, rotatis foliis in turbinem, cujus basin accendant, apice labris retento et sucto."

Hookah or water pipe.

The Persian pipe for smoking tobacco through water here described by the traveller is the parent of that now in use among the Chinese, and of the Indian hookah. The Persians taught its use to the Arabs of Hindustan, the Hindus, and the black inhabitants of Asiatic islands. It spread with the religion of the Arabs wherever they went.

Summary of Kæmpfer's account.

According to Kæmpfer's account, tobacco-smoking had during a century and a half been gradually spreading through all countries. It was introduced into Persia by the Portuguese while prosecuting their trading operations in the ports of the Persian Gulf. The poisonous qualities of tobacco he proves by what he had himself seen of its effects. Fowls die if tobacco oil is injected into a recent wound. He saw at Kasan porters smoking in a peculiar way. They filled a cow's horn with tobacco leaves, placed it over burning coals, and smoked through a hole in the horn; after a few whiffs they fell down in a state of something like foaming epilepsy. Yet he adds, when smokers are accustomed to the use of tobacco it soothes the brain and promotes cheerfulness.

Object of the water-pipe.

The invention of the water-pipe was intended to assist in removing the poisonous and unpleasant qualities of tobacco. The smoke on passing through the water is free from sulphurous fumes, moderated in strength, cooled, and purified. Glass vessels were first used, with brass fittings. The natives of the Eastern Archipelago, not having glass, used the calabash instead.

Cigars.

The author adds that while the Turks, Chinese, and Japanese all smoke with a pipe, like the Europeans, the black natives of the islands have a way of their own; they roll the tobacco leaves into a twist, which they light at one end and smoke from at the other.

"Alterum atque interni usus *kheif* ex papavere sumitur: quo Indi Persæque hortos et agros conserunt, ut lactescentem succum ex læsis capitibus proliciant. Hunc succum Europa *Opium*; Asia cum *Ægypto* *afium* et *ofium* vocat. Persia idem præparatum, ex reverentia, appellat *theriakî*, i.e., Theriacum; nam hæc illis est poetarum illa *galene, hilare, et eudios*, id est, medicina animo serenitatem, hilaritatem et tranquillitatem conferens: quo olim tergemino elogio theriacale antidotum Andromachi appellatum legimus. In Perside collectio ejus celebratur per ineuntem æstatem, propinqua maturitati capita decussatim sauciando per superficiem. Culter negotio servit quintuplici acie instructus, qui una sectione quinque indigit vulnera longa parallela. Ex vulnusculis promanans succus postridie scalpro abstergitur, et in vasculum, abdomini præligatum, colligitur. Tum altera capitum facies eodem modo vulneratur, ad liquorem pariter proliciendum. At, hæc collectio, ob capitum impar incrementum et magnitudinem, aliquoties in eodem arvo instituenda est. Solent in plantis nimium ramosis superflua capita prius amputari: sic reliqua magis grandescunt, et succo implentur majoris efficacis. Primæ collectionis lacryma, *gobaar* dicta, præstantior est, et graviore pollet cerebrum demulcendi virtute, colorem exhibens albidum, vel ex luteo pallentem; sed qui color ex longiori insolatione et ariditate infusari solet. Altera collectio succum promit, priori, ut virtute, ita pretio inferiorem, coloris plerumque obscuri, vel ex rufo nigricantis. Sunt, qui et tertiam instituunt, qua obtinetur lacryma nigerrima et exigua virtutis.

How opium is made in Persia.

"Præparatio Opii potissimum in eo consistit, ut, aquæ pauxillo humectatum, spatha crassa lignea continuo et fortiter ducatur et reducatur in patina lignea et plana, donec elaboratissimæ picis consistentiam, tenacitatem et nitorem induat. Ita diu multumque subactum, ad ultimum manu non nihil pertractatur nuda, et demum, in cylindros breves rotatum, venale exponitur; forcipe dividendum, cum particulas emptores petunt. Hac serie pertractatum Opium appellatur *theriak malideh*, i.e., theriaca molendo præparata, vel etiam *theriak afium*, id est, theriaca opiata, ad differentiam theriacæ Andromachi, quam illi vocant *theriak farunk*. Præparandi hic labor perpetuus est popolarum, quos vocant *kheifruus*, quasi Germanice diceret *trunken Krämere*, quo illi, in foris et quadrivis sedentes, brachia sua strenue exercent. Massa hæc sæpe numero, non aqua, sed melle subigitur, ea copia admissio, quæ non siccitatem modo, sed et amaritiem temperet: et hæc specialiter appellatur *bahrs*. Insignior præparatio est, qua inter agitandum adduntur nux myristica, cardamomum, cinamomum et macis, in pulverem subtilissimum redacta; qualiter præparatum Opium cordi et cerebro insigniter prodesse creditur. Vocatur in specie *poloniâ*, vel, ut alii pronunciant, *foloniâ*, puta *Philonium Persicum*, seu *mesue*. Alii omissis aromatibus, tantum croco et ambra massam infarciunt. Multi præparationem in usum proprium ipsi perficiunt domi suæ, ne a propolis admiscendorum paucitate vel multitudine decipiantur. Præter hoc triplicis præparationis Opium, quod sola pilularum forma deglutitur, prostat, vel etiam a domesticis conficitur, liquor celebris nominis *cocônâr* dictus, Græcorum quod puto *Μηκόνιον* ac Homerianum *nepenthes*, quod a bibacibus propinari affatum per horarum intervalla solet. Parant hujus liquorem alii ex foliis, aqua simplici per brevem moram coquendis; alii ex capitibus contsis infusione macerandis, vel iisdem supra filtrum repositis, aquam eandem septies octiesve superfundendo: admixtis pro ejusque placito, quæ saporis gratiam concilient. Tertium addo opiatum genus, electuarium lætificans et lætificando inebrians; hujus electuarii, cujus basin idem Opium etiam constituit, a seplasiariis et medicis, prout quisque ingenio pollet, varie elaboratur, ac diversis ingredientibus ad roboraundos et exhilarandos spiritus dirigitur; unde variæ ejus extant descriptiones; quarum primaria et famosissima est, quæ debetur inventori Hasjem *Begî*, quandoquidem comedentis animum miris perfunderet gaudiis, et magicis cerebrum demulcere ideis et voluptatibus dicitur.

Preparation of opium.

"Opium quod Europæis, si grani unius vel paucorum dosin excesseris, lethiferum nefas audit, a prænomiatis populis longa aduetudine ita familiare redditum est, ut drachmam multi sine noxa deglutiant. Multa hoc abusu, vel longiori ejus usu, acciuntur mala; emaciatur enim corpus, laxantur vires, contristatur animus, stupescit ingenium: unde videas instar stiptum somnolentos et quasi elingues sedere in conviviis opii liguritos. Sæpe oblatis mihi sunt, quos a camino



appetitu Opii percurarem, sostro centum aureorum promisso, si hoc citra damnum et vitæ dispendium præstitero. Exemplum Opii voracium non est, quod adducam, cum eorum pleni sint medicorum libri. Capita papaveris teneriora aceto condita nonnulli in mensa secunda appetunt; alii alia ex iisdem sorbilla conficiunt, pro suo quique placito."

Kämpfer's visit to Java in 1688.

Kämpfer proceeded from Persia in June 1688 to Batavia, which city—then, as now, the chief seat of the Dutch power in the East—he reached in September 1689, after visiting the settlements of that nation in Arabia Felix, India, Ceylon, and the Island of Sumatra. He stayed in Java eight months, and then went to Japan. Of the use of opium in Java he gives the following account:—

Mention of use of opium.

"De Opio, ejusque Persis et Indis communi usu, diximus. Addo abusum execrabilem, qui viget inter Indos nigras, ad efferendum animos ad homicidiorum patratorum audaciam; dum vel vitæ suæ, vel injuriarum pertæsi, se devovent morti, per ultionem et mortes aliorum opetendæ. Eo fine Opii deglutiant bolum: ex quo intentionis idea exasperatur, turbatur ratio, et infrenus redditur animus, adeo, ut stricto pugione, instar tigridum rabidarum, excurrant in publicum, obvios quosvis, sive amicos, sive inimicos, trucidaturi, donec ipsi, ab alio perforati, prosternantur. Actus hic vocatur *hamûk*, apud incolas Javæ et ulterioris Orientis crebro spectabilis. Vocabuli sonum ibi horret, quicunque audit; nam qui vident homicidam, illi vocem *hamûk* summopere exclamant: monituri inermes, ut fugiant, et vitæ suæ prospiciant: dum ad extinguendam beluam accurrere debet, quisquis armatus et cordatus est. Opii etiam externus usus est apud nigras: nam eodem aqua diluto nicotianam inficiunt, ut accensa caput vehementius turbet. Vidi in Java tabernas levidenses ex arundine, in quibus id genus tabaci hauriendum exponebatur prætereuntibus. Nulla per Indiam merx majori lucro divenditur a Batavis, quam *afium*, quo carere adueto non possunt, nec potiri, nisi navibus Batavorum ex Bengala et Choromandela advecto.

First opium-smoking shops.

The *tabernas levidenses ex arundine* here spoken of were the first opium-smoking shops of which we have any record. According to the statement here given, opium diluted with water was smoked with tobacco. This sort of tobacco was exposed to passers-by to be smoked when, two centuries ago, the learned German traveller was taking walks in Batavia to observe the customs of the native population. He uses the word *haurio*; that this here means smoking, and not drinking, is plain from another passage (in *Amenitates exoticae*, page 642), where he says the black inhabitants smoke without a pipe (*sine instrumento hauriunt*), by rolling tobacco leaves into a whirl, which they light at the lower end and smoke from at the upper by holding it with their lips and drawing. Of opium from the Coromandel coast, which then formed a part of the lading of the Batavian ships to take back to Java, we now hear nothing; but the Bengal portion of this lucrative trade finds its lineal successor in the Patna opium of the present day.

## 24°.

Medical use of opium in 1723.

In the year 1723, shortly before the first edict against opium-smoking, a medical work was published with the name "*Chi-yen-liang-fang*,"\* by Nien Hsi-yao, a bannerman in Pekin of high rank and great influence in his day. He places among his prescriptions a pill called *Wan-ying-tan*, made of opium mixed with bezoar, camphor, and other drugs, 13 in all. He states that it could cure the diseases of all seasons, including fevers beginning with chill (*shang-han*), epidemic fever, heat apoplexy (*chung-shu*, severe or slight), paralysis, headache, slight fever, vomiting with diarrhoea, ague, pain in the heart, abdominal pain, and the like. Two pills are prescribed for severe cases, and one when the attack is slight; they are to be taken with cold water.

He also recommends a plaster called *Yü-chên-kao*, to be attached at the navel. It adds to the vigour of the body and saves it from decay, warms the kidneys, strengthens the loins and knees, removes cold and wet chill, with all abdominal pains, and is useful for healing all sorts of affections to which men and women are subject. It is made by mixing opium, musk, *yang-ch'i-shih*, olibanum, cloves, and the like; 14 other drugs are added. By gradual decoction it is prepared for use and employed as required. There is another prescription, called the *Pao-yang-ling-kwei-shên-fang*, or marvellous recipe of the efficacious tortoise for the preservation of

health; it is formed by mixing opium with *ch'an-su* (a medicine made of the oily part of toads) and such things, and adding 33 other kinds of medicine. It is prepared with oil for use.

## 25°.

There is a work on Formosa called "*T'ai-hai-ts'ai-fêng-t'u-k'ao*," which was published in 1746. It contains extracts from earlier works, and among them one by a native of Pekin named Huang Yü-pu, who was at some earlier date sent to Formosa and wrote an account of what he saw there, which was published under the name "*T'ai-hai-shih-ch'a-lu*." He gives the following statements from this work on the subject of opium-smoking. Opium for smoking is prepared by mixing hemp and the (root of the) grasscloth plant (*Pachyrizus angulatus* or, may be, *Pueraria Thunbergia*, Dr. Bretschneider) with opium, and cutting them up small. This mixture is boiled with water in a copper pan or tripod. The opium so prepared is mixed with tobacco. A bamboo tube is also provided, the end of which is filled with coir fibres from the coir palm. Many persons collect this opium to smoke mixed with tobacco. The price asked is several times greater than for tobacco alone. Those who make it their sole business to prepare opium in this way are known as opium tavern keepers. Those who smoke once or twice form a habit which cannot afterwards be broken off. Warmth is conveyed in a vaporous form to the *tan-tien*\* ("*red field*," located in the kidneys), so that the whole night can be passed without lying down. The aborigines smoke as an aid to vice. The limbs grow thin and appear to be wasting away; the internal organs collapse. The smoker unless he be killed will not cease smoking. The local officers have from time to time strictly prohibited the habit. It has often been found that when the time came for administering the bastinado to culprits of this class, they would beg for a brief respite, that they might first take another smoke. Opium came from Java.

Early opium-smoking in Formosa.

Of the various early narratives which describe the habit of smoking opium with a bamboo pipe, the account we have here seems to be the most minute. It is not stated in what year it was written, but the year in which it was reprinted as an extract was 1746. In reference to the last sentence, which says that opium came from Java, it should be observed that it agrees with what Kämpfer in his book states. He found that diluted opium was mixed with tobacco to offer to passers-by to smoke; he observed this during his residence in Java. We learn from this that it was tobacco-smoking which led to opium-smoking. During the reign of Kang Hsi Koxinga occupied Formosa for a time. It was about that time that the island received the name "*Taiwan*." In the Ming dynasty we meet only with the names Tamsui and Kelung. In the days of Koxinga many Chinese colonists went over from the mainland to reside there. There was constant communication with Java by trading vessels. Many wanderers without a livelihood from various countries went there from time to time, and it was through this class of persons that the pernicious habit of opium-smoking originated in Formosa.

Opium-smoking came to Formosa from Java.

## 26°.

In the work named "*T'ai-wan-chih*," or topographical account of Taiwan,† it is said, "It is not known from what place the practice of opium-smoking was introduced. The opium is boiled in a copper pan. The pipe used for smoking is in appearance like a short club. Depraved young men without any fixed occupation used to meet together by night to smoke; it grew to be a custom with them. Often various delicacies prepared with honey and sugar, with fresh fruits, to the number of 10 or more dishes, were provided for visitors while smoking. In order to tempt new smokers to come, no charge was made for the first time. After some time they could not stay away, and would come even if they forfeited all their property. Smokers were able to remain awake the whole night and rejoiced, as an aid to sensual indulgence. Afterwards they found themselves beyond the possibility of cure. If for one day they omitted smoking, their faces suddenly became

Another account of early opium smoking in Formosa.

\* The Chinese letter has a threefold meaning. The seat of the *tsing* (semen) is three inches below the navel; that of breath is in the brain. The seat of the soul is in the heart. The first is here chiefly meant. See "*Tung-i-pao-chien*," 1, 12.  
† Kindly lent by Dr. Dudgeon, who was the first to discover the native account of the origin and first progress of opium-smoking in Formosa.

\* Kindly lent by Dr. Dudgeon.



" shrivelled, their lips opened, their teeth were seen, they lost all vivacity, and seemed ready to die. Another smoke, however, restored them. After three years all such persons die. It is said that the barbarian inhabitants of Formosa thus use craft and cunning in order to cheat the Chinese residents out of their money at the expense of their lives. The foolish are not sensible of their danger, and fall victims. This habit has entered China about 10 or more years. There are many smokers in Amoy, but Formosa is the place where this vice has been most injurious. It is truly sad to reflect on this."

27°.

Prohibitory  
edict of 1729.

In the year A.D. 1729 an edict was issued on opium-smoking, prohibiting the sale of opium and the opening of opium-smoking houses. The Government found itself face to face with a dangerous social evil of an alarming kind. The physical effects of opium-smoking as displayed in the shrivelling up of the features and an early death, as thus described by eye-witnesses, produced a deep impression in Peking. The sellers of opium were to be punished, not the buyers. The masters of opium shops are dealt with most severely, as being the seducers into evil paths of the young members of respectable families. Sellers of opium were to bear the wooden collar for a month, and be banished to the frontier. The keepers of shops were to be punished in the same way as propagators of depraved doctrines; that is, they were to be strangled after a few months' imprisonment. Their assistants were to be beaten with 100 blows, and banished 1,000 miles. Everyone was to be punished except the smoker; for example, boatmen, local bailiffs, neighbours lending help, soldiers, police runners, in any way connected with the matter, all had punishments assigned them. The same was true of magistrates and Custom House superintendents in the seaport towns where these things had happened; all were to bear some penalty. Only the opium-smoker was exempted. It was felt, perhaps, that his punishment was self-inflicted; he would die without the help of the law. This edict was followed by another the next year for the checking of evil practices among the colonists of Formosa. All guilty of robbery, false evidence, enticing the aborigines to commit murder, the sale of gambling instruments or of opium for smoking, are to be punished with death or banishment.

Spread of  
opium-  
smoking in  
the  
eighteenth  
century.

Opium-selling for smoking purposes has from this time forward been regarded as a crime by the ruling authorities. From their point of view it is considered as criminal in proportion to the mischief it causes, which is without doubt great beyond computation. The very earliest instance of legislation on this matter is here before the reader. It was based on local events occurring on the sea-coast, a long way from Peking. The gradual spread from the province of Fuhkien, to all the provinces was still in the future and was not before the minds of the legislators. The sale of opium was connected in their minds with gambling, robbery, and false accusation; its special guilt consisted in its being a temptation to evil on the part of the salesmen, as the drug was destructive of the physical health, comfort, and life of their victims. The effects proved the criminality. Further, it was closely conjoined with various crimes already condemned in the statute book. It sprang up in a lawless locality at a great distance from Peking; there was therefore no inclination to leniency from the fear of offending persons or classes whom the Government would not like to offend. The law was in consequence promptly made, decided in tone, and severe in detail. Was this law acted upon? No allusion was made to it by the Jesuit missionaries in the "Lettres édifiantes" or in the "Mémoires concernant les Chinois." The habit of opium-smoking is not mentioned in these works. The trade in opium certainly remained as before. 200 chests a year continued to be imported, and in 1767 that quantity had gradually increased to 1,000 chests. The duty was *Tls.* 3 a chest.\* It would appear, then, that the old tariff of the Ming dynasty was still followed in the main. The sale of opium was prohibited by statute, but we do not find proof that it was refused as a drug at the Custom Houses of Amoy and Canton. The import

\* The "Hao-kuo-t'u-chih, chapter 52, tells us that in 1662 the duty on opium as a medical drug was *Tls.* 3 a picul, and that, besides this, *Tls.* 2 and 4 or 5 candarins were collected at a later period on each parcel, without saying what a parcel was. It is added that on account of the growth of opium-smoking in the latter part of the eighteenth century the Viceroy of Canton petitioned the Emperor to prohibit the importation, which was done in 1796.

steadily increased during the time it was in the hands of the Portuguese, till English merchants took it up in 1773, after the conquest of Bengal by Clive. The East India Company took the opium trade into its own hands in 1781. At that time the minor portion only of the imported opium was devoted to opium-smoking—at least we may assume this. The Superintendents of Customs in those days would continue to take the duty on opium as a drug. What was contraband they would say was *ya-pien-yen*, which means opium for smoking; the drug *ya-pien* would still pass the Customs as medicine. This seems to have been the reason that the import still continued to increase at about the same ratio as before the edict of A.D. 1729, not till after 40 years reaching a quantity amounting to 1,000 chests. Medicine claimed opium as a most powerful agent, and since the commencement of the trade at Canton and Amoy, whether the merchants were Portuguese, Chinese, Arabs, or Dutch, it was as medicine that it had been sold. When Defoe says of his hero in "Robinson Crusoe" that he went from the Straits to China in a ship with opium, it was as a drug that he pictured it to himself. Up to that time it was in fact a part of the trade in medicine; not long after it became a trade in a drug used medically and for smoking combined.

28°.

The native growth in Yunnan of the opium poppy can be traced to about the same time, or a little later. In the history of that province, published in 1736, it is stated that opium was then a common product of the department of Yung-ch'ang-fu, in the western part of that province, where it borders on Burma. It may have been introduced by the Mahomedans, who were fond of it themselves, as a powerful medicine, or it may have been brought there from Burma and Thibet. It is spoken of in the accounts we have of the trade of the 16th century as having been introduced along with woven fabrics by traders coming from the coast of India. Negapatam and Meliapur are mentioned as exporting both opium and woven fabrics to Pegu and Siam. The seeds of the poppy may therefore have been taken by the Burmese route to Yunnan. This native opium would be intended, not for opium-smoking, but to be used medically, as by a physician's prescription, or by the contraction of a habit of daily consumption in a way like of that De Quincey and Coleridge.

Native  
opium in  
in Yunnan.

The Mahomedans have long been a power in the province of Yunnan, and their agency is to be suspected in this early cultivation of the poppy in that part of China. It was they that first learned from the Greeks the wonderful soothing powers of this drug. They cultivated the poppy in Arabia, then in Persia, then in India. It was from them, in the Ming dynasty, that the Chinese learned the way to cultivate the poppy and derive the opium juice from the capsules. It was they that carried on the trade in opium, before the arrival of the Portuguese, between the various sea-ports of the old Asiatic world.

It was probably by Mahomedan pilots that the ambassador of the Ming Emperor was conducted to the sea-ports of Arabia, Persia, and India in the voyage we find on record. It was through information given by Mahomedans residing as merchants at Canton that the Portuguese were known by the Chinese historians as *Faranggis* or Franks. It was because the Mahomedans wished to keep the profits of the trade in opium and other articles exclusively to themselves that they prejudiced the Chinese Governors of Canton and Fuhkien against the Portuguese, and induced them to refuse the liberty to trade. We need not be surprised, therefore, if later on the cultivators of the poppy in Yunnan, in the commencement of last century, were Mahomedans; they may have been simply the continuators of the Ming dynasty cultivation, or they may have commenced afresh with seeds brought from Burma.

Who culti-  
vated the  
poppy in  
Yunnan.

29°.

In the year 1742 an Imperial work on medicine was published under the name "I-tsung-chiu-chien." In this book, as a remedy for weak and injured lungs the capsules of the poppy are directed to be used, and ginseng and apricot kernels, together with seven other medicines, prepared in the form of a decoction, to be drunk warm. Mention is also made of a poppy ointment for scalds and burns. Fifteen poppy flowers are to be used, and if not to be had, capsules are to be taken instead

Use of cap-  
sules in 1742.

of them. A ditty of four lines in rhyme says that this ointment for burns and scalds is made with sesamum oil and poppy flowers or capsules mixed with water and boiled down; white wax and true calomel are added. When smeared on the part affected the pain at once subsides. There is also a remedy for ulcers and tumours in which the capsules are used. It is a powder formed of olibanum and *huang-ch'i* (*Sophora tomentosa* or, say some, *Ptarmica Sibirica*,\* a labiate plant used as a tonic). A ditty of four lines, used as a recipe, says that olibanum and *huang-ch'i* may be used for persons of a weak constitution who are afflicted with painful tumours and ulcers; such tumours if they have not grown to their full size will be at once dispersed, and if they are already mature they will break. The roots of *tang-kuei* (*Aralia edulis*), *shao-yao* (*Paeonia albiflora*), ginseng, *Sophora tomentosa*, *ch'uan-hsiung*,† and *Ti-huang* (comfrey, i.e., *Symphytum*—Williams), together with olibanum, myrrh, poppy capsules, and liquorice, are used to make this powder, which is also useful for bruises, sprains, wounds, and fractures.

Present use  
of capsules.

In addition to these recipes, there are several others in the same work which also contain the poppy capsules. They are omitted for brevity. At present in Pekin the capsules sold in drug shops are derived from the *Papaver somniferum*, cultivated at the town of An-su (near Pao-ting-fu), from Shansi, from Canton by sea, and from other places. They are bought and sold at the annual drug fair at Chi-chou, a city lying to the south-west of Pao-ting-fu.

### 30°.

An account of the "Hoppe Book" of 1753 has been lately prepared by Dr. Hirth and is printed in the "Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" for the year 1882. The "Hoppe Book" is an explanation of the Custom House books in use at Canton in 1753; it was translated in that year, and contains varied information on the manner of settling the duties on all goods imported and exported at Canton. The author was an English merchant, whose name is not known. The division of the tariff is much the same as that of the present Chinese one, but imports and exports are not distinguished. Five kinds of taxes were then levied on foreign trade:—

"Hoppe  
Book" of  
1753.

- I. An import duty, according to a fixed tariff, payable on all merchandise imported.
- II. An export duty, payable on all exports, inclusive of re-exported goods proceeding to Ningpo and other ports on the Chinese coast; it consisted of a tariff charge of 6 per cent. *ad valorem*.
- III. Extra charges on exports and imports, such as for remitting the duty to Pekin, for weighers, linguists, &c., and for servants of the Board of Revenue.
- IV. Tonnage.
- V. Present.

Five kinds  
of duties in  
1753.

The three  
tariff books.

The three books relating to the tariff at Canton which had then been authorised by the Board of Revenue at Pekin are partly translated in this work, which also contains the manner of settling duties then in use at the Port of Canton:—

- 1st. "Chêng-hsiang-tsê-li," or the book of true and fixed duties.
- 2nd. "Pi-li," or the book of comparisons.
- 3rd. "Ku-chia," or the book of valuation.

The first of these books was made A.D. 1687, and is kept as it was, unaltered. The book of comparisons was first sent, with about 150 articles collected together in it, to the Board of Revenue in Pekin, for approval, in the year 1733. After this time every two or three years additional articles were added and sent to Pekin for approval; so that this book was continually increasing.

The third book is a register of the value of all goods exported or re-exported from Canton, for the purpose of laying on them an extra charge of 6 per cent., to be added to the other duty on such exports and re-exports.

Here we are astonished to find that in 1755 a picul of silk could be valued at Tls. 100, and one of tea at Tls. 8; that white sugar was worth Tls. 1.50, brown sugar, Tls. 1, sugar candy, Tls. 2.50, rhubarb, Tls. 1.50, per picul; and that musk was valued at Tls. 1.50 per catty; while opium was not worth more than half an ounce of silver per catty. The value of a chest of opium would therefore amount at that time to not quite \$100. The existence of opium as an article of trade at Canton in

Prices ruling  
in 1755.

the middle of last century is certainly beyond doubt; it is also mentioned in the Kang Hsi tariff of 1687, and there pays a duty of three candareens per catty, constituting exactly 6 per cent. of the fixed value appearing in the valuation book.

### 31°.

In passing on to the year 1782 an extract may be here inserted from a letter, dated 7th July 1782, of an official nature addressed from China by Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh to Mr. Gregory in London. It was presented to Parliament, and is taken from the "Commons" Report, 1783, vol. vi.\* "The importation of opium to China is forbidden on very severe penalties: the opium on seizure is burnt, the vessel in which it is brought to the port confiscated, and the Chinese in whose possession it is found for sale is punishable with death. It might be concluded that with a law so rigid no foreigners would venture to import, nor any Chinese dare to purchase this article; yet opium for a long course of time has been annually carried to China, and often in large quantities, both by our country's vessels and those of the Portuguese. It is sometimes landed at Macao and sometimes at Whampoa, though equally liable to the above penalties in either port, as the Portuguese are, so to say, entirely under the Chinese rule. That this contraband trade has hitherto been carried on without incurring the penalties of the law is owing to the excess of corruption in the executive part of the Chinese Government. . . . In the year 1780 a new Viceroy was appointed to the government of Canton; this man had the reputation of an upright, bold, and rigid Minister. I was informed that he had information of these illicit practices, and was resolved to take cognizance of them."

Opium  
smuggling  
in 1782.

### 32°.

England sent an Embassy in 1793, and China was minutely described by Barrow and Staunton. The habit of opium-smoking had then been slowly growing for 60 years. Singularly, they only say when speaking of it that many of the higher mandarins took opium; they do not describe the mode of smoking. Staunton says, "they smoke tobacco mixed with other odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium." Yet it cannot well be doubted that they referred to the habit of opium-smoking. In the geographical work called "Hai-kuo-t'u-chih" we are told that opium-smoking commenced only in the last years of the Emperor Chien Lung, that is, about 1790. The explanation of this statement is found in the fact that it was only then that the habit reached Pekin and became so general that public attention was called to it in Government documents. At about the same time the local authorities at Canton began to complain of rapid increase in the trade in opium. In 1800 there was an edict issued prohibiting opium from being brought to China in any ship. It was from this time that the more distinctly smuggling period commenced. It was a contraband trade, but connived at by Viceroys and Governors; they felt a difficulty, and concluded not to touch the evil with any firm intention to heal. How to treat it they knew not. The evil grew beyond their power of control. They regarded it as the "vile dirt of foreign countries;" they feared it would spread among all the people of the inner land, wasting their time and destroying their property; they advocated the prohibition of the trade, and the Government consented to their advice, and frequently issued prohibitory edicts, but too often some of the officials themselves smoked, or their nearest friends smoked, and so the hand of interference was paralysed; and the demand for opium continuing, the import was never seriously checked till the time of Lin Tsé-hsü and the war of 1841.

Opium-  
smoking in  
1793.

In 1800.

### 33°.

In the geographical work "Hai-kuo-t'u-chih" the following remarks also occur. In the year 1796 a prohibitory edict was received, but the official authorities at Canton still allowed opium-receiving ships to anchor at Whampoa at a distance of only 4 English miles from the city. From this time smuggling proceeded year by year unchecked till 1822, when a local arrangement was decided on, according to the terms of which a charge was made of a regular amount on each chest; of this the officers, from the Viceroy downwards, whether civil

Statements  
in "Hai-kuo-  
t'u-chih."

Local  
arrangement  
in 1822.

\* Williams's "Dictionary," page 346.

† Hsiung from Szechwan. Belongs to *Levisticum*.

\* Quoted in "Poppy Plague," page 40, by J. F. B. Tinling

or military, at the port connected with shipping all received a share. Most of this went to the office of the superintendent. Some received it on board the ships, and others in the City of Canton. These sums were paid regularly month by month to the Chinese officers. In some cases opium itself was given, instead of silver, in large and small portions. On each occasion of this kind one or more chests would be given and sometimes as many as 150 chests. This irregular and illicit mode of proceeding lasted till the year 1840.

34°.

Native testimony on the deleterious effect of opium.

The following passage occurs in a botanical work, "Chih-wu-ming-shih-t'u-k'ao," published about 40 years ago :—"The poppy is not mentioned before the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618 to 907. In the 'Pen-ts'ao' of the period 968 to 976 the poppy is placed in the lower division of cereal plants. In the Sung dynasty a decoction of poppy seeds was thought highly of, but at that time the medical efficacy of the capsules and seeds was understood to extend only, as being astringent, to the cure of diarrhoea and dysentery. In the Ming dynasty, 1368 to 1644, the pill called *I-li-chin-tan*, or golden elixir, came into use, and was found to be very deleterious if much was taken. Of late years opium has spread throughout the Empire—a universal poison. Its effects are as bad as those of the poisonous plant known by the name of *Tuan-ch'ang-ts'ao*, as producing internal rupture in the intestines. Yet as the guilt is not in the flower, it finds its place in botanical works on flowers."

35°

Statistics of the present native production.

Mr. Donald Spence, British Consul at Ch'ung-ch'ing-fu, in Szechwan, in the year 1881, made inquiries

into the amount of opium produced at that time in the four south-western provinces. He states that in Szechwan the consumption of native opium within the province amounts to 54,000 piculs, while 123,000 piculs are sent to other provinces; of these, 70,000 piculs are exported in an easterly direction, 40,000 piculs paying duty, and 30,000 piculs being smuggled. Yunnan produces annually 35,000 piculs, and Kweichow 10,000 piculs, while Hupeh supplies to the market not more than 2,000 piculs. In all, the production of native opium amounts to 224,000 piculs. Mr. Spence's Report on the native production of opium was forwarded to the Foreign Office of the British Government, and was subsequently presented to Parliament and printed. If a comparison be made of the amount of opium produced in the four above-mentioned provinces, viz., 224,000 piculs, with the quantity of foreign opium imported in 1882, viz., 66,900 piculs, it will be seen that the opium of native production is more than three times as much in quantity as that introduced from India and elsewhere.

36°.

In Mr. Tinling's "Poppy Plague" there are 75 pages of closely printed information on the history of British opium, chiefly collected from the Parliamentary Papers of 1783, 1787, 1831, and 1840, and from the East India Company's Reports of 1812 and 1813. The present historical note is made up of information from the Chinese side and from Kæmpfer, who is not alluded to by the authors of the "Poppy Plague" and "Our Opium Policy."

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## APPENDIX III.

*Printed by order of the Royal Commission in accordance with the remarks at questions 492 and 493.*

## MEMORIAL presented by the ANTI-OPIUM SOCIETY in November 1892.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, K.G.,  
President of Her Majesty's Council and Principal  
Secretary of State for India.

MY LORD,

On behalf of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, we beg to lay before your Lordship the following considerations:—

1. Your Lordship is doubtless aware that, on the 10th of April, 1891, the House of Commons, by a majority of 31 votes, adopted, in principle, the following resolution, moved by Sir Joseph Pease, and seconded by Mr., now Sir Mark, Stewart:

This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should, at the same time, take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory.

We have good reason to believe that the recently-elected House of Commons contains at least as large a majority of members opposed to the continuance of the opium trade as the last, and that there is not the slightest probability of its reversing that vote.

2. The emphatic condemnation of the opium trade thus pronounced by the late House of Commons was the result of a widespread feeling amongst the thoughtful people of this country, and especially amongst the Christian Churches, hostile to the continuance of the opium trade at present carried on by the Indian Government. The public conscience is shocked, not merely by the sad and shameful record of the wars by which the legalisation of this traffic was wrung from China, but by the continuing fact that the British nation raises revenue wherewith to provide for the cost of governing India by trading in an article which is prepared for vicious use, which brings misery to countless myriads in China and other Eastern lands, and the sale of which, in our own country, is subject to restrictions based on its recognition by the entire medical profession as a dangerous poison. The repugnance of the British people to the whole system has been manifested, during the past three years especially, by several hundreds of public meetings, generally crowded, enthusiastic, and often influential and representative in a marked degree. At these meetings, resolutions condemning the trade have been adopted, almost always with absolute unanimity. During the session of 1891, 3,352 petitions were presented to Parliament for the suppression of the opium trade, bearing 192,106 signatures; 956 of these petitions being officially signed. Since the vote on Sir Joseph Pease's motion, memorials to Government, praying that speedy effect might be given to that vote, have generally taken the place of petitions; from the Wesleyan Methodist body alone memorials to this effect have been presented, bearing 271,680 signatures.

3. The late Government took some steps towards satisfying the public sentiment with regard to the opium traffic. In pursuance of declarations made by Sir James Fergusson (in the absence of Sir John Gorst), and the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith, in the course of the debate on Sir Joseph Pease's motion, it directed that the area under poppy cultivation in the Behar and Benares agencies should at once be restricted; and in accordance with such restriction the Government of India reduced the number of chests for sale in the current year from 57,000 (the number sold by auction at Calcutta during each of the four previous years) to 54,000 chests.\* Your Lordship's predecessor, Viscount Cross, also sanctioned proposals made by the Indian Government, in response to a memorial presented

to him by this Society in 1890, for the abolition of licensed opium-smoking dens throughout India, and of the extremely objectionable "minimum guarantee" clause contained in the opium licenses used in the Presidency of Bombay.\*

4. Whilst gladly accepting these measures of reform as steps in the right direction, we are unable to recognise them as satisfying the conscientious objections of the Christian and thoughtful people of this country to the existing system. The scope of these measures obviously falls far short of carrying out the resolution which the House of Commons has approved.

5. Under these circumstances, we have read with much satisfaction the observations with regard to the opium question made at Penicuik, on the 11th of July last, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, now Her Majesty's Prime Minister. After referring to the earlier history of the opium trade, and to the disgraceful wars waged by this country with China, which resulted in the legalisation of the import of opium into that country, Mr. Gladstone is reported to have said:—

"There is still the growth of opium in India. There is still a considerable revenue, though not nearly what it was, connected with it, and there is considerable desire, I believe, in this country to get rid of that connexion altogether. I, gentlemen, can only say this, that subject to the obligations of good faith, I shall be most delighted to see, and even, if I can, to forward, any measure within the bounds of reason for limiting that connexion and bringing it, if it can be done, altogether to an end."

6. Accepting these utterances as representing the views of Her Majesty's present Ministers, we beg to submit to your Lordship the following suggestions as to the mode in which effect may best be given to them, and at the same time to the decision of the House of Commons. It will be convenient here to distinguish between the various branches of the opium trade, as they will require separate treatment.

These are:

- (1). The Bengal opium monopoly, under which the Indian Government grants licenses to cultivators in the Behar and Benares opium agencies for the cultivation of the poppy, makes advances to them without interest, purchases from them their entire crop, manufactures the poppy-juice into opium in the Government factories at Patna and Ghazipur, and finally sells the prepared opium by monthly public auction at Calcutta, except that portion which is reserved for sale by the Excise Department in India.
- (2). The Malwa transit duty system, under which, by arrangement of the Indian Government, opium grown and prepared in some of the native States of Central India pays to the Government of India, on its passage to Bombay for export, a heavy transit duty, equal to nearly two-thirds of the present wholesale price at Bombay; the revenue obtained from it by the native Princes being only a small percentage of that received by the Government of India.
- (3). The Excise system, under which the exclusive right of selling opium is farmed out to licensees, whose interest it becomes to increase the sale to the utmost possible extent, and to spread the degrading vices of opium-eating and opium-smoking amongst the people of India.
- (4). The system adopted in the Punjab of licensing the growth and preparation of opium for local consumption only.
7. As regards (1) the Bengal opium monopoly, we would urge upon your Lordship that the Indian

\* Reply by the Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., to question put by Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P., Feb. 25, 1892.

\* Despatch of Viscount Cross to the Governor-General of India, dated December 17, 1891. [Blue Book, Consumption of Opium in India (1892, C. 6502), p. 108.]

Government should be instructed still further to reduce the area of poppy cultivation for the coming season, so as to limit the production of opium to that which medical use requires, and at once to stop the Government opium sales at Calcutta.\* At the present time "a specially prepared article" is issued from the Government agencies to the Medical Department, which "takes the place" in India "of the European form of the drug." With this exception, opium is not prepared in India for medical use, but solely for sensual indulgence. There would, probably, be no serious difficulty in so treating the opium now in store as to adapt it for medical use; but, however this may be, it is plain that the mere fact that a certain amount of opium is in stock at Calcutta cannot affect the duty of a Christian Government, at once to withdraw from a traffic which it perceives to be immoral.

8. As regards (2) Malwa opium, we would point out that the present wide extension of poppy cultivation in the native States is due to the policy of the British Government itself. On this point the following statement is made by Mr. St. George Tucker,† of whom Dr. Medhurst tells us that, "Having, at the earnest solicitation of the Government, taken upon himself the management of the Indian finances, he rescued them from a condition of extreme jeopardy, and left them upon a respectable basis; subsequently he became a Director of the East India Company, and twice filled the important office of Chairman of the Direction." In a note handed by him to the Court of Directors, in 1829, Mr. Tucker says: "Ever since I had the honour of being a member of this Court, I have uniformly and steadily opposed the encouragement given to the extension of the manufacture of opium; but of late years we have pushed it to the utmost height, and disproportionate prices were given for the article in Malwa. We contracted burdensome Treaties with the Rajput States to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy. These Treaties were repealed about fifty years ago. At the present time, the native States‡ engaged "so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the British revenue; and, in exchange for this service, they receive either money compensation or other concessions." Under these circumstances, it is, we submit, clear that the same moral grounds, which can alone justify the existing prohibition of poppy culture in by far the greater portion of British India, require that Her Majesty's Government should prohibit the transit of opium from the Central States through British territory to the sea, except in the case of opium prepared for medical use. It would, however, be desirable, in our view, that the arrangements already existing between the Indian Government and the native States should be revised, in order that the restriction of the culture to medical requirements may be effected by a mutual prohibition, enforced alike in British India and in the Malwa States. The adoption of this course would relieve the Indian Government of the necessity of establishing a special service on the borders of these States to prevent the export, and would at the same time put an end to the smuggling of opium into adjoining British territories, which is already so serious an obstacle to the efforts of British officers to diminish the consumption of opium.

9. As regards (3) the Excise system, as it affects opium and other narcotic drugs, we simply ask that principles which have long been recognised in the legislation of the United Kingdom be applied for the protection of our fellow-subjects in India. Numerous petitions and memorials received from India during the past two years, great public meetings in many important Indian towns, which have been addressed by some of the most thoughtful and influential natives, and articles that have appeared in many organs of native opinion, alike give evidence that grave dissatisfaction is felt in India at the facilities offered by the existing system for the sale of these drugs. At home, under the Pharmacy Act of 1868,§ none of these drugs can be sold except by duly qualified druggists, and with a label showing them to be poisons; whilst the preparations of Indian hemp are classed amongst those dangerous poisons which may be sold only to persons known to the seller or introduced to him by some such person, entry being made in a register of the particulars

of each sale. As regards opium, the provisions of the law in force in this country are, we believe, generally considered by medical men to be insufficient, and their laxity has been condemned by coroners' juries; still less would they be suitable, in their present form, for the requirements of India. We would urge upon your Lordship to request the Indian Government without delay to prepare and adopt such regulations under the Indian Opium and Excise Acts as may be found best suited to adapt to the requirements of British India the fundamental principles, that the sale of poisonous drugs is to be restricted to medical and scientific use, and that discretionary powers for such sale should be entrusted only to responsible and carefully-selected persons, who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of these drugs, who can readily be called to account for any improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sales.

10. The case of Burma falls within the general principles, the adoption of which we have urged in paragraph 9. Six years ago, on the occasion of the annexation of Upper Burma, we presented to your Lordship a memorial deprecating the introduction of the Excise system, as regards opium, into that province. We then stated our views with regard to the two provinces very fully; and we have since had occasion to recur to the subject in our memorial presented to Viscount Cross on the 30th of July, 1890, paragraphs 10 to 13, and in another, dated March, 1892, paragraphs 8 and 9.\* We notice that, since the date of our last memorial, Sir Alexander Mackenzie has replied to the despatch addressed to him by the Indian Government under date 29th July, 1891,† and we understand that in this reply he gave full reasons for adhering to his former opinion as to the desirability of prohibiting the sale of opium to Burmans, and further expressed a view in accordance with that which we laid before your Lordship's predecessor, that it was unnecessary and undesirable to make an exemption in favour of the Chinese residing in Burma. We sincerely trust that no further delay will be permitted in sanctioning throughout Burma the measures which have been so carefully elaborated by the Chief Commissioner, and which the officials and people of the province so earnestly and unanimously desire.

11. As regards (4), the Punjab system of licensing the cultivation, we would submit that this should be at once put an end to. The prohibition of poppy culture has been already enforced by the Indian Government, in 1799 as regards Lower Bengal and Orissa, as well as throughout Southern India‡; about 1860 in Assam§; and at other dates elsewhere. "The policy of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, who circumscribed the produce within "the narrowest limits, confining the cultivation of the "poppy to two of our provinces, and actually eradicating "it from districts where it had been previously cultivated,"|| was, no doubt, largely based on fiscal reasons; but it will hardly be contended that fiscal reasons can justify that which motives of morality, and the desire to protect our own subjects from an evil contagion would not warrant. We are assured by competent witnesses that the Sikh people would generally welcome the adoption by Government of measures which would enable them to rid themselves of a habit which they recognise to be a debasing and injurious one.

12. We are well aware that the measures thus indicated as necessary to give effect to the decision of the House of Commons, and to the convictions held by the great mass of thoughtful and Christian people in this country involve the abandonment by the Indian Exchequer of a still considerable, though steadily decreasing, revenue. Sir Joseph Pease, in the debate of last year,¶ expressed his willingness to accept the following addition to his resolution, which, however, the expiry of the time permitted for discussion precluded him from formally moving: "This House is of "opinion that such annual grants should be made to the "Government of India as the then probable amount of "deficit, and the then circumstances of Indian finance "seem to require." In so doing he represented the

\* Return of Dr. Watt's article on opium, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1891, p. 7.

† Papers relating to the opium trade in China, 1842-1856, presented to the House of Commons, 1857, p. 54.

‡ Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1887-88, p. 8.

§ 31 Vict. c. 121.

\* Blue Book, "Consumption of Opium in India," 1892, p. 110.

† *Ibid.*, p. 102.

‡ Return, Dr. Watt's article, p. 20.

§ Evidence of Sir C. Beadon: Report of East India Finance Committee, 1871, question 3524.

|| Mr. St. George Tucker; Papers relating to the opium trade in China, 1842-1856, presented to the House of Commons, 1857, p. 54.

¶ Reprint from Hansard's Report of the Debate, p. 12.

view repeatedly expressed by this Society, that the suppression of the opium trade must not be allowed to add to the taxation of the Indian people. We believe that the people of this country will be ready to make up any deficiency which, in the judgment of the responsible Government of the day, may be properly attributable to the withdrawal of the Indian Government from the export trade in opium, and which cannot otherwise be provided for except by placing fresh burdens on the peoples of India. At the same time, we are convinced that in many directions it is possible to introduce greater economy, combined with equal or even improved efficiency, into the administration of Her Majesty's Indian Empire—we would especially refer to the recommendations of the Simla Commission of 1879, on military expenditure, and to your Lordship's own suggestions contained in the Blue Book, "East India (Reduction of Expenditure), 1885." The development of Indian resources, on the lines pointed out by the Indian Famine Commission of 1881, has already produced a very gratifying increase in the revenue of India, and we believe that further attention to this important subject would in the course of a very few years, entirely fill up the void that must temporarily be occasioned by the cessation of the opium revenue from abroad. The withdrawal of the facilities now provided by Government for the consumption of opium in India itself would operate in the same direction; as Sir Charles Atchison's report on opium in Burma, supported by many other authorities, shows that the opium habit seriously interferes with the due cultivation and development of the land. The stoppage of the trade in opium with China would probably give a powerful stimulus to the exports of other Indian produce to that country, which already show a marked improvement in recent years, and would thus contribute materially to the prosperity of India. It would also, in all probability, have a very beneficial effect on silver exchanges, by putting an end to the drain of silver from China to India in payment for opium, thereby enabling the Chinese to substitute the use of silver for their present cumbrous copper coinage. It would thus tend to check the depreciation of silver which is at the present time so serious an embarrassment in the finances of India.

13. Whilst we have thus dealt in detail with the various branches of the opium question, we regard the immediate stoppage of the monthly auction sales of opium at Calcutta as by far the most important and pressing of the measures which we desire to urge upon your Lordship. These sales are a feature of the trade which has been admitted to be indefensible by some of the most eminent amongst Indian administrators, including the honoured names of Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Donald Macleod, and Sir William Muir. It is true that most of these favoured the substitution of a system in Bengal similar to that which exists in Bombay, a proposal to which we have frequently expressed our unhesitating opposition, and which the vote of the House of Commons, condemning both systems alike, has made it unnecessary now to discuss. It is, however, true, as these distinguished statesmen perceived, that the manufacture and sale of opium by Government itself is that which most strikingly and conclusively identifies the Indian Government with an immoral traffic. The total cessation of these sales could not fail to have the happiest results. To the people of India it would be a much-needed evidence that the British nation puts morality before revenue, and refuses to traffic in the vices of its subjects or of their neighbours. It would inevitably be followed by the Governments of other British settlements in the East which at present derive a large portion of their revenue from pandering to the vice of opium-smoking. To the Dutch Government of the East Indies, which prohibits the cultivation of the poppy in its own territories, but which follows the evil example of British rule by deriving a great revenue from the sale to its own subjects of opium, purchased chiefly in India, it would facilitate the withdrawal from a pernicious system which is working havoc throughout the Island of Java. Above all, to the great Chinese people such a withdrawal would be a token that we have at last truly repented, as a nation, of the grievous wrongs which we have inflicted upon them—wronges which, by a strange inconsistency, are often frankly admitted by statesmen who yet see no objection to our continuing to reap the profits of a trade which our cruel and unjust wars originally forced upon the Chinese.

14. In China, the results to be anticipated from the stoppage of the export trade in opium from Calcutta

and Bombay are thus stated in a letter received by us, about a year ago, from one of the most competent and experienced observers, the Rev. Griffith John, D.D., of the London Missionary Society, who has been for upwards of 35 years a missionary in the great commercial centre of Hankow.

"Let China see that we are capable of sacrificing millions of pounds annually for her good, and that of our own free will, in obedience to the dictates of conscience and from a sense of humanity, and she will not be slow to acknowledge the worth and dignity of the act. Nay more, she may begin to glorify God in us. Our intercourse with the people would become more friendly; commerce would extend and develop; one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christ's kingdom in the land would be removed; the people would listen more respectfully to our message; and the day of China's regeneration would begin to dawn. Many obstacles would still remain, but having got rid of this we should feel that we could face the rest with hearts light and brave. We should then begin to hope for old Cathay as we have not ventured to do hitherto.

But have the Chinese the ability to put down the vice? As long as the Indian trade in opium exists the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralyzed. They can simply do nothing, but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned the Chinese would, I firmly believe, make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the attempt would eventuate at once in a diminution of the evil. It might eventuate ultimately in its complete suppression.

But whether the Chinese Government can put down the native growth or not, our path as a Christian nation is plain enough. It is for us to wash our hands clean of the iniquity. The trade is immoral and a foul blot on England's escutcheon. It is a disgrace to ourselves as a people and unworthy of the place which we hold among the nations of the earth."

Similarly the Rev. Christopher C. Fenn, one of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, who is and has for many years been connected more particularly with the work of that Society in China, writes as follows in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" of March last:—

"It will be known throughout China—for there are Protestant missionaries in almost every province—that the import of opium from India to China is stopped; and it will be very widely known also that in taking that step England has sacrificed considerable pecuniary gain. Every British official in China will henceforth feel it his duty to discourage, as far as his influence reaches, the growth, supply, and the consumption of opium, in order to promote both the admission of other English and Indian commodities, and also the production of those articles which can be exchanged for such commodities. Every Chinese official, from the highest to the lowest, will know that the most stringent and strenuous efforts to put down the growth and import of opium will never be in any way thwarted by the British Government, or tend in the smallest degree to embroil the friendly relations between England and China. Many of these will be disposed to take vigorous measures to stop the terrible evil, being encouraged to do so by the overwhelming majority of their own countrymen. It is impossible to believe that any check to such measures will be applied by the central Government. The chief authorities will not dare, whatever their own desires may be, especially when, as now, discontent is widely spread, thus to defy public opinion. May it not be hoped that before many months are passed—say within three or four years—the anti-opium feeling will have gradually become so strong as to sweep all before it. There is in China no dislike to paternal Government action. On the contrary, for this purpose at least, it will be earnestly asked for, and firmly and successfully applied. The cancer that has been eating into the vitals of Chinese life will be torn out; and once again, in many places, a population morally and physically vigorous, will be ready to "receive the engrafted Word." A powerful stimulus will be given to the desire for friendly intercourse with Western Nations; prejudice against European civilization and inventions will be removed; the construction of railways will be encouraged; a free interchange will be established of the products of British and Chinese industry; and two mighty and peaceful empires, linked together in commerce and amity, will bestow on each of them an effectual barrier against northern aggression. The message of salvation will once again resume its

westward course. America will be stirred up to a holy and generous emulation. From the western shores of that continent and by railway across its northern hills and plains, thousands of ardent evangelists from the British Isles, from the United States, from the Canadian Dominion, with the Gospel in their hearts and on their lips, will speed forward, with the sun, to the abodes of this ancient but still vigorous nation, will supply the lamentable defects of the noble but mournful teaching of Confucius, and will sow seeds of Divine Truth, that may grow up in a soil still strange to it, and yield at length some new proof of its transforming power, to

the glory of Him who is Truth and who is Love. 'Glory be to God in the highest; on earth peace, goodwill towards men.'"

We can desire no greater honour for your Lordship and for the Government of which you are a member, than that you may be the instruments in the Divine hands of bringing about so blessed a consummation.

We are, with great respect,

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

(Signed, on behalf of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade),

JOSEPH W. PEASE, *President.*

J. C. LIVERPOOL (Bishop).

JOHN SARUM.\*

J. W. CARLIOL.\*

[\* As regards the general matter of this Petition, not as regards all its expressions.]

A. COTTON, General R.E., Madras.

F. B. MEYER.

W. F. MOULTON.†

[† With some reserve as to paragraph 9.]

MARK J. STEWART.‡

[‡ Approves generally, except as to the fourth sentence of paragraph 12.]

BASIL WILBERFORCE.

DONALD MATHESON, *Chairman.*

H. W. MAYNARD, *Treasurer.*

GEORGE GILLET.

HENRY GURNEY.

T. HANBURY.

JOHN HILTON.

NICHOLAS HURRY, Member of Board of London Congregational Ministers.

JAMES LEGGE, Professor of Chinese, University of Oxford.

DAVID McLAREN, J.P., D.L., Ex-Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Edinburgh.

GEORGE PIERCY.

SAMUEL SOUTHALL.

W. S. SWANSON, D.D.

C. W. TREMENEERE, Lt.-Gen.

HENRY WIGHAM.

ROBT. PRINGLE, M.D., Brigade-Surg., H.M.'s Bengal Army, *Deputation Secretary.*

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, *Secretary.*

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT.

JOSEPH ANGUS, M.A., D.D.

THOS. J. BARNARDO.

JOHN BARRAN.

(REV.) GEORGE S. BARRETT, Norwich.

ALFRED HENRY BAYNES, Genl. Sec., Baptist Missionary Society.

HENRY J. BERGUER, Vicar, S. Philips, Arlington Square, N.

W. BICKFORD-SMITH.

J. B. BRAITHWAITE.

H. BROADHURST.

HENDERSON BURNSIDE.

W. S. CAINE.

GORDON CAITHROP.

SIR WILLIAM T. CHARLEY, Q.C., D.C.L.

A. M. W. CHRISTOPHER, M.A., Rector of St. Aldate's, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

WILLIAM S. CLARK.

F. C. CLAYTON.

J. J. COLMAN.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

JOHN EDMOND, D.D.

J. PASSMORE EDWARDS.

CHRISTOPHER C. FENN.

THEODORE FRY.

JAMES P. GLEDSTONE.

BENJAMIN GREGORY.

H. GRATTON GUINNESS, D.D.

F. T. HAIG, Major-General.

DAN. BELL HANKIN.

WM. HARVEY, Ilkley.

ALFRED HOWELL.

ISAAC HOYLE.

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, § Canon of St. Paul's.

[§ To the general intention of the Petition.]

THOS. HUGHES, Q.C., Judge of Circuit No. IX.

SAMUEL HULME.

ALFRED ILLINGWORTH.

E. E. JENKINS.

A. McARTHUR.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

ALEX. McLAREN, D.D., Union Chapel, Manchester.

JAMES E. MATHIESON.

W. C. MAUGHAN, Hon. Sec. Glasgow Auxiliary.

H. C. MILWARD, Vicar of Lyonshall (late Vicar of Redditch).

W. MORGAN, Bryn-golen, Shawford, near Winchester.

H. C. G. MOULE, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

G. S. MUIR.

ARTHUR PEASE.

WM. T. RADCLIFFE.

J. J. RIDGE.

FREDK. SESSIONS.

THOMSON SHARP.

H. C. SQUIRES.

T. ALFRED STOWELL, M.A., Rector of Chorley, and Hon. Canon of Manchester.

JOSEPH STURGE.

JOSEPH THOMSON.

J. F. B. TINLING.

H. W. WEBB-PEPLOE, Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, S W.

S. D. WADDY.

BENJ. WHITWORTH, J.P.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

JOHN WILSON, M.P. (Govan).

Vice-Presidents.

Members of the Executive Committee.

Members of the General Council.

## APPENDIX IV.

CORRESPONDENCE with the FOREIGN OFFICE concerning the operation of existing Treaties with China in regard to the importation of opium into China and the duty thereon, as bearing on the declaration made by the Right Honourable Sir James Fergusson, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, in the House of Commons, on the 10th April 1891. (See Questions 252 and 253.)

SIR,

15th September 1893.

I AM directed by the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Opium to ask you to lay the following matter before the Right Honourable the Secretary of State.

On the 10th April 1891, Sir James Fergusson, speaking in the House of Commons on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, is reported by Hansard to have said:—

"The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves

they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibited extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend one pound in powder and shot or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force the opium upon the Chinese."

More than one of the witnesses brought forward by the Anti-Opium Society has stated before the Royal Commission that China is not really free to take her



own course in this matter. In order that the position may be clear, I am directed to forward extract from proof of the evidence given by Dr. Maxwell on the subject.

Lord Brassey would not himself desire to go behind a statement made in Parliament by a member of the Government, speaking on behalf the Government, on a question of this kind. Still, as the doubt has been raised, perhaps Her Majesty's Government would desire it authoritatively to be set at rest. The statement, made by Sir James Fergusson in April 1891, has been on occasions referred to in Parliament; and it was cited in the debate of the 30th June last in the House of Commons.\*

It has been suggested to the Commission that the statement quoted above from Sir James Fergusson's speech consisted of two parts. In the first sentence he referred to the additional article of the Chefoo Convention† which can be terminated at 12 months' notice by either party. On the termination of that article the regulations under the Treaty of Tientsin are revived, and by those regulations "transit dues on" it (opium) will be arranged as the Chinese Government see fit." The second sentence declares the policy which will guide Her Majesty's Government if or when China raises the question in the future.

The Royal Commission on Opium would be glad if you could favour them with an authoritative statement upon the question that has been raised.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. E. BERNARD,

Acting Secretary to the Commission.

To the Under Secretary of State  
for Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Office,

September 25, 1893.

SIR, I AM directed by the Earl of Rosebery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant and to transmit, for the information of the Royal Commission, copy of a memorandum drawn up in this Department giving information respecting the treaty engagements between this country and China on the subject of the importation of opium.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. V. LISTER.

Sir C. E. Bernard.

MEMORANDUM respecting the TREATY ENGAGEMENTS between this Country and China on the subject of the Importation of Opium.

There is no mention of opium in the Treaty of Tientsin of the 26th June 1858, or in the previous Treaty of Nanking which was thereby confirmed.

Art. 24. The Treaty of Tientsin declares that British subjects shall pay on all merchandise imported or exported by them the duties prescribed by the tariff, subject, however, to most favoured nation treatment.

Art. 26. It declares further that (inasmuch as the tariff fixed under the Treaty of Nanking was no longer equitable) the tariff shall be revised so that it shall, as revised, come into operation immediately after the ratification of the Treaty.

Art. 27. It was further agreed that either of the contracting parties might demand a further revision of the tariff and of the commercial articles of the Treaty at the end of 10 years; but that if no such demand was made within six months after the end of the first 10 years, then the tariff should remain in force for 10 years more, and so on at the expiration of each 10 years.

Art. 28. With regard to transit dues it was declared that the Chinese authorities should declare, within a period of four months, the amounts leviable, which should be fixed as nearly as possible at the rate of 2½ *ad valorem*.

In pursuance of Article 26 of the above Treaty an agreement was signed by Lord Elgin and the Chinese Plenipotentiaries on the 8th November 1858, which contained rules and regulations in explanation of the Treaty, and to which a revised tariff was attached.

It was therein declared that the said tariff and rules should be "equally binding on the Governments and "subjects of both countries with the Treaty itself."

Rule 5. "Regarding certain commodities heretofore contraband" relating, among other articles, to opium, ran as follows:—

The restrictions affecting trade in opium . . . . are relaxed under the following conditions:—

"1. Opium will henceforth pay 30 taels per picul import duty. The importer will sell it only at the port. It will be carried into the interior by Chinese only, and only as Chinese property; the foreign traders will not be allowed to accompany it. The provisions of Article 9 of the Treaty of Tientsin, by which British subjects are authorised to proceed into the interior with passports to trade, will not extend to it, nor will those of Article 28 of the same Treaty by which the transit dues are regulated: the transit dues on it will be arranged as the Chinese Government see fit; nor in future revisions of the tariff is the same rule of revision to be applied to opium as to other goods."

1 picul =  
100 catties.

In the tariff annexed to this Agreement opium is included with an import duty of 30 taels per 100 catties.

In the Chefoo Agreement of 13th November 1876, section 3, relating to trade, it is declared that foreign concessions at the ports are to be regarded as the area of exemption from *li-kin*.

China No. 3  
(1886),  
p. 3.

The 3rd subsection of section 3, relating to opium, is as follows:—

"On opium Sir Thomas Wade will move his Government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants, when opium is brought into port, will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the Customs and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or a receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the *li-kin*, in order to the prevention of the evasion of the duty. The amount of *li-kin* to be collected will be decided by the different provincial Governments according to the circumstances of each."

p. 4.

On the 18th July 1885 an additional article to the Chefoo agreement was signed in London, amending the above stipulation as to opium, and the agreement, together with the additional article, was ratified on the 6th May 1886.

p. 5.

In lieu of clause 3 of section III. of the Chefoo agreement, it was arranged (by the additional article) that foreign opium when imported into China should be taken cognizance of by the Imperial Maritime Customs and should be deposited in bond and not removed thence until there should be paid to the customs the tariff duty of 30 taels per chest of 100 catties, and also a sum not exceeding 80 taels per like chest as *li-kin*.

The opium might then be re-packed, a certificate should be issued gratuitously to the owner which should free the opium from any further tax or duty whilst in transport to the interior provided that the packages had not been opened or the Customs seals, &c. tampered with.

These certificates were to have validity only in Chinese hands, and should not entitle foreigners to accompany the opium inland.

On the opening of the packages at their destination the opium should be treated, in respect of taxes or contribution, as native opium, in calculating which taxes the *li-kin* should be deducted from the market value.

This arrangement was to remain binding for four years, after which either party might give 12 months' notice to terminate it; and in the event of its termination the arrangements under the regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) should be revived.

The contracting parties might by common consent adopt modifications of the additional article which experience might show to be desirable.

In an exchange of notes, dated 18th July 1885, it was stated that if the Chinese Government failed to bring the other Treaty powers to conform to the provisions of the additional article, Her Majesty's Government might at once withdraw from it, and revert to the previous system of taxation.

The object of this was no doubt to protect the British flag, as, if the foreign Governments did not agree, British merchants could import under foreign flags.

The present position of the question appears to be—

That British merchants may import opium on payment of a duty of 30 taels per 100 catties, and that opium so imported shall remain in bond until that duty

\* Hansard for 30th June 1893, page 601.

† Page 7 of Command Paper, No. 4735 of 1886.

‡ Page 41 of Parliamentary Paper of 1861, on "China Treaties."

is paid with the addition of a li-kin not exceeding 80 taels per 100 catties.

That these payments shall frank the opium to the place of consumption, where no further tax shall be levied than is payable on native opium, the amount paid as li-kin being calculated off the value.

That this arrangement may be terminated by either party by giving 12 months' notice.

That Her Majesty's Government may moreover terminate it at once, if the other Treaty Powers do not conform to its provisions.

That in the event of its termination the importation of opium shall be regulated by the conditions attached to the Treaty of Tientsin, namely:—

Import duty, 30 taels per picul, with transit dues as Chinese Government shall see fit, &c. 1 picul = 100 catties.

A. H. OAKES,

Foreign Office,  
September 19th, 1893,

## APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS from the MINUTES of EVIDENCE given before the ROYAL COMMISSION ON ALLEGED CHINESE GAMBLING AND IMMORALITY AND CHARGES OF BRIBERY AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCE, appointed August 20th 1891. Presented to the New South Wales Parliament by command. Sydney Charles Potter, Government Printer, 1892.

[Put in by Sir George Birdwood as part of his evidence, and ordered to be printed.]

HANNAH, examined 10th December 1891.

13,760. Do you smoke opium?—I have smoked it, but I was very sick and had to knock it off. Now and then I have a couple of pipes unbeknown to my husband.

13,763. Is it not a difficult matter to break yourself of the habit?—I do not know. I think it is easy enough to knock it off.

ADELAIDE, examined 10th December 1891.

13,830. Do you smoke opium?—No; I did at one time, but have not for four years. It did not agree with me.

13,835. If you smoke opium continuously, does it not destroy the vitality and energy, and make you feel altogether unfit for any ordinary duties?—It does to a certain extent.

13,836. Does smoking opium render you unconscious so that you would be absolutely at the mercy of anyone who would be in the room with you?—No, it does not.

13,837. You have your senses about you the whole time?—Yes.

13,840. Which has the greater effect on you, drink or opium?—Drink certainly.

ELLEN, examined 10th December 1891.

13,892. Do you smoke opium?—I do.

13,893. Constantly?—Yes.

13,894. When did you first commence?—About three years ago.

13,919. You do not drink?—No.

13,920. Does opium smoking have the same effect as drink, do you know?—No; it has no effect.

13,921. When you smoke opium does it render you unconscious?—No.

13,922. Why not give it up now?—I cannot. It is part of myself to smoke it.

13,941. How much opium do you use in a day?—Sometimes 2s. and sometimes 1s. 6d. worth.

13,942. Do most of the European girls who go with Chinamen use opium?—Yes; the most of them do, I think.

13,943. Do those who use opium as you do take intoxicating drink?—No; I have not seen two women who smoked opium drink as well. I used to drink terribly myself before I took to opium.

13,965. Could any man take advantage of you when you were under the influence of opium?—No one in the world could.

14,010. Do you not think opium smoking is a great evil?—No, I do not think so. A woman that smokes opium has always got her senses about her.

14,011. Do you not find that it takes away all your energies, and makes you poor in health and thin?—No, I have not altered in the least since I have smoked; in fact, I am stouter.

ELLEN, examined 14th December 1891.

14,555. If men smoke opium, does it affect their power with women?—Yes, it does, in one way.

14,556. They have not the same desire for intercourse with women?—No; they do not care about women.

14,557. If you were lying down on a bunk smoking opium alongside a Chinaman who was also smoking opium, the probability is that he would not care to have intercourse with you?—Not if he had the opium habit, he would not. The man who has the opium habit is not like another man; he does not care for women.

14,620. How often during the day do you smoke opium?—Three times.

14,623. For how long after you have had your smoke does the effect remain in your system?—As soon as I have a few pipes I feel all right again.

14,624. How much opium does it take to put you properly under the influence for the time being?—It takes 6d. worth for the time being, but I always smoke 1s. worth.

14,626. Are you not in that state even partially unconscious?—Not at all.

14,627. Does it not do so with others?—It never makes anyone unconscious.

14,628. Are you quite sure?—Well, I can speak for myself. I can smoke opium all day and night too, and it will have no such effect upon me.

14,634. It is a rule that persons who smoke opium do not care for drink?—Yes; as a rule they do not care for drink. It will never do for the two things to go together.

14,643. Does not opium smoking render you unfit for work?—No; as soon as I have a smoke I am all right.

14,644. Does it not affect your appetite?—No; I can eat far better than I could before.

14,650. Would it not be better for you to break yourself of the habit?—It might be better for me to break off a certain amount, but if I were not to smoke I daresay I should be on the streets. I have no desire to go out now.

14,651. It kills all lustful inclination?—Yes.

MARGARET, examined 14th December 1891.

14,819. Is it a fact that opium smoking will make you so unconscious that you do not know what people are doing to you?—No. It has never done so to me.

14,820. You always know what men are doing about you?—Of course. It never made me stupid at all.

14,826. Does the habit of opium smoking in men kill the desire for sexual intercourse?—Nobody has said anything to me like that.

14,849. How much opium do you smoke?—About 2s. or 2s. 6d. worth a day.

14,850. How many years have you been smoking opium?—Five years.

14,880. Do girls that smoke opium also drink liquor?—I never saw a heavy opium smoker drink.

14,882. What would you consider heavy opium smoking?—5s. worth a day would be heavy.

14,886. And you say opium smoking does not make you stupid?—No; it does not.

14,938. This opium smoking has a terrible power over you when you take to it?—Yes. It is very hard to knock it off, although there are Chinamen who have been smoking for 20 years, and have knocked it off.

14,939. Does opium smoking have a tendency to make a person lustful?—No. It makes them the other way. They have no inclination at all, when they smoke very heavy.

14,961. With regard to opium smoking, do not you think it will injure your health if you persist in it?—It has never interfered with my health.

14,982. Have you heard that one effect of using opium is to destroy the appetite for intoxicating drinks?—I have heard of cases where heavy drinkers have taken to opium, and have never thought of drinking afterwards.

MINNIE, examined 14th December 1891.

15,022. Do you smoke opium?—Not now; I used to.

15,023. How long ago is it since you stopped?—About 10 months ago.

15,024. How long had you been smoking up to that time?—Very nearly three years.

15,025. How much opium per day did you smoke?—3s. or 4s. worth.

15,030. Now, what effect has opium smoking upon you?—It is a habit; that is all.

15,031. I know that it must have some effect. Now, what I want to know from you is, the effect of opium;

does it make you dream, or ardently desire anything, or does it make you simply stupid and helpless?—It has no more effect upon me than an ordinary smoke.

15,038. The opium destroys the desire for strong drink?—Yes. It seems to quieten you altogether. There is no desire to go out and about, or anything, unless a person happens to be of a very lively disposition.

15,056. Opium never made you unconscious?—No.

PAULINE, examined 14th December 1891.

15,294. When you have had your opium smoke, are you conscious of what is going on?—Certainly.

15,295. It does not make you unconscious so that a man could do anything with you and you not know it?—No, you cannot be drugged with opium.

15,296. Is it a fact that men who smoke opium have no desire to have any connexion with women?—Quite right, they do not.

15,297. Now I want you to describe to the Commission what is the effect of a good strong smoke of opium?—It does not affect you in any way.

15,303. Supposing it has been stated by a person who visited one of these opium-smoking houses that he saw two or three girls there, only one of whom was conscious, and that after trying to wake the other girls, on questioning the one that was awake, she explained that they were under the influence of opium, and it would be no use trying to wake them for two or three hours; what would you say to such a statement?—Well, they might have been drinking. Opium would not do that.

15,306. How often do you smoke?—Three times a day. That is to say, I used to when I was smoking much.

15,307. What did it cost you?—2s. 6d. a day.

15,308. What does it cost you now?—It costs me 6d. a day. I have been knocking it off for three months.

## APPENDIX VI.

MEMORANDUM ON CULTIVATION of the POPPY and PRODUCTION of OPIUM in CHINA, put in by Sir THOMAS WADE, when before the INDIAN OPIUM COMMISSION, 15th September 1893, in answer to Question 1286.

[The Paper was originally prepared for submission to the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1847, but was never read.—T. F. W.]

The poppy, called in Chinese the *ying-suh hwa*, or the *li-ch'un hwa*, is said to be cultivated in the provinces of Yün-Nan,\* Sz'-Ch'uen, Kwang-Si, Kwang-Tung, Kwei-Chau, Hu-Nan, Hu-Pih, Cheh-Kiang, and Fuh-Kien. It grows wild in Kan-Suh. In Yün-Nan it is planted on the rice-grounds in the tenth moon (October, November), and is cut in the third of the ending year (April, May). A Chinese acre, cultivated in this manner, yields some twenty dollars, and about one hundred if exclusively devoted to the poppy. The colour of the blossoms is yellow, white, and brown. The smell and taste of the drug manufactured from it differs in different provinces; the best being produced in Lan-chau, in Kan-Suh. This is strongest in flavour, and nearly as good as the imported opium. In Kwang-Si, near Hwui-chau, and in the prefectures of Nan-hiung, and Shau-kink, in the province of Kwang-Tung, some tolerable opium is manufactured, but that of the other provinces is inferior. The poppy may be planted at any time of year, the best positions being near sandy ground. It attains a height of two or three feet, and the juice is extracted as soon as the pods, which hang in bunches and are of different sizes, are formed.

The following is described to be the process in Yün-Nan and Kwang-Tung. The person employed to collect the juice proceeds to the ground with a large

joint of bamboo girt in front of him. In this is bent a copper tube about a Chinese foot in length; the pointed end of this is thrust into the pod, the other resting in the bamboo vessel, into which the juice descends through the tube. The pod which is now pressed and shrunk is hereupon closed, and may be used again when it has recovered its full size. The juice so collected is thrown into a large earthenware vat, which is sunk in a pit boarded over and covered with earth a few inches deep. For every catty of liquid there is thrown into the vat  $\frac{3}{100}$  or  $\frac{5}{100}$  of arsenic; the quantity being smaller as the flavour of the juice is stronger; and the strength will depend upon the province in which the plant is grown. Once in ten days the boards are removed from the mouth of the vat, and the pit is exposed to a night's dew, and covered up again. It lies in this way for about two months, and is then made up into paste, which can be heated for use.

In some instances the syrup is mixed with red earth, in which case the proportion of arsenic must be doubled, and the vat must not be exposed to the dew; but the boards should be felt with the hand in about a month, and if found warm the paste is in a fit condition to be made up. If they be not so, the pit should be opened, and the liquid examined. It is eventually made up in balls and sold like foreign opium.

The flavour of the drug varies according to the soil in which the poppy is grown, and the skill of the maker, but there does not appear to be any fashionable preference for that produced in any particular locality. In the district of Yang-shau and Hwang-ni of

\* The orthography of the Chinese terms referred to in this Paper is that used by Dr. Wells Williams in his Work, "The Middle Kingdom," T. F. W.

the prefecture of Shau-king, in the province of Kwang-Tung, women are much employed in the manufacture. The crop in Kwang Tung was said to be in 1847 from 8,000 to 10,000 piculs, so vastly has the quantity produced increased since Commissioner Lin's proceedings in 1839. The best quality sells for about 500 dollars per picul in Canton, the inferior for half that sum. The native drug is said to be most consumed in Kwang-Tung, Kwang-Si, Sz'-Ch'uen, Kwei-Chau, and Shen Si. It resembles Patna in smell, is not equal to Bengal in strength, it is mixed with Patna and Turkey, but not Benares. When two years old it is preferred by some smokers to any foreign drug.

At Ting-chau Fu, in the south of Fuh-Kien, the white poppy is much grown; the neighbouring districts are thence supplied with native opium, some of which finds its way even to Fuh-chau (Foochow). It costs 300 or 400 cash the tael, but is weak in quality, coarse in flavour, and is not produced in quantities sufficient to compete with the foreign article. At Kien-ning Fu, in the south of the province [Fuh-Kien], large plantations of poppy are also said to exist. Its maturity is indicated by the falling of the leaves, and swelling of the capsule; the milky sap which flows from an incision made into these, when it has become black by a day's exposure to the sun, is scraped off and collected. After having been boiled to a consistence, it is made into cakes of a horse-hoof shape about three inches thick; but it is not coated with the leaves of the corolla like foreign opium.

In Cheh-Kiang the cultivation of the poppy is chiefly confined to the prefecture of Tai-chau, to the southward of that of Ning-po. It grows most in Hwang-yen and Ning-hai, which are coast districts; is sown from the middle of the eighth moon to the end of the ninth. The plants are manured with urine until they are well grown, and, if then transplanted, decay. They flower towards the end of the second moon, the blossoms being white, pink, purple, and variegated; more than two are seldom left; the rest are lopped off. In the fourth moon, when

the plant has attained the height of from three to five feet, the petals fall, and two or three incisions are made with a bamboo spatula into the now ripe capsules, which are about three inches long, and one and a half thick; part of the epidermis is also scraped off to allow the juice to exude. The person employed then returns to gather the exuded juice on the spatula. This he transfers to his hand, which when full he empties into a vessel attached to his waist. The juice is collected early in the morning, at which time it is a whitish tint, but turns black in the sun. This process of extracting it is repeated two or three mornings running.

Partially inspissated juice fetches at Tai-chau, 500 cash per tael. The best quality is made from the juice obtained from the first incisions. The most common adulteration is from an admixture of flower petals and scrapings of the capsules pounded in a mortar, and formed into lumps of an irregular shape. This is used by the poor people of Tai-chau. Each capsule is supposed to yield three or four candarins of opium; one Chinese acre, from ten to twenty catties, at an average price of from thirty to forty dollars. The Tai-chau is sold a little in Ning-po, but is almost exclusively consumed by the Tai-chau people, either as drug, or in adulterating foreign opium. They believe that if buried, in jars, for three or four years, it is superior to Patna in quality; but as it loses about half its weight by this process, it is seldom brought into operation. It is said to leave an acrid taste in the mouth, to inflame the palate, and to enervate the system more speedily than the foreign opium.

Its growth, without being directly encouraged, is connived at. It only remains to add that no accurate data are obtainable with reference to the extent of ground under cultivation; the quantity produced; or the amount of money levied by mandarins in the shape of fees; all queries on these heads being replied to in the "thousand myriad" numbers in which the Chinese are wont to reckon.

## ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE.

(Names of Witnesses arranged in Alphabetical Order.)

### THE REVEREND JOSEPH SAMUEL ADAMS.

Belongs to the American Baptist Mission and has lived in China and Upper Burma, 287-292; opportunities for observation in China, 338-340.

Prohibition of Burmese authorities against use of opium in Upper Burma by Burmese, 293-294, 306-308, 356-358, 368; supported by the general opinion of the country, 309-311; prohibition of Burmese authorities against use of alcohol in Upper Burma, 369-370.

Attitude of Burmese Government as to consumption of opium by other inhabitants of Upper Burma, 312-316, 375-376.

Regulations of the Government of India in Burma, 317-320; public opinion in Burma as to total prohibition, 322-330; his opinion as to it, 336-337, 377-379.

Effect of opium smoking, 295, 301, 359, 360, 364-367; immoderate use the rule, 296-297; tendency to resume the habit after abandoning it, 299.

Opium valuable in certain ailments but no protection against fever, 298.

Consumption of alcohol by Burmans, 331-334.

Effect of the opium habit on native churches, 335.

Proportion of opium smokers in China, 300, 302, 361-363; his opinion as to the opium habit in China, 341; its effect on the spread of Christianity, 342-343; comparison between opium and alcohol, 347.

Power of China to increase the import duty on opium, 344-347.

Feeling of Chinese officials as to the opium habit and the cultivation of opium, 348-349.

Feeling of Chinese officials towards England, 350-351.

Interest in the United Kingdom in the anti-opium movement, 351-355.

### MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, J.L.B.

Is a barrister and secretary to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 464-465; places before the Commission papers showing proposals made by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade for dealing with the opium question, 466-497.

### SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

His experience in Western India, 1155; never met with an instance of injury from the use of opium except from poisoning, *ib.* 1182.

The healthiest populations in Western India consume opium, 1156; opium smoking quite innocuous, *ib.*, 1168-1170; question of the decomposition of morphia in the opium pipe, 1157-1161, 1178.

Opium den in Bombay frequented by the dregs of the population, but they were not brought to their state of degradation by opium, 1162-1165.

Effect of opium on the sexual passions, 1165-1166.

A political error to deprive Native States of their revenue from opium, 1165.

Consumption of opium by Native soldiers, 1155, 1171-1173.

Opium eating a stronger form of taking the drug than opium smoking, 1176; his observation has not shown opium eating to be harmful, 1174-1175, 1177-1181; the alcohol habit in Great Britain worse than the opium habit in India, 1174.

Favours opium trade being thrown open to private enterprise, 1165, 1180; deprecates policy of keeping down the consumption of opium in India, 1179.

### MR. BENJAMIN BROOMHALL.

Is general secretary of the China Inland Mission, 498; scene of the work of the mission, 499.

Expresses his conviction as derived from information received from missionaries upon evil effects of opium smoking and connected matters, 501, 502; quotes reports from Yunnan, 503; from Kwei-chau and Sichuen, 504-507; from Kan-suh, 508-515; from Shen-si, 516-518; from Shan-si, 519-522; from Gan-hwuy, 523-524; from Houan, 525; from Cheh-kiang, 526; from Chih-li, 527-530.

Quotes extracts of more general application from communications by missionaries in China to show the increase in the consumption and cultivation of opium and the evil results of opium habit, 531-536.

Would prohibit export from India to China, 546-548; his opinion that such prohibition is the only chance of giving a real check to the use and growth of opium in China, 537; question whether Chinese Government would be able or willing to stop the growth and use of opium, 543-544, 547; attitude of the Government of India as to the export of opium to China, 538-542; Sir James Fergusson's declaration, 545.

### THE REVEREND FREDERICK BROWN.

Is a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission and has served in China, 673-675.

Evil effects of opium smoking, 676-677.

Effect of opium consumption on missionary work, 677-678; reads petitions from Native Churches in favour of the suppression of opium, 678, 683.

Consumption of Indian opium in Shan-tung and Chi-li, 679-680.

Effect of conversion to Christianity on the status of natives of China, 686-690.

### MR. GEORGE GRAHAM BROWN.

Has been a missionary in China for more than six years, 550-551.

His opinion as to the evil effects of opium consumption on the Chinese in Lanchau, 552, 564-569, 599-607; consumption of Indian opium in Lanchau, 553-555, 570; no Persian opium consumed there, 555; proportion of opium consumers to adult male population, 594-597; growth of the habit and increase of the cultivation of opium in Lanchau, 557-560; demeanour of the people in Lanchau towards Europeans, 575-577; action of local authorities in Lanchau to enforce edicts prohibiting the consumption of opium, 571-574, 592-593.

Suicides from opium, 560-562.

His opinion as to the probable result of prohibiting export of opium from India, 578-581; favours this course, 608.

Relative strength of Indian and China-grown opium, 582-591.

### DR. GEORGE DODS.

Was engaged for 18 years prior to 1877 in private practice in Canton and Hongkong and temporarily in Government service in Hongkong, 1722-1725.

Extent of the opium habit, 1728-1731; did not observe the number of opium smokers to be on the increase, 1748-1750; opium generally smoked in moderation, 1732; effects of opium smoking not generally evident, 1726-1727; no harm in moderate smoking, 1733-1734; the habit does not tend to degenerate into excess, 1735; not difficult to throw off the habit, 1736-1739; opium said to be a necessity in the marshy districts, 1740.

Agrees in the main with Dr. Lockhart, 1741-1744, 1747, but not entirely as to the number of opium smokers, nor as to the extent of spirit drinking, but those vary in different parts of China, 1745.

Not familiar with the proportion of smokers using Indian opium, 1750; never heard the Chinese blame the English for introducing opium, *ib.*

### MR. T. W. DUFF.

His letter read, 1637; lived in China for 30 years, *ib.*; considers opium not to be deleterious to natives of China but to be a necessity, *ib.*; this due to conditions under which the Chinese live in Southern and Mid-China, *ib.*; occasional abuse in large towns, *ib.*; foreigners do not require opium in China, as they live under different conditions, *ib.*; nor do the Chinese living in mountainous districts and the north, where they consume alcohol, require it, *ib.*; all nations need a stimulant, *ib.*; Chinese speaking with foreigners will speak against the opium habit from politeness, *ib.*; never heard any Chinese blame the



British Government for introducing the drug, *ib.*; cultivation of the poppy in 1865 smaller than it would otherwise have been owing to the unsettled state of the country, *ib.*; proclamations forbidding its cultivation at that time issued owing to difficulty of collecting the revenue, *ib.*; opium revenue has greatly assisted the Chinese Government in centralising authority at Peking, *ib.*

#### THE REVEREND A. ELWIN.

Has been a missionary attached to the Church Missionary Society in China for 23 years, 610.

Effect of opium smoking in Hangchau and neighbourhood, 611-615, 623-624, 633; tendency to increase the dose, 630-632; proportion of opium consumers in Hangchau, 616-617; spread of the habit, 618; increase of cultivation, 621, 635-636; attitude of the local authorities in Hangchau as to the edicts, 619-620; Indian opium consumed in Hangchau, 621.

Chinese feeling as to the connexion of the British Government with the opium trade, 622-623.

Effect of opium smoking on coolies and chair-bearers, 611, 625-630.

Opinion as to whether the introduction of Indian opium has led to the increased growth of the poppy in China, 636-638.

#### SIR JOSEPH FAYRER, K.C.S.I., M.D., F.R.S.

His letter read, 1637; served 30 years in India, *ib.*; agrees that ideally people would be better without stimulants and narcotics, *ib.*; opium abused to a limited extent in large cities in India and China, *ib.*; habitually used in moderation over large areas in India, *ib.*; believed to be a prophylactic against malaria and to facilitate the performance of all the functions of life, *ib.*; does not believe that the tendency of opium eating is ever to increase, *ib.*; cites an instance in his personal experience in support of his view, *ib.*; use of hemp drugs infinitely more harmful than that of opium, *ib.*

#### THE REVEREND CHRISTOPHER FENN, M.A.

Is secretary to Church Missionary Society in charge of the China correspondence, 430; not personally acquainted with China, 433.

Number of missionaries working in China under the Church Missionary Society, 431.

Opinions of missionaries under the Church Missionary Society as to the effects of the opium habit in China, 432.

His opinion as to whether action of the British Government with the opium trade prejudices missionary work in China, 434-435.

Popular feeling in China as to the attitude of England towards the opium traffic, 436; inability of missionaries to correct erroneous impressions on the subject, 437-442; Sir James Fergusson's declaration, 438; his opinion that the prohibition of export of opium from India to China would be the best means of convincing the Chinese Government that England would not compel them to import opium, 438, 442-449; action of the Indian Government in relation to the opium trade, 439-441.

#### DR. WILLIAM GAULD.

Is a medical missionary who has worked in Swatow and England, 825-832.

Prevalence of the opium habit in Swatow, 833-835; among the literary class, 849-852; opium chiefly used in a smoking mixture, sometimes by eating it, 836; in his opinion there can be no moderate use of opium except as a medicine, 853-854.

Considers the habits of morphia eating and opium smoking and eating to be interchangeable, 837-845; does not consider opium smoking to be a prophylactic against fever, 846-848.

Considers that the effects of opium cannot differ in essence in respect of different races, 855; the hold which opium takes on those who use it greater than that of alcohol, 856, 857.

Opium smokers more liable to diseases than others, 858.

Missionary labourers interfered with by the opium habit and Chinese feeling towards Englishmen, 859-862.

#### SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

His opportunities for observing the opium question in India, especially as opium agent for the Native States in Central India, 1527-1529.

The system of taxing opium grown in Native States, 1530-1532; the chief opium-growing States, 1545-1547; no attempt made by Government to increase the cultivation, 1533-1535; cultivation not interfered with, 1536-1538; methods of raising opium revenue in the Native States, 1539-1540; proportion of their revenue from opium export to their total exports, 1571-1577; decline in the export of opium, 1578-1580; probable effect of prohibiting export from Native States, 1541-1544, 1548-1549; such an act would be tyrannous and be resented, 1551-1609; no treaty rights under which the Government of India can interfere with the cultivation of opium in Native States, 1552; concessions to Native States, 1535, 1538, 1562-1567; character of his land on which opium is cultivated, 1549-1550, 1581; his opinion as to the probability of the revival of the export opium trade with China, 1561.

Extent of smuggling, 1553; precautions against it, 1554, 1590-1593; if export were prohibited, it would be impossible to control smuggling, 1568-1570, 1610.

People of Central India not consumers of opium to a large extent, 1555-1556; opium has no effect on crime, 1557; his opinion that it has no appreciable effect on the public health, 1558, 1601-1603; produces no widespread evils in India, 1608; alcohol worse than opium, 1560.

Use of opium water, 1582-1589; opium generally taken in moderation, 1594-1595; the opium habit among Sikhs, 1559; Sikhs and Rajputs, the finest races in India, have been taking it for generations, 1595-1597; question whether Rajputs and Sikhs tolerate opium better than other races, 1597-1599; Europeans and the opium habit, 1598, 1599a-1600; opium sots a degraded class in large cities, 1604-1607.

The prohibition of the cultivation and use of opium would irritate the people, especially the Sikhs, and would make them disloyal, 1611-1612.

Recommends no change in present arrangements, 1613.

His opinion as to the character of much of the missionary evidence on the opium traffic, 1615.

#### MR. THOMAS HUTTON.

Has been a missionary in the north of China, 1961, 1965; agrees with other missionaries as to the evil effects, morally and physically, of opium smoking, 1968; opium is called foreign smoke, 1970; though it is produced in Chinese territory, 1972; the Chinese attribute its introduction to the British, 1989-1993; attitude of the Chinese towards missionaries, 1994-1998; travelled for two years as a native of China, 1975-1977; opium smoking common in the north, 1977-1978; and among women in some of the towns, 1979; the habit on the increase, 1978; his experience that opium smokers are unreliable as servants, 1980-2000; the population in Northern China stronger than in the south, 1982-1984; they consume more wheaten bread, 1983; found the population on his travels degenerate and unhealthy, 2001-2004, 2007; the physique of the Chinese naturally good, 2008; opium smokers cannot take wine, and take very little food, 2010, 2011; opium smoking worse than spirit drinking, 1981.

#### THE REVEREND ALEXANDER LANGMAN.

Has been a missionary in China for eight years, 1509-1510, 1526-1526a; agrees with views expressed by other missionaries as to evil effects of opium smoking, 1511.

Produces a letter from a native evangelist describing these effects, 1512-1513.

Animosity of the Chinese to foreigners, and particularly to Englishmen, due to the connexion of the British Government with opium, 1515, 1523.

His opinion that if the export of opium from India to China were prohibited the work of the missionaries would be made easier, 1524.

Belief of the Chinese as to opium smoking resulting in the extinction of families, 1525.

#### MR. H. N. LAY, C.B.

Was many years resident in China in the Consular service and in the service of the Chinese Government, 1183-1187.

Introduction of opium into China and its entry in the tariffs, 1189-1193; question of prohibition in 1729, 1270-1272; and in 1724, 1273; Mr. Fitz Hughes' letter, 1274; decree of prohibition of 1799, 1194-1201; opium continued to be imported and duty to be

collected after this decree, 1202-1204; the smuggling trade, 1205-1215, 1224-1225; cultivation of the poppy widespread in China in 1830, 1216-1220; the Tai-ping rebellion, 1221-1222; cultivation in 1858 and 1864, 1255; opium legalised by the Chinese Government in 1873, 1226; it then determined to prohibit it again, 1227; Lord Palmerston's despatch, *ib.*; action of the Chinese Government in 1839, 1223, 1228-1232; opium not mentioned in the Treaty of Nankin, 1233; his view that the Chinese Government was then indifferent upon the subject of the import of opium, 1235-1239, 1241; Chinese officials never complained to him of the action of the British Government in respect of opium, 1239-1240; the seizure of the "Arrow," 1241; this, and not opium, the cause of the second war, 1243-1244; opium not mentioned in the course of the negotiations in 1858 regarding the Treaty of Tientsin, 1245-1246; but entered in the tariff subsequently prepared, 1247-1248; action of the Chinese Government and Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1869, 1249-1253; his opinion as to the allegation that the Chinese Government threatened to withdraw all restrictions in China in order to destroy the import from India, 1254; his view that in all the negotiations it was not the object of the British Government to force opium in China, 1282; the Chinese Government had always regarded opium from a fiscal point of view, 1262; Mr. Burlingame's mission to England in 1868, 1258-1260; his opinion that if the export of opium from India were prohibited, the Chinese Government would not prohibit the consumption of opium, 1263-1269; his opinion that the Chinese Government is not deterred from opening the opium question by the fear that the Indian Government might claim to be recouped for loss of revenue, 1279; complains of the manner in which the action of officials as to opium in China has been misrepresented, 1256-1257, 1275-1278.

His opinion that statements as to evil effects of opium smoking among the Chinese are exaggerated, 1280; opium generally used in moderation, 1281; the physique of the Chinese very good, *ib.*; opium taken as a prophylactic in the malarial districts in the mid-provinces and southern provinces, *ib.*; immoderate use injurious, 1280.

#### MR. HENRY LAZARUS.

Was engaged in China in commerce unconnected with the opium trade from 1878 to 1881, 1618-1621; employed on an average 200 natives of China, 1623-1624; many were opium smokers, 1627; those who smoked opium were never rendered unfit for work by it, and were as good as the rest, 1626, 1628; domestic servants not incapacitated by smoking, 1633.

His own experience of opium smoking is that it is too tedious for Europeans to take to it, 1628-1630; excessive smoking does not destroy intellectual power, 1626, 1631; not necessary to increase the dose, 1631; opium traffic not the cause of the dislike of the Chinese to Europeans, 1632.

#### THE REVEREND JAMES LEGGE.

Is Professor of the Chinese language and literature at Oxford, 165; has resided in Hong Kong and Malacca and visited China, 166-168.

His experiences of opium smoking in Malacca and China, 169, 170; opinion of the respectable classes as to the habit, 170, 171; prevalence of the habit, 172, 173, 200, 201, 212.

Characteristics of the people of China, 174-176; opium smoking prejudicial to work, 177; the majority of persons who smoke opium gradually come more and more under its influence and smoke to excess, 178, 209, 210; the habit of smoking opium results only in evil, 179, 207.

Feeling of the people in China as to the attitude of England as regards the opium traffic, 180-184.

Power of the Chinese Government to exclude Indian opium, 185-187.

Introduction of the cultivation of the poppy and the use of opium into China, 188-192; increase of cultivation in China, 193-197.

Consumption of alcohol in China, 198, 199, 204.

Opium prohibited in Japan, 202; consumption of alcohol in Japan, 203.

Probability of the Chinese Government stopping the growth of opium in China, 205; England's attitude in first Opium War, *ib.*

Opium smoking not to his knowledge generalised in any community in China, 211; Chinese population of Hong Kong in 1894 approached this condition, 211.

#### MR. STEWART LOCKHART.

Is Protector of the Chinese in Hong Kong, 1375; his duties, 1421-1424.

Chinese popular opinion decidedly against the opium habit, 1380, 1381.

Moderate consumption possible, 1383; proportion of moderate smokers, 1403-1410; moderate use need not end in excess, 1434-1437; relative effects of moderate and excessive smoking, 1382; distinction between the drunkard and the opium sot, 1388, 1411; his experience against the idea that the Chinese hate the British on account of the opium question, 1384.

Does not think that the existence of the opium trade affects British commerce prejudicially, 1385.

The population of Hong Kong, 1395-1398; opium divans in Hong Kong, 1386-1387, 1428-1433; question whether opium consumption affects the death-rate in Hong Kong, 1389, 1414-1416, 1419, 1420; the opium farms in Hong Kong and the Straits, 1390-1392; not in favour of an edict of total prohibition in Hong Kong, 1393, 1394; opium smoking prevalent among the Chinese population, 1399-1401; not so prevalent as the use of alcohol in Great Britain, 1402; opium smoking stationary in Hong Kong, 1412, 1413; consumption per head of the Chinese population in Hong Kong, 1416-1418; never heard of a European taking to opium, 1425; Chinese opium not consumed in Hong Kong, 1426, 1427; consumption of spirits by Chinese in Hong Kong, 1439-1443.

#### MR. WILLIAM LOCKHART, F.R.C.S.

Was a medical missionary under the London Missionary Society in China for 25 years up to 1864, 1638, 1703.

Opium generally smoked in China, 1691-1693; many Chinese take opium in moderation, 1641; they generally increase the dose with evil results, *ib.*, 1642, 1653, 1661; proportion of moderate and excessive consumers among the population, 1643-1652, 1654, 1708-1710; opinion as to the effect of opium, 1661; does not regard even moderate use as beneficial, 1653; consumers in excess can be cured of the habit, 1674-1676; opium not generally taken to relieve pain, but for dissipation, 1684; power of control of opium smokers, 1694-1697; reason why the opium pipe is smoked lying down, 1698; extent of opium cultivation in China, 1654-1660.

Alcohol a greater social evil than opium, but opium more personally harmful to individuals, 1667; alcohol a greater curse in England than opium in China, 1668.

Suicide by means of opium, 1669-1673.

Opium not forced on China by the British Government, 1677, 1699-1701; never heard this alleged in China, 1702; advocates the Government of India abandoning the monopoly and reducing the area of poppy cultivation, 1677, 1711-1714; China opium cheaper and more impure than Bengal opium, 1685-1687.

Consumption of opium by Europeans, 1688-1690.

Opium smokers not permitted to belong to his church, 1704-1707, 1715; the same rule would apply to spirit drinkers, 1716; spirit drinking prevails in Japan, 1717-1718; in his opinion it is unlikely if opium smoking were stopped in China that spirit drinking would prevail, 1719, 1720; the Chinese altogether superior to the Japanese, 1721.

#### SIR HUGH LOW, K.C.M.G.

Letter from, 1637; formerly administrator of Perak and other States in the Malay Peninsula, *ib.*; experience in Perak and Labuan, *ib.*; farm of right to collect duty in Perak, *ib.*; drug consumed generally in moderation by labourers, chiefly Chinese, in mines as a prophylactic against miasma, *ib.*; also by shopkeepers, artisans, servants, *ib.*; more tendency to abuse among this class, *ib.*, also by wealthy Malays and Chinese, *ib.*; two-thirds of the Chinese population smokers, but very few Malays, *ib.*; used by criminal classes of both races, *ib.*; general health affected in occasional but few cases, *ib.*; opium habit had no influence on crime, *ib.*; moderate use of opium said to clear the intellect, *ib.*; use of opium prohibited in State prisons, detention in which invariably resulted in improved physique, *ib.*; no such abuse in Perak or Labuan as to justify further restrictions, *ib.*

#### MR. D. MATHESON.

The contraband opium trade, 790-792; liable to attacks from pirates, 803-804.

His account of the events of 1839-1841, 793-796; comments on the attitude of British Government from 1841-1858, 802.

Incidents which led him to condemn the opium traffic, 797-799; at considerable injury to his pecuniary position, 824.

Recommends the prohibition of export of opium from India to China, 800, 801, 805-811.

His opinion that comparison cannot be made between the export of spirits from England and the export of opium from India, 810-823.

#### DR. MAXWELL.

Is a doctor of medicine and secretary to the Medical Missionary Association, 214, 215; was a medical missionary in Formosa, 216.

Character of his experience, 217, 218; extent of the opium habit, 219, 238, 239, 258-260; children not allowed to take opium in Formosa but learn to do so in when pretty young, 274.

Comparative effects of opium smoking, tobacco smoking, and dram drinking, 220, 273.

Habitual consumption of opium the rule, 221; consumers become slaves to the drug, 222-224.

Physical evils of the opium habit, 225; moral evils; 226; social evils, 227.

Opium not in his opinion a prophylactic against malaria, 228.

Consumption of Indian opium in China and increase of consumption of native opium, 229-235; Persian opium, 281-286.

Opium smoking universally regarded in China as a vice, 236, 237.

Indian opium traffic tends to hinder Christian missionaries in China, 238, 239, 264-272.

Opinions of the medical profession in the United Kingdom as to the habitual use of opium, 240; medical opinion in India, 241, 242, 245; medical opinion in China, 243, 244; no statistics exist as to public health in Formosa, 261.

Power of the Chinese Government to exclude opium, 246-256.

Comparison between opium smoking and opium eating, 262.

Action of Government of India as to export of opium, 264-269, 275-280.

Suicides from opium in China and India, 274.

#### MR. DAVID McLAREN.

Formerly President of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, 1751.

Presents tables of statistics of trade between India, China, Japan, and the United Kingdom, 1862.

The Committee of 1848, 1753; increase of exports from China after the reduction of the tea duty, 1754; not accompanied by corresponding increase of imports from England, *ib.*; increased import of opium from India, *ib.*; possibility that anticipated increase of trade between England and China at that time went indirectly in an increase of trade with British India, 1822-1835.

History of trade with China, 1753-1758; contrasts trade of England with China with England's trade with Japan, 1758-1760, 1765-1769, 1840-1848; contrast between Chinese and Japanese in the matter of dress, &c., 1795-1801.

His opinion that import of opium from India into China prevents China from buying English manufactures, 1758-1764, 1769-1776, 1849, 1850, 1855-1856; the substitution of India for China tea has impaired the ability of China to purchase English manufactures, 1761-1764, 1862; export of yarns from India to China, 1791a-1795, 1851-1854; England's trade with China stationary during the past 15 years, though import of opium from India has largely decreased, 1836-1837; this owing to Chinese smoking native opium, 1838.

Produce of poppy per acre under cultivation in India declining, 1771, 1772.

Policy of the Government of India in 1860 to take as large a crop as possible, 1772-1774; refers to this policy as not having been changed, 1774-1776.

Quotes opinions of officials as to the pernicious character of the drug, 1778-1785.

Advocates prohibition of poppy cultivation in India and the export of opium to China, 1802-1821; his opinion that the smoking of native opium would then be stopped, 1839.

#### MR. ALEXANDRE MICHIE.

Is a merchant with 40 years' experience of China, 2012-2018.

The use of opium deprecated by public opinion among the Chinese, but not more than the use of alcohol in European countries, 2019-2021; extent to which the opium habit prevails in China, 2022-2025; few opium smokers among his employees, 2026-2027; moderate smoking more common than inveterate smoking, 2028; effect of moderate smoking, 2029-2031; opium smokers not more dishonest than others, 2032; opium smoking among the better classes, 2040-2044, 2047; those classes not degraded or of degenerate health, 2045-2046, 2048-2049; no opium smoking in Japan, 2033; the Japanese alleged to be inferior to the Chinese, 2034; opium trade has not affected the attitude of the Chinese towards Englishmen, 2036-2038; considers excess in alcohol worse than excess in opium, 2039.

#### SURGEON-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM MOORE, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P.

Served 33½ years in India, 1000, 1001.

Investigated the opium question in Rajputana and Bombay, 1002-1004, 1024; no generalized consumption in Bombay, 1025-1029, 1032-1039.

His conclusion that opium smoking is practically harmless, and opium water not only harmless but beneficial in moderation and a prophylactic against fever, 1005, 1057, 1058; excess in opium not so injurious as excess in alcohol, 1006; opium more beneficial than alcohol, 1022, 1023; use of opium on the whole beneficial, 1067-1073; a large proportion of visitors to opium dens have ailments which they go there to relieve, 1074-1079; the habit not regarded as disgraceful, 1036-1039, 1080-1085; the prohibition of the sale of opium in India, except for medical purposes, would be an interference with the habits and customs of large sections of the population, 1007, 1030, 1031.

Effect of the habitual use of opium on different races, 1008; prevalence of the habit among the Rajputs, 1009-1014, 1107; the Rajputs a healthy class, 1015; no reliable statistics of births and deaths in Rajputana, 1016; habitual opium consumers generally take their opium at night, 1019; no general tendency to increase the dose, 1017, 1018; excessive use deleterious but the exception, 1021; habitual use in moderation does not shorten life, 1020; amount consumed by opium smokers, 1088, 1089; the use of opium among men tending camels in the desert, 1007, 1090, 1091; has had little experience with the Sikhs, 1040; tobacco forbidden by the first Sikh teacher and the use of alcohol deprecated, 1097, 1098; large sections of the population in India do not use opium, 1041; cannot speak as to the relation of the opium habit to race, 1042-1046; early use of opium by Rajputs during their constant fighting, 1099, 1100.

Insurance offices do not impose a higher rate on opium eaters, 1047-1057.

Erroneous impression that the cultivation of opium leads to famines by reducing the land for the growth of cereals, 1057; the migration during the famine in Rajputana from Marwar to Malwa, 1101-1106.

The opium habit among Europeans, 1051-1054; does not spread among them owing to habit rather than to constitutional difference, and also because opium smoking is troublesome, 1059-1066.

#### DR. F. J. MOUAT.

His opportunities of studying the question in India, 1109-1112.

His experience of the use of opium by Marwaris and Chinese in Calcutta, 1112-1119; the Chinese opium smokers and the Marwaris opium eaters, 1149, 1150; the habit has come down in India from former generations, 1120-1122; regards consumption of opium in moderation, as in the case of these two colonies, as quite as harmless as the moderate use of alcohol among Europeans, 1123-1131, 1134; opium is also valuable as a prophylactic and febrifuge in malarial tracts, 1153; the use of opium in excess bad, but he has no experience of use in excess, 1132, 1133; his experience with other classes attending the hospitals, 1135-1137.

His experience of opium in relation to crime and insanity in Bengal, 1139-1144.

More habitual consumers of ganja than of either spirits or opium, 1144; ganja not mixed with opium

in India, 1151, 1152; quotes, with approval from a discussion by Calcutta Medical Society, 1144-1147.

Consumers of opium not ashamed of the fact, 1148; suppression of the use of opium would lead to increased consumption of more harmful stimulants and narcotics and would be actively resisted by the more manly and warlike races in India, 1153; use of opium for the purpose of exciting sexual desire, 1154.

#### DEPUTY SURGEON-GENERAL W. P. PARTRIDGE.

Is a Deputy Surgeon-General in the Bombay Army and served in India 30 years, 1884; the opium habit a vice, 1888, 1896, 1918; worse than alcohol, 1896; the fumes from smoking affect persons other than the actual consumers, 1886-1888; many persons who resort to opium dens are not led to do so by sickness though some are, 1888-1895.

Confidential circular issued by the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh as to opium dens, 1900-1914; opium dens condemned by opium smokers, 1915-1917; opium a predisposing cause of death, 1919, 1920, 1952-1955; opium eaters in jails, 1920, 1949-1951; the danger of stopping opium in such cases, *ib.*; violent crime committed among Rajputs under the influence of opium, 1920-1956; opium not a prophylactic against fever, 1921; opium given to children and arrangements for the sale of pills for children, 1922-1946.

Possibility of prohibiting the sale of opium in India except for medical purposes, 1957-1960.

#### SIR JOSEPH PEASE, BART., M.P.

Is President of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 2; has not visited India or China, but has received constant communications on the subject from those parts of the East in which opium is used, 108, 109.

His views as to the connexion of the Indian Government with the manufacture and sale of opium, and as to the immorality of the opium trade with China, 4-13, 105; the export trade to China the most important branch of the subject, 16, 112; regards the position of the Government in Bengal as worst, 147, 148.

Statistics of the opium trade with China, 14, 15, 18; statistics of the cultivation of the poppy, 40-45.

History of the Chinese opium trade, 20.

Policy of the British Government as to compelling the Chinese Government to import opium, 21-23.

Cites opinions given in support of the views of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, 24-39.

History of the opium question in the House of Commons, 46-63.

Public interest in the opium question in the United Kingdom, 54, 55; action of foreign countries, 56-59, 139-143.

Treaties prohibiting the importation of opium into China, 60-62.

Cites opinions as to the evil effects of the opium habit in China, 63-71; and in India, 72-77; quotes extract from speech of the late Lord Shaftesbury as to the medical aspect of the case, 79-84; cites opinions of Indian officials in the Blue Book of 1892, 85-93.

His views on the financial aspect of the case, 94, 95; the increased expenditure on the army in India 95, 96; the need for the development of railways in India, 95-98; quotes from official papers as to the uncertainty of the opium crop, 100.

Growth of opium in China stimulated by import from India, 12, 13, 133; import of Persian opium into China, 134, 136; objection of Sir James Fergusson to allowing cultivation in the Bombay Presidency, 36, 37, 137-139; anxiety of the Indian Government in 1869, and later, to increase the area under poppy, 3, 110; subsequent policy of reducing the area, 111.

Disposition of Government officers in India to restrict local sale, 16, 17; the Indian system as to internal consumption is now strongly repressive, and could only be improved by total prohibition of the cultivation of poppy except for medicinal purposes, and the sale by license of medical opium, 113, 114; question whether the English system of sale by druggists prevents purchases for non-medical purposes, 115-118.

Use of opium by natives of India, 119-121.

Views on the transit duty on opium paid by Native States, 101-103, 106, 107; concessions to Native States, 102, 103, 148-151; growth of poppy in Malwa, 157; fall in price of Malwa opium chests, 158; transit duty reduced to stimulate cultivation, 159, 160.

Origin of manufacture by Indian Government, 162-165.

#### THE REVEREND GEORGE PIERCY.

Founded the Wesleyan Mission in China, 1; his opportunities for observation in China, 2, 3.

Cites instances and states his opinion as to the evil effects of opium smoking, 453-460.

Agrees generally with the evidence previously given by missionaries, 461, 462.

#### BRIGADE-SURGEON R. PRINGLE, M.D.

Was in the medical service of the Government of India for 30 years, 691-694; considers opium invaluable medicinally, but useless as a dietetic, and to febrifuge only as being a sedative, 695; if taken in small doses in fever districts its effects would be harmful, 706; if ample supplies of quinine made available in malarial districts in India, there would be no need of opium as a febrifuge or a prophylactic, 747-750.

Evil effects of opium habit in India not visible to any extent, except among the dregs of the population in towns, 695, 702, 712; indulgence in opium inconsistent with self-respect in India, 695, 711, 722-724, 742-746.

Opium not served out by him to troops when on service in a very malarious district, 698-701; the effects of opium on native troops, 734-738.

Tendency of opium consumers to increase the dose, 703, 704; the immorality of the opium habit, 705, 707.

His view as to the attitude of the Government of India in relation to the opium trade, 708.

His view as to withholding opium from habitual consumers, 708-711, 714-722, 733, 741, 742.

Recommends that opium should be cultivated only for medicinal purposes, 713, 714.

Policy of the Government of India as to opium and liquor, 725-729.

Advocates stopping the sale of spirits as well as of opium, 729.

Facilities for purchase of opium in India and England, 729.

No difference in the effect of opium on different races, 730.

Advances to cultivators in India for poppy and other cultivation, 738, 739.

#### DR. F. IRVINE ROWELL, M.D., C.M.G.

Was employed 25 years as a medical officer of the Government in the Straits Settlements, 1444, 1445; now retired, 1446.

Population of Singapore, 1447-1449; Chinese in Singapore, 1450, 1451; opium smoking not generally prevalent among the Chinese there, 1452-1455; Chinese opium smokers in the pauper hospital, 1456; the opium habit among them generally the result of disease, 1457-1459; the majority moderate smokers, 1460, 1461; Chinese opium smokers in the criminal prison, 1464, 1465; their crime, as a rule, unconnected with the open habit, 1466-1468; opium, as a rule, immediately withdrawn from prisoners, but allowed for a time in exceptional cases, 1469-1470; in some cases as a necessity, 1492-1495; no injury from the stoppage of opium in cases of habitual moderate smokers, 1472-1475; Chinese coolies who smoked opium ordinarily not so healthy as others, as they had taken to opium to relieve disease, 1476-1478, 1489-1491; continued to smoke after regaining their health and without prejudice to efficiency, so long as they did not exceed, 1479, 1480; moderate opium smokers no worse in health than moderate tobacco smokers, 1481-1488; the moderate use of opium of assistance mentally, 1482-1485; the good of opium exceeds the evil, 1486, 1487.

Revenue in Straits Settlements from opium, 1496, 1504-1507; Indian opium in Singapore, 1508.

Anti-Opium Society in Singapore, 1497-1503.

#### THE REVEREND T. G. SELBY.

Was for 12 years a missionary of the Wesleyan Mission in the interior of China, 1863, 1864, 1868, 1869.

His pamphlet "The Poppy Harvest: a study of Anglo-Indian Ethics," embodies his views, 1870-1873; the cartoons reflect the average opinion of the Chinese on the subject, 1875.

Agrees with the evidence given by other missionaries, 1866, 1876, 1877; missionaries brought more into contact with the Chinese people than other persons are, 1867.

Estimate of mortality caused by opium imported from India, 1878-1881; the opium habit has an unfavourable effect upon the general health, 1883.

SIR JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I.

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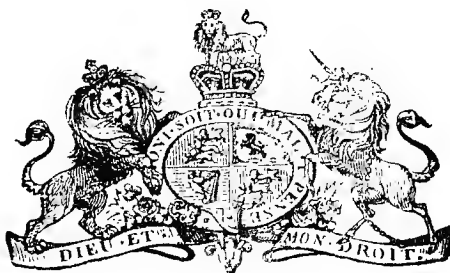
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