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THE FRIEND OF CHINA.

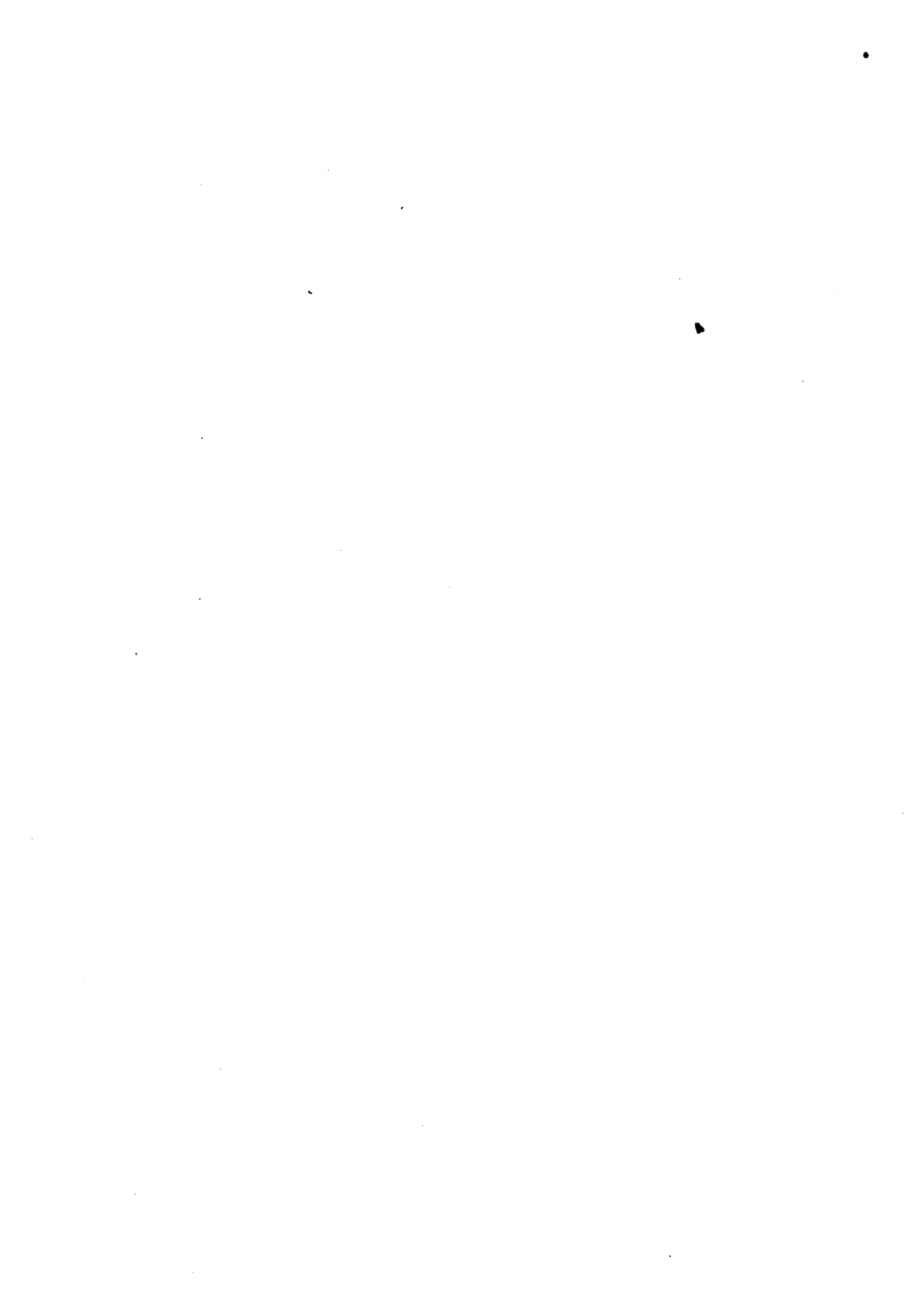
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THE
FRIEND OF CHINA.

The Organ of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

VOL. XVI.

JANUARY, 1896.

No. 1.

SUMMARY.

“Speaking the truth in love.”

Opium Smoking in India. THE Secretary of State for India informs our President that, on the re-opening of Parliament, he will present papers showing “that the policy pursued in the Punjab and elsewhere of granting no licenses for the sale of Opium prepared for smoking is being extended,” and “that the question of taking legislative measures to prevent the use of rooms as Opium-smoking saloons by the public, or by so-called clubs, is under consideration.” *E pur si muove*—The world does move, in spite of Royal Commissions.

Mr. Turner's Critique. MOST of our space this quarter is given up to the continuation of the Rev. F. Storrs Turner's review of the Commission Report. This instalment is devoted to the Commissioners' treatment of the political aspect of the Opium question. On this, as on other portions of the subject, painstaking and impartial examination of the Majority Report shows its conclusions to be either irrelevant or not sustained by the evidence. The conclusion of the Commissioners, that “in regard to the admission of Indian Opium China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent,” is shown to have been arrived at by stringing together a number of those half-truths, which are proverbially the worst untruths.

Mr. Rowntree's Analysis of the Report. NOT less severe is the judgment pronounced by Mr. Joshua Rowntree, in the second edition of his book, “The Opium Habit in the East,” which we cordially recommend to all who have not yet possessed themselves

of the first edition. Those who have done so should write for the pamphlet containing the new matter—Mr. Rowntree's review of the Report—which our Society is reprinting separately, with an introductory note, and an additional section dealing with the subject of Mr. Turner's article above referred to. In this review, Mr. Rowntree comments seriatim on the paragraphs containing the "General Conclusions" of the Majority, showing how inconsistent many of them are with the evidence on which they profess to be based, whilst others are distinctly misleading, or even directly untruthful. He points out in three caustic sections, "How the Report deals with Facts"—"with Persons"—and "with China." Everywhere he finds the Report conspicuously wanting in that impartiality which ought to characterize the Report of a Royal Commission, appointed under a vote of the House of Commons to investigate a grave question of national morality. To misrepresent witnesses by garbled quotations from their evidence, as is done in the cases of the Rev. W. Ashmore, Rev. A. Bone, Dr. Dudgeon, and Dr. Huntly; to state that "in the British Consular Service in China the prevailing opinion is that Opium smoking in moderation is not harmful, and that moderation is the rule," and that "the medical opinions were in general accord with" this view, when, in fact, a clear majority alike of the British Consular officials, and of the medical witnesses from China—even without reckoning medical missionaries—give evidence to the opposite effect: these are amongst the grave offences against truth and fair play which are brought home to the signatories of the Report. Mr. Rowntree observes:—

The Majority Report is doubtless strong when it speaks of the financial and administrative difficulties attending the abolition of the traffic. It is culpably weak when it ignores the evils of the Opium habit, and would fain assume it to be beneficial, on the evidence of men who for the most part scrupulously avoid adopting the habit themselves. The issue remains, as at first, between morality and finance.

The review ends with the following "Summary":—

In the Opium controversy, the Indian Government, as the grower, manufacturer, and vendor of the Opium, is the defendant in the suit. The Commission journeyed under its auspices, was staffed by its servants, had its evidence, in the main, collected and supervised by the Government; and presented a Report drawn up by the pens of its officials. The Report resembles an advocate's brief: not a judicial summing up.

The quantity of Indian Opium exported to China and the far East, as com-

pared with that consumed in India, bears, the Commissioners say, "the proportion of about 12 to 1." The Commissioners only visited the country which consumed the one part; where the pecuniary gains are greatest, and the consumption with its attendant evils is least.

The two native Royal Commissioners and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., agree in three far-reaching recommendations restrictive of the sale of Opium in India. There is a great mass of uncontradicted evidence showing that further restriction in India, in the nature of an efficient Poisons Act, is urgently called for.

The medical witnesses who defend the Opium habit (apart from the use of the drug as an occasional medicine), do not recommend it to their families or friends.

The Opium habit is proved to be resorted to largely for vicious purposes.

Opium smoking is universally condemned throughout India. The manufacture and sale of Indian Opium for China is solely for smoking.

The evidence collected by the Commissioners through official channels as to the effects of Opium smoking in China; is overwhelming in its condemnation of the habit.

As the result therefore of the Commission, the purposes for which the Opium manufacture and trade are mainly carried on by the Indian Government, stand condemned both in India and China.

No trade which is morally wrong can be politically right.

Article by Mr. Rowntree. WE are also republishing, in pamphlet form, an admirable article on "The Opium Question," from Mr. Rowntree's pen, which lately appeared in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*. Writing "as a new recruit endeavouring to understand the most recent evidence on the subject," Mr. Rowntree tells us that he "was quite prepared to find that some of the positions taken up by Anti-Opiumists were now hardly tenable," but that "so far as the leading authoritative statements of the various societies are concerned," he finds that "they have stood the test of severe examination and relentless criticism with singularly little loss or damage." The article, which has already received a considerable circulation in the Society of Friends, ought to be read in a much wider circle; as it admirably states the present position of our movement.

The St. Martin's Hall Conference. THE Anti-Opium Conference at St. Martin's Hall on the 13th December was a great success in every respect, except largeness of attendance, and this was in part accounted for by the short notice necessarily given. We are arranging to supply our subscribers with copies of the full report contained in *National Righteousness*, the organ of

the Christian Union, and trust that they will carefully study the able speeches delivered, which deal with almost every phase of the movement. The Report of the Commission, the Opium Trade as affecting India and other British possessions, and the Opium Trade with China, were the subjects of the three meetings, and were dealt with by speakers selected for intimate knowledge of the question. In the morning and afternoon meetings, the speeches of Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Mr. John Ellis, M.P., Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., the Revs. J. P. Gledstone and Thomas Evans, Dr. Huntly, of Rajputana, and Mr. Joshua Rowntree, formed a crushing indictment of the Commission's methods of enquiry. The defenders of the Indian Government meet us now, as they met Sir Joseph Pease and Mr. Ellis in the House of Commons, by the simple method of declining to notice charges which they evidently recognise their inability to refute. Mr. W. S. Caine brought a powerful indictment against the Indian excise system as a whole; the Rev. James Hunter urged that the formula, "A Maximum of Revenue from a Minimum of Consumption," ought now to be discarded as a dismal failure; Mr. Alexander dealt with the special claims of Ceylon and the Straits Settlements; and Dr. Maxwell showed that the medical officials of the Bengal Government are calling for a Poisons Act to stop the alarming increase of suicides, but that they ask in vain for a measure which might prove dangerous to the Opium Revenue from China. In the evening meeting, Dr. Maxwell, who presided, gave a masterly review of the case as regards China. Mr. Montagu Beauchamp and Mr. C. T. Studd gave their personal testimony as missionaries, whilst the Revs. Christopher Fenn, Thomas Evans, R. Wardlaw Thompson, and Theodore Howard ably represented the Church, Baptist, London, and China Inland Missionary Societies; Mr. H. J. Wilson closing with a cheery note of coming victory.

The Dutch Anti - Opium League. OUR esteemed co-worker, the Jonkheer W. Elout van Soeterwoude, Hon. Secretary of the Dutch Anti-Opium League,—whom our Annual Report in 1893 unhappily confounded with his father, then recently deceased,—has just brought out No. 3 of the League's organ, *De Opium-Vloek*, for 1894-5. It contains a comprehensive summary of the movement throughout the world during the past two years,

the first 39 pages (out of 106 in all) being devoted to a careful synopsis of the results of "The British Opium Inquiry." The debate in the House of Commons on the 24th May last is noticed, and the speech of Mr. John E. Ellis, in English, reprinted in full. Amongst other contents of the number we notice an Address presented by the Society to the Governor-General of Netherlands India with regard to the sale of Opium in Lombok, an island of the Malay Archipelago; also an article in defence of the position that in Java total prohibition is impracticable, and that a "régie" ought to be substituted for the existing farming system. We regret that our limited knowledge of the Dutch language does not enable us clearly to follow the line of argument; but we have serious doubts as to the wisdom of the policy thus indicated. If our friends in Holland simply mean that, Opium being a most useful medicine, and having become a quasi-necessity to a certain number of Opium consumers, it is impracticable to forbid its sale altogether, and that the sale ought to be kept in the hands of official or other responsible vendors, in order that it may be restricted to these two classes, we agree with them. This is the system in force in the United Kingdom and in Burma (as regards the Burmese and Karens), and which we advocate for India and the Crown Colonies. If they mean a system which would merely eliminate the element of private profit, handing over the entire gains to the public revenue, but without any guarantee for restriction to lawful uses, we must dissent from the proposal of the "*Anti-Opium Bond*." That is what we are combatting in British India.

French Opinion AMONGST the contents of *De Opium-Vloek* are
on the Com- two sarcastic comments of French newspapers on
mission Report. the result of the Opium Commission, which may
 help us to see ourselves as others see us. Here is an extract from
 the *Avenir* :—

We are frivolous, frivolous, frivolous. . . . Whilst the English are moral, moral, moral. They know it and they say it. They terrify us with the inflexibility of their principles, the severe energy of their societies of morality, temperance, abstinence, and so forth. We are indeed great sinners before these pillars of virtue.

Only, there are days when this virtue bends, like a reed before a gale, and, by an unhappy chance, the gale which bends British virtue is always that of interest.

You remember, perhaps, that a Commission was appointed, upon a vote of the House of Commons, to make inquiry as to the Opium cultivation in India, which had given rise to scandalous abuses. The Commission has just published its Report—at least, that of the majority of its members,—for one out of the nine Commissioners refused to sign. There are everywhere some scrupulous people.

[After a brief statement of the substance of the Report.] What a capital lead for the House of Commons! You bet that they will accept it! They will continue to hold that everything is for the best in the most delightful of all countries—in China! If it chooses to intoxicate itself and brutalise itself with Opium, why should we oppose its wishes, seeing that it is Englishmen who furnish the poison? If, indeed, it had been furnished by France—but you say that it is imported by the English? Then, it is all right.

These English people are charming. They are virtuous, but their virtue is commercial. Might they not be a little more discreet in their commerciality?

It is not pleasant for Englishmen to read such comments and to know that they are perfectly justified. The Majority of the Commission puts its case in a nutshell when it says, "The revenue derived from Opium is indispensable for carrying on with efficiency the Government of India." The rest is surplusage. All depends, in the phrase used by a speaker at our Annual Meeting a few years ago, on the "almighty rupee."

How Japan treats Opium Smokers. DR. DUDGEON, of Peking, forwards us the following from the *Japan Mail*:— "The *Boyekî Shimbun* says judgment in the case of Tei Keikè, a Chinese residing at its 150 Settlement, and Misawa Hatsugord, a naturalised Japanese of Chinese birth, who were arrested the other day while indulging in the use of Opium at the residence of another Chinaman, named Ryo-zei, of its 174, was given by the Yokohama Local Court on the 14th inst. Ryo-zei was sentenced to hard labour for six years for having sold the Opium, and the two others to major confinement for two years." Dr. Dudgeon adds:—"This is what Japan thinks of the verdict of the Royal Commission on Opium. If these poor Chinese had been aware, they might have quoted the decisions arrived at by the Commission in extenuation of their offence!"

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FINAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

II.—THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE OPIUM QUESTION.

The historical matter contained in the Blue Books which record the labours of the Royal Commission consists of (1) portions of the evidence; (2) the Historical Appendices written by Sir James Lyall and Mr. R. M. Dane; (3) a Despatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India; (4) a "Memorandum" by Sir James Lyall, appended to the Final Report; (5) the remarks of the Report on "the political aspect of the Opium question," in paragraphs 141-146, which occupy just one page of the Report; and (6) the "General Conclusion" on "the China Question," expressed in one paragraph. But of this large mass of matter only that part to which the Commissioners have affixed their signatures possesses their authority, and this amounts to no more than one page and one paragraph. To Sir James Lyall's Memorandum they accord a guarded and limited approbation. All the rest stands merely upon its own merits. The evidence they entirely ignore, with the exception of one quotation, and of the Appendices they make no use. In truth, whatever be the value of their judgment on the political aspect of the question, it owes nothing to all these large preparations for it, but might just as easily and as legitimately have been pronounced on the first day of their meeting, before they had examined a single witness. There is one advantage, however, in this remarkable meagreness of their treatment of the subject. Every word of their remarks can be reproduced in this paper before we proceed to comment on them.

The Report deals with the international question, first in Section IV., again in Section IX. Section IX. is entitled "General Conclusions," and runs on to a considerable length, but its reference to China occupies less than twenty lines. The two references are similar in character, the second being an abbreviation of the first. As the same arguments will have to be considered, it will be more convenient, as well as fairer, to consider them in their fuller expression. Let us therefore dispose of the later paragraph first. It is as follows:—

"THE CHINA QUESTION.

"268. *In dealing with China we have not thought it necessary to present a detailed report. China was not directly included in your Majesty's Order of Reference ; but we considered it desirable to give some attention to this side of the question. The evidence we have obtained as to the effects of the use of Opium in China has been of a conflicting character. In this matter, responsibility mainly lies with the Chinese Government. It is for them to take the first step in any modification of the present Treaty arrangements. Upon the general question, the position which Great Britain may properly take is clearly put by Mr. O'Conor, Your Majesty's representative at Peking, in his covering letter addressed to Your Commission. He says :—*

*"If the use of the drug in China depended on the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could, or ought to, be taken to discourage its importation. But this is not the issue. The quantity of Opium grown in China is increasing enormously. Even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout the whole Empire, and were the importation of Indian Opium to be stopped, China would in a few years so increase her production, as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export Opium to foreign countries."**

This paragraph being a condensation of the somewhat fuller treatment of the subject in the body of the Report, it will be best, in this place, merely to notice slightly the propositions of which it consists, reserving minute criticism for the longer version. The Commissioners, one notes, do not explain why they thought a detailed Report unnecessary,—unless we are to accept the second sentence as their reason. That sentence is a half-truth. To complete it they should have written : "China was neither directly nor indirectly included in the Order of Reference." The evidence as to the effects of Opium in China was conflicting, but the conflict was unequal—upon that fact our previous paper commented. Now we reach what must be taken to be the conclusions of the Commission on the Chinese side of the Opium question. These seem to be two. First, they conclude that "in this matter, responsibility mainly lies with the Chinese Government." This, as it stands, is a puzzling statement, for the sentence seems to make

* Final Report, page 94.

the Chinese Government responsible "for the effects of the use of Opium in China." The connection, however, is with the following sentence. If there is need for any modification of the present Treaty arrangements, the Chinese Government should "take the first step." The reason why this is incumbent on them, and not on us, is not given. China is declared "mainly," not wholly, responsible. Thus the Report leaves a portion of the responsibility resting on the British Government.

The second conclusion is embedded, rather than expressed, in the quotation from Mr., now Sir Nicholas, O'Connor. It seems to be this:—China now produces so much Opium, that stoppage of the import from India would not lessen the evil. That conclusion is not self-evident nor incontrovertible. If it be true—and there is evidence for it—that the recent appalling growth of Opium in China was partly caused by Great Britain's refusal to permit prohibition of the import, possibly a reversal of British Opium policy might lead to a diminution in the Chinese production.

No more need be said here except to call attention to omissions. This "general conclusion" makes no attempt to justify, or even to extenuate, Great Britain's past support of the Opium traffic. It gives no hint of the nature and measure of our present partial responsibility. It makes no pretence of removing or disproving the "strong objections urged on moral grounds" referred to in the House of Common's resolution, so far as these have to do with Britain's treatment of China. With these observations we might at once pass on to the longer version; but we have already discovered that the quotations in the Report repay careful study, and in this case also the letter of Sir Nicholas O'Connor furnishes us with matter of interest and value.

SIR NICHOLAS O'CONNOR'S LETTER.*

In the earlier period of the Commission its Secretary was instructed to apply to Her Majesty's Minister in Peking for information. From his reply we learn that it was "the desire of the Commission" to obtain from him "information as to the attitude of the Chinese Government and of provincial governors in regard to the importation of Indian Opium, and the production and consumption of Opium in China." The discovery of this

* See Report, Vol. V., p. 228.

fact abundantly rewards us. It is most significant, and highly creditable to the Commission, that they thus recognised the desirableness of procuring evidence directly from the rulers of China. Had they gone further, and impressed upon Her Majesty's Minister the imperative necessity they were under of procuring such testimony, they would have done better. For, unfortunately, Sir Nicholas O'Connor did not appreciate the situation. As the Commission applied to him for evidence, and through him to the British Consuls in China, so he might have applied to the Tsungli-Yamen, and through that body to the governors of the provinces, for their testimony in this great case. But Sir Nicholas O'Connor is one of those clever people who intuitively know what other people think. And indeed, if a man can foretell the future, why should he need to make inquiries about the present? Sir Nicholas knows what will happen if the import of Opium is stopped, how should he not know the opinions of Chinese officials without going through the formality of asking for them? So far as appears from his letter, it never entered his mind to speak to a single Chinese on the subject. Immediately after the words above quoted he proceeds to write, "While I am unable to quote any recent direct expression of opinion by high Chinese officials, I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that the Opium question is now regarded by them almost entirely from the financial point of view." And he fortifies himself in this position by quoting the like opinion of his former chief, Sir Thomas Wade. But oh! if Sir Nicholas could only have overcome his perfect confidence in himself and in his old chief, just so far as to realise that the British public might desire to hear also what the Chinese have to say about a matter in which they are so vitally interested—he might possibly have elicited such an expression of national feeling as would have saved the Report of the Commission from being a miscarriage of justice. As it was, he missed a great opportunity, and it is partly his fault that the Commission so fatally missed their opportunity. They unhappily adopted and endorsed his blunder; for they proceeded to judge the case without hearing the plaintiff, although their own request to Sir N. O'Connor shows that they were not unconscious of his right to be heard.

Besides asking him to procure information from the Chinese,

the Commission requested Sir Nicholas O'Connor's own opinion ; and from his reply it appears that he was interrogated both as to the effects of Opium, and as to the political aspect of the question. The quotation as given in the report is made to refer to the "general question"; but in fact its commencement forms a distinct paragraph which belongs to the medical question. Mr. O'Connor writes :—

"As to my own personal views, I do not profess to have more than a very superficial acquaintance with the effects of Opium consumption in China, but I am willing to admit that if the use of the drug in China depended on the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could or ought to be taken to discourage its importation."

Coming from the pen of Her Majesty's Minister in Peking, that opinion upon "the effects of Opium consumption" in China is a fairly strong condemnation of the use of Opium ; at least it is an opinion which deserves to be considered ; and I am glad of the opportunity of printing it in its distinctness and entirety, instead of leaving it obscured and confused with the general question, from which Sir Nicholas O'Connor himself distinctly separated it. So far as the effects of the use of Opium in China are concerned, Sir Nicholas is a witness on the Anti-Opium side.

Let us now reprint the first paragraph of the more lengthy treatment of the subject in the body of the Report.

"POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

"142. We now turn to the political aspect of the question. References to past history are a prominent topic in the speeches and pamphlets of those who are working for the prohibition of the export of opium from India to China. We do not feel that we are called upon, as a Commission, to pass a judgment on the disputed facts of history, nor are we qualified to do so. This aspect of the question has been dealt with in a Memorandum by our colleague, Sir James Lyall, supplemented by Notes prepared for us by Mr. Dane, of the Indian Civil Service, which are appended to our Report. We wish to express our general concurrence in the conclusions at which our colleague has arrived, that opium was exported from India to China before European nations appeared in the Indian seas ; that opium smoking was a habit in existence in China before British rule began in India, and at a time when

*British merchants took little or no part in the opium trade, and that to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is, to say the least, an exaggeration.”**

SIR JAMES LYALL'S CONCLUSIONS.

Before dealing with the Commission, it will clear the way if we first of all notice what the Report says in respect to “the memorandum by our colleague.” This memorandum is a valuable document, which it will be necessary to review at some length in a separate article. At present it suffices to note that the majority of the Commission declined to include this document in their Report. They confine themselves to a “general concurrence” with three of its conclusions, which they give in their own words. Two of the three are of no importance; and there is just reason for complaint that they should be mentioned in the Report, because naturally the mention of them suggests to the public that the opinions which are refuted formed a part of the case against the Opium trade. To regard them in this light would be an entire misapprehension. Only the third conclusion is to the point, and deserves a passing remark. We cannot discuss it fully until we deal with Sir James Lyall's memorandum; but it is worth while to notice the curious terms in which the Report clothes his opinion: “to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is, to say the least, an exaggeration.” Evidently, the Commission wanted to condemn the charge as false, but could not venture quite so far. The explanation of their inability will be found in Sir James Lyall's memorandum. Even he was compelled to admit that to a certain extent “it is true that we forced the trade on”† China. The admission is made only under carefully stated qualifications; and is hypothetical in form: but still it blocks the way to a categorical denial of the forcing of Opium in China. In our opinion the charge is true, not only to the extent of his admission, but beyond it, as shall be established out of his own story of the facts in due course.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION PRONOUNCES ITSELF INCOMPETENT.

Having for the present put aside the memorandum of Sir James Lyall, we return to paragraph 142 of the Final Report. The

* Final Report, page 51.

† See Memorandum. Final Report, page 128.

first sentences of this paragraph contain the astonishing confession by the majority of the Royal Commission that they were not competent to judge the very question which they themselves of their own motion, without authority from the terms of their Commission, without justification by the resolution of the House of Commons, had resolved to judge. After this, what can be said? What need be said? To expatiate on the humiliating position in which Lord Brassey and his colleagues found themselves seems cruel. When men publicly and humbly confess their own incompetence, and retire from an office to which they acknowledge themselves unequal, no generous mind can refrain from a sentiment of pity. In such circumstances it were best to let them steal silently away, and get forgotten as speedily as possible.

But unhappily Lord Brassey and his colleagues acknowledge their incompetence, and nevertheless endeavour to pass off the appearance of a verdict upon the public. They own that they are not qualified to judge, and yet they attempt to pronounce what may pass for a judgment. It is therefore impossible to show them leniency. Let us go back to the first page of the Report. From paragraph 3 on this page it appears that the earliest proceedings of the Commission were guided by "the suggestion of the Government of India"; it appears that the Commission of its own motion "called for evidence from some of the persons present in England who have held responsible posts under the British Government in China," that is, Mr. H. N. Lay and Sir Thomas Wade, whose attempts to whitewash the Opium war were well known. And they took this course because they "thought it impossible to form a complete judgment on the moral objections raised against the Indian Opium revenue system without considering the effects of that trade abroad." Among the effects of that trade abroad none are more conspicuous than the conflict with the Chinese Government. There is therefore no room for misunderstanding the meaning of the Commission. They were appointed by the House of Commons for one purpose; they themselves of their own accord resolved to turn their Commission to another. The Indian Government was eager to secure a complete vindication from the moral stigma inflicted on itself and its Opium system by the House of Commons resolution. A little group of out-and-out defenders of the Opium habit and the

Opium revenue, most of them retired Anglo-Indian officials, had for some years constituted themselves a sort of informal, unorganized, Pro-Opium Society, the head-quarters of which were at the Society of Arts. These were also eager for the fray. The Anti-Opium party, although it did not see the need of re-opening the controversy which they regarded as settled by the House of Commons resolution, were not at all reluctant to "fight their battles o'er again." Thus, by a general consensus of feeling, the usurpation by the Commissioners of the function of judges in the moral controversy was winked at. They were self-elected arbiters it is true; but had they judged impartially and fearlessly, had they pronounced a verdict based on right moral principles and in accordance with the facts and the evidence, then they would have deserved well of their country, and received the thanks of all honest men. In 1893 they started with the good-will of all parties concerned.

How have they fulfilled their self-imposed task? In 1895 they are reduced to the painful necessity of saying:—"References to past history are a prominent topic in the speeches and pamphlets of those who are working for the prohibition of the export from India to China. *We do not feel that we are called upon as a Commission to pass a judgment on the disputed facts of history, nor are we qualified to do so.*"

What are we to think of this astounding confession? In the first place, the Commission is debarred by its own action from employing the plea that it was not appointed to judge the past history. It was not appointed to "pass a complete judgment on the moral objections to the Opium revenue system." But it undertook to do this. And, to form a complete moral judgment, the history must necessarily be taken into account. This was known in 1893 as clearly as in 1895. Nor can the phrase "disputed facts of history" be allowed to pass without censure. The phrase is essentially false. All the main facts of the story are undisputed. Mr. Dane and Sir James Lyall accept and make use of them just as the Anti-Opiumists do. In one or two cases they may be open to criticism and correction, but in the main their history is the same as ours. There is hardly a shade of uncertainty hanging over the history. It is so recent—most of it falling within the memory of many living men; the records are so abundant—most

of them of an official character. Dispute about the facts hardly exists: what is disputed is the moral judgment which ought to be passed upon the facts. This the Commission promised to give us. Why did it fail in performance?

"Nor are we qualified to do so." In what sense must we accept this acknowledgment? Is it sham modesty? The case is too grave for that. Men who have been deemed qualified to serve on this Royal Commission, men who are and have been governors of colonies, members of Parliament, high officials in the Indian service,—such men cannot reasonably plead intellectual unfitness, and yet, if that is not their meaning, what is it? Is it moral unfitness? Certainly their abdication shows a sad lack of moral courage.

Possibly, could we know the nature of their private deliberations, we should find that they disagreed in opinion. But, if so, it had been wiser and honester to state this. In fine, we are left in the dark. The confession of the Commission remains inexplicable. A suspicion may arise that they plead incompetency to hide something worse. Possibly, at the outset, the friends and advisers who suggested their course of action, assured them confidently that the Anti-Opium case would be smashed to atoms. Possibly, Lord Brassey and the representatives of the Indian Government set out bravely with this secret expectation. Then, after evidence had been taken, and some study of the history achieved, the Commission discovered its mistake. The history cannot be justified. The men are too honest to say that black is white. They are not honest enough to pronounce a verdict condemnatory of the Indian Government and the British Government. So they take refuge in a plea of incompetence.

One thing stands out in strong relief. All that the friends of the Opium revenue and the Indian Government could do was done. In spite of all, the Opium trade could not get a verdict in its favour. Mr. Dane, of the Indian Civil Service, compiled the earlier history: Sir James Lyall marshalled the arguments. Mr. Lay and Sir Thomas Wade gave their view of the facts—almost without any reply from the Anti-Opium side. All was unavailing: the case against the Opium trade was too clear and too strong to be condemned. The Commission's plea of incompetence is equivalent to an acknowledgment that the Opium trade has a past

which cannot be justified. It is a thousand pities that the Commission lacked moral courage to admit this.

And now we are driven to put this question to the members of the Commission: After having confessed your incompetence to judge the history, was it right, was it honest, to make a show of judging the China question as you have done? Why did you not at this point admit your original error, and resolve to restrict your judgment to those matters concerning which Her Majesty had given you her commands? That would have been the honest course: for surely men who saw their unfitness to judge the past history cannot trust their own judgment of the existing state of affairs. The present has grown out of the past: its roots are there. You cannot cut it off at any particular point and deal with it as though that was the beginning of all things. Of course in history there must be a statute of limitations. We do not seriously discuss the claims of the heir of the Stuarts, nor take ourselves to task for George the Third's treatment of the American colonies. There is dead history and there is living history. The series of events in China from the earlier part of the century to the present day is a living whole, the end of which no man can foresee: and it is impossible arbitrarily to divide the chain. This being so, the worst fault of the Commission was its continuing its attempt to judge the Chinese side of the Opium question, after acknowledging its own incompetence. But we shall now hear from its own mouth its self-defence in this case.

“PRESENT POSITION OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN RESPECT TO
IMPORTED OPIUM.

“143. *It is less necessary, however, to review the history of the past, because the present relations of the trade between India and China are regulated by the Chefoo Convention, which was ratified as recently as the year 1885. Opium had been legalized as an article of import into China by the Regulations supplementary to the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, the duty of 30 taels* per chest, which was then imposed upon the drug, being estimated by Lord Elgin to be about 5 per cent. ad valorem. It had been subjected also to a varying rate of li-kin, or internal transit duty, at the different ports of entry, as the Chinese Government might think fit.*”

* A tael is a piece of silver weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.

In order to understand the defence which the Commissioners imply, rather than express, we have to supply missing links. The authors of the Report were not confined by any limits of space. As it stands the Report extends over nearly a hundred pages. The compressed and confused style of these paragraphs must therefore be set down to a real embarrassment. The authors have a bad case, and they do not care to express themselves over clearly. Here, however, we are fairly safe in supposing them to rest their choice of 1885 as their starting point, on the fact that the negotiations in London in that year were free from the inauspicious associations of war and of compulsion which are inseparable from the preceding Treaties and Conventions. They may be supposed to say: "Prior to 1885 there were wars and diplomatic struggles, about which there has been much conflict of opinion. We have frankly owned our incompetence to pass a verdict on the preceding history; but at this point we reach a stage of tranquility and voluntary agreements. Sir Joseph Pease and his party have freely admitted the great difference between this latest Agreement and all that went before. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade worked for years to bring it about, and hailed its achievement as a moral victory. This being so, we take our stand on secure ground, and are not debarred from delivering judgment, even though we have acknowledged our inability to pronounce a verdict on the previous history." The suggested defence might have been accepted if only the Commissioners had, in this their last probation, manifested an unswerving impartiality, strained nothing to produce a false impression, and laid down solid conclusions based on righteous principles. Let us follow their course of argument.

"144. Under clause 2 of the Additional Article to the Convention of Chefoo, the li-kin duty was finally fixed at a uniform rate not exceeding 80 taels, and the consolidated duty of 110 taels per chest is levied by the Imperial Maritime Customs at the port of entry, before the opium can be taken out of bond. In a despatch addressed to Lord Granville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by Sir Thomas Wade, British Minister at Peking, dated the 15th of June, 1881, it is stated that although his Excellency Tso had, in the first instance, recommended a li-kin duty of 120 taels, Grand Secretary Li, after a little

fencing, had reduced his colleague's demand to 80 taels. This was the amount at which, after protracted negotiations, it was finally fixed in 1885, and Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in his despatch to the Government of India, dated the 22nd of January, 1885, used the following language:—

“ You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last,* admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing, and includes all that they desire.”

To present in one view the argument of the Report, let us add here the first words of the next paragraph: “ The existing regulations therefore must be taken to be in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese Government ”: and the summing up in paragraph 146—“ We come, therefore, to the conclusion that at the present time there is nothing in the attitude of the British Government that can fairly be described as forcing opium on the Chinese.”

The Report might have done us honour and justice by acknowledging that ten years ago we anticipated its judgment. In September, 1885, immediately after the publication of the Agreement, the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, in its organ *The Friend of China*, said, “ A study of the papers will show how complete and decisive the surrender has been. Henceforth we shall never more hear of forcing opium upon China. It would be wrong to undervalue so great a gain. We sincerely congratulate our Government, our country, and our Society on the result. The past cannot be altered. The new agreement makes no pretence of atoning for it. But at least it is a distinct abandonment of the old policy of coercion.”† Perhaps we were a little too exultant. There is one word in these sentences which is open to criticism. Instead of saying a *distinct* abandonment, it would have been more exact had we said a *practical* abandonment, or an *actual* abandonment: for there is no explicit declaration of abandonment in the agreement, nor did the British Government make any open avowal of abandonment, so far as the printed papers show. This omission was noted at the time.‡ A minority of the Anti-Opium party on account of this omission refused to recognize the abandonment of

* Given as the 30th September in Return C. 4448 (5 of 1885).

† *Friend of China*, Vol. VIII., pp. 129-130.

‡ *Friend of China*, Vol. VIII., p. 148.

coercion. Sir Joseph Pease, however, wrote to the *Times* that in his view, "China, for the first time, has been treated by England as an independent Power, and so far as China is concerned the victory of our agitation is as complete as it can be under the circumstances with which we have *now* to deal."*

This being so ; the Commission having thus merely plagiarised without acknowledgment the conclusion of the Anti-Opium Society dated ten years ago ; what is there to dispute about ? In the first place, though the Commission has stolen our conclusion it has denied our premises—and by that denial has cut away the basis of the conclusion, leaving it hanging in the air, without any foundation to rest upon. In the second place, they have endeavoured to hide this incurable defect by false reasoning. They deny the actual historical antecedents by their conclusion, "that to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is to say the least an exaggeration !" But if Opium was not forced upon China previously to 1885, then there was no vital change in British policy in 1885, there was no ceasing from coercion, no new departure : the exultation of the Anti-Opium party was a delusion, and the adoption of the date 1885 as their starting point by the Commission is incapable of justification.

CRITICISM OF THEIR ARGUMENT.

The statements of fact in paragraphs 143 and 144 are correct. It must be noted, however, that the Commissioners themselves cannot adhere to their own proposition to neglect previous history by dealing only with 1885. The Additional Article of 1885 grew out of the Chefoo Convention of 1876 ; that again involves the Regulations of 1858. Between them both was the unratified Convention by Sir Rutherford Alcock, which, though unratified, is of the highest value for the light it throws upon both the preceding and the subsequent ratified agreements. To determine not to consider the previous history is to study the event of 1885 with eyes blindfolded. What are the grounds upon which the Report takes its stand, in order to prove that opium is now not forced upon China ? They quote nothing from the agreement of 1885 to prove it. They are obliged, therefore, to

* Letter dated 17th August, 1885.

look outside of the Additional Article for something which can be advanced as proof. They discover this in two statements, one made by Sir Thomas Wade, the other by Lord Kimberley. Sir Thomas Wade, the author of the Chefoo Convention, and Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, can hardly be regarded as the fittest spokesmen for the Chinese Government and people, in a case wherein China appears as plaintiff and Great Britain is the accused. This is intruding into the very field of history, where they are, according to their confession, not qualified to judge. But let us hear them.

SIR THOMAS WADE AND THE CHEFOO CONVENTION.

The Chefoo Convention was signed in 1876 by Sir Thomas Wade and Li Hung Chang. In 1885 this Convention was ratified with an Additional Article appended thereto. From the long negotiations spread over nine years, the Report selects one statement belonging to 1881, in order to prove that China, though with some apparent reluctance, reduced its demand for *li-kin* duty from 120 to 80 taels. The fact was as stated; but so far as it goes, there is no proof here of China's freedom and voluntary action: rather the contrary. On the Report's own showing, in 1881 China was not free, could not regulate her internal taxation at her own discretion. And it was only after "protracted negotiations," extending over nearly four years more, that at length Her Majesty's Government yielded to the reduced demand. Sir Thomas Wade, then, furnishes no ground upon which the Commission can take its stand. But even to construct this semblance of an argument, the Commission is obliged to appeal to the history. We will follow their example, and give the barest outline of the story of the Chefoo Convention, taken mainly from Sir Thomas Wade himself, in the Blue Book from which the Commission has extracted its bit of evidence.

Sir Thomas Wade felt the necessity of narrating the historical antecedents, and went back to the first war. His reference to this is as follows: "*The steps taken by the High Commissioner, Lin, to suppress the trade in opium, had been, it will be remembered, the immediate occasion of our first war with China.*"* He then describes the circumstances between 1842 to 1858, on account of

* *China*, No. 3 (1882), page 43.

which "Lord Elgin suggested once more the introduction of opium into the Tariff";* refers to the Opium-clause in the Regulations of 1858, and asserts Lord Elgin's intention to have been this: "If the Chinese would but include opium in the Tariff, they were to be free to do what they pleased with it." † The clause Lord Elgin adopted is to this effect: "The transit dues on it will be arranged as the Chinese Government see fit." ‡

But the old difficulty, Opium smuggling, re-appeared. The Tariff Regulation provided that the "importers shall sell it only at the port." After it was sold to a Chinaman, the drug was to be at the mercy of the Chinese Government. The importers, however, contended that within the port area, no *li-kin* should be levied. The exaction of *li-kin* from the Chinese purchaser within the settlements occupied by the British and other foreign merchants was protested against and even resisted. Sir Thomas Wade contended that the foreign merchants were in the wrong, that the Treaty gave them no claim for an area exempt from the *li-kin* duty.§ Nevertheless, smuggling continued; consequently the Chinese could only levy a low *li-kin*, and that was frequently evaded.

In 1876, Sir Thomas Wade entered upon a Convention at Chefoo with Li Hung Chang; it was not altogether a pacific negotiation, for its occasion was the demand for reparation for the murder of a young Consular official in Yunnan, and Sir Thomas Wade was obliged to menace war and summon a fleet to extort the reparation. The British Minister took advantage of the opportunity to obtain the opening of four new treaty ports, and also other facilities for trade, while on his side he proposed to sanction an arrangement by which the dispute about *li-kin* on Opium was to be settled in favour of China. This was a regulation that all Opium should be "deposited in bond" until sold. When sold the importer was to pay the import duty, the purchaser the *li-kin*. The amount of the *li-kin* was to be decided by the Chinese, in accordance with the Tientsin Regulation. In this way smuggling would be impossible, and China would get its full revenue. In respect to this Sir Thomas Wade wrote: "The drug will bear heavier taxation. . . . The Chinese have a

* *Ibid.*, page 44. † *Ibid.* ‡ Treaty of Tientsin. Tariff. Rule 5.
§ *China*, No. 3 (1882), page 49.

right so to tax it, and my stipulation, while it adds nothing to the power of raising the rate of taxation already in their hands, secures to them the full amount of the tax that may be imposed. This is simple justice." *

Poor Sir Thomas Wade! An honest man, a good man, he sincerely desired to accord to China "simple justice"; and he actually expected that his Government would ratify the Chefoo Convention! But he was not so foolish as to expect that the Indian Government would assent to an arrangement which would imperil, or diminish, its Opium revenue. "By this very simple arrangement," he wrote, "I cannot see that the revenue of India is to suffer. It will not cause an ounce less of Indian opium to be sold than at present." † That was his firm expectation, and in that confidence he hoped to secure China the "simple justice" of permitting her to protect her own Opium revenue against smugglers. But he was soon undeceived. The Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai quickly made the discovery that "if this clause be agreed to, the Chinese will have it in their power by the imposition of heavy duties to extinguish the Indian trade." They sounded the alarm, and it was speedily re-echoed from India. Alas! for "simple justice," when the interests of India were endangered. Great Britain having got the four new ports opened to trade, refused to ratify the Convention without modifications introduced to safeguard the Indian Opium revenue. Space is lacking to narrate in detail the stages of the tedious negotiations which dragged on through weary years. One most important incident, however, must not be allowed to slip into oblivion.

LORD SALISBURY STANDS BY THE SMUGGLERS.

On May 9th, 1879, Lord Carnarvon introduced the subject into the House of Lords. Lords Hammond and Stanley of Alderley joined in regretting that the ratification of the Convention had been so long delayed, and urged that China should be treated justly. The Marquis of Salisbury, however, bluntly and boldly opposed ratification on the ground that, in the existing state of things, smuggling was "not a very difficult matter, and therefore there is a natural check upon these provincial governors which prevents them raising *li-kin* to an extravagant amount." But, if

* *China*, No. 3 (1882), page 58.

† *Ibid.*, page 57.

the Convention were ratified, "in that case smuggling would be absolutely barred, and the tax upon Opium might be raised to any amount provincial governors pleased. *That would be a result which practically would neutralise the policy which hitherto has been pursued by this country in respect to that drug.*" The candour of this acknowledgment is as admirable as its cynical indifference to honour and righteousness is humiliating. Lord Salisbury openly proclaimed that Great Britain's policy had been, and should continue to be, a policy of conniving at, and indirectly supporting, Opium smuggling in order to maintain the Indian revenue!

On June 3rd, 1882, Sir Thomas Wade wrote to Earl Granville, "I earnestly advocate acquiescence in the proposal that a uniform rate of *li-kin* be levied." But as to its amount, he added, "it must be for Her Majesty's Government to decide which rate, if any, it will consent to." "Simple justice" had been thrown to the winds, and naked compulsion took its place. The Chinese Government was restless under this treatment. Tso Tsung T'ang, the conqueror of Kashgar, urged his Government to put a *li-kin* of 150 taels on Opium, on its own authority. But the Chinese Government did not venture to push matters to an extremity. For years they persevered; and for years Sir Thomas Wade resisted their appeals.

So far, therefore, as the Report's reference to Sir Thomas Wade is concerned, there is nothing whatever to be found to establish the freedom of China. On the contrary it has conducted us to a plain proof that by the negotiations connected with his name, Great Britain was literally forcing the Opium trade upon China. The refusal to allow China to have the power of putting a prohibitive duty to hinder Indian Opium from entering China, was a left-handed way of forcing that Opium into China, and the left-handed way was quite as tyrannical as a right-handed way, and, except when boldly acknowledged by Lord Salisbury, has the additional stigma of being hypocritical. Let us now turn to

LORD KIMBERLEY'S EVIDENCE.

To appreciate this, we must recall the antecedents. The negotiations at Peking had failed. Neither Government would give way. The Chinese Government might have adopted Tso Tsung T'ang's advice. It could have arbitrarily imposed a duty of 150

taels, and at the same time have issued an edict decreeing that all imported Opium must be in charge of the Imperial Maritime Customs, as proposed by the Chefoo Convention. But this would have been at the risk of war. At that time Sir James Fergusson's declaration had not been made; and if it had, in view of Lord Salisbury's previous declaration, the Chinese Government might well anticipate that the British Government would do more than wink at, would heartily welcome the revival of the illicit trade. They, therefore, wisely resolved not to run risks, but once more to press for "simple justice" in London. At first they had claimed ratification of the Chefoo clause as it stood, with the acknowledgment that China possessed full power to levy any *li-kin* she pleased. Now they lowered their demands. The Marquis Tsêng was instructed to agree to a fixed rate, but to stand out for 80 taels. He was also authorised to promise that no further exactions should be levied.

Both the Memoranda to which Lord Kimberley refers preceded the actual Agreement. The first Lord Granville met with a *non possumus*: "Her Majesty's Government cannot entertain the suggestion that the *li-kin* payment should be fixed at 80 taels." But the British Government would accept 70 taels as a basis of negotiation. So the matter had to be referred to Peking. A year and a half afterwards the Marquis sent the second Memorandum expressing his Government's gratification that Her Majesty's Government had given "proof of a desire" to settle the question satisfactorily, again insisting on the 80 taels, and hinting that the Chinese Government could act without asking the consent of Her Majesty's Government, although they readily admitted the advantage of a definite understanding.

In neither memorandum is there anything which supports Lord Kimberley's words, "unreservedly" and "all that they desire," if these are supposed to refer to the Opium question as a whole and for ever. The Chinese Minister distinctly limited the discussion to "the subject of the duties on the importation of Opium into China in connection with Section 3 of Article III. of the Chefoo Agreement"*; and there is not a word in the whole correspondence which applies to anything beyond this particular detail of the question. Even as regards the Chefoo Convention,

* *China*, No. 5 (1885), page 1.

the Additional Article falls far short of all that China desired. China wanted and pleaded for unrestricted power of levying *li-kin*, but had to be content with a definitely restricted power. No doubt it was true that under the circumstances, having regard to their previous rebuffs and their consequently limited demands, China was well satisfied with the diplomatic victory; but there is nothing here which proves China's freedom. Let us see whether the next paragraph will supply the deficiency.

"145. The existing regulations, therefore, must be taken to be in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese Government. The Convention is terminable by either Government at 12 months' notice, in which case the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin would revive, and the Chinese Government would be at liberty to levy li-kin at any rate they might think proper. In 1897 the Chinese Government could give notice of a revision of the Tariff and Commercial Regulations under the Treaty of Tientsin, to take effect from 1898. They would then be at liberty to raise the import duty to any rate they think fit, or to include opium in the category of contraband, as ammunition and salt are included under the existing provisions. With regard to the future we have the declaration of Sir James Fergusson, as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made in the House of Commons on April the 10th, 1891:—

"That if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or to shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend £1 in powder or shot, or lose the life of a soldier, in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese."

Here we have again an argument clenched by a quotation. The argument is to the effect that if the Additional Article of 1885 is to some extent a limitation of China's freedom of action to-day; yet it contains provisions by availing herself of which China will be able, after some delay, to secure perfect liberty of action. Let us test the argument, link by link. The first link is sound. By clause 7 of the Additional Article, China "may at any time give twelve months' notice of its desire to terminate it, and such notice being given, it shall terminate accordingly." The Article ceasing to have force—will China then be free? No. In that case "the Regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin shall revive." But

there is also provision made for the termination of the Tientsin Regulations. "In 1897 the Chinese Government could give notice of a revision . . . to take effect from 1898. They would then be at liberty to raise the import duty to any rate they think fit, or to include Opium in the category of contraband." Is this correct? Let us refer to the text of the Treaty and of the Regulations appended thereto.

Article XXVII. of the Treaty of Tientsin, says: "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 ten years"; but it does not say that the other High Contracting Party shall be obliged to accept the terms of revision asked for.

Rule 5 of the Tariff Agreement contains no explicit declaration that China shall be allowed, at any decennial period, to raise the duty at her own pleasure, or to include Opium among contraband articles. It enacts that "the transit dues on it will be arranged as the Chinese Government see fit," but it gives China no power to increase the import duty. When the Additional Article is repealed, the bonded-warehouse system will no longer subsist under sanction of a treaty. Consequently, the former alliance between the British Government and Opium smugglers, which Lord Salisbury refused to abandon in 1879, will revive. This was the expectation of Lord Hartington and the Government of India in 1881. Lord Hartington was at that time "prepared to resist, by all legitimate means, a return on the part of the Chinese Government to a policy which would tend to revive the illicit trade."* To this the Indian Government replied: "This is undoubtedly of great importance. On two separate occasions, namely, in 1839 and in 1857, Opium-smuggling has led to war with China, and however true it may be, as has been stated, that there is a 'moral certainty that the English people would not enter upon another Opium war,' it is quite impossible to foresee the complications which might eventually spring from fiscal arrangements, based upon a radically unsound economic principle."† On this account Lord Hartington resisted giving China freedom to prohibit the import, either directly or by high

* Opium (Negotiations with China) 1882, (C. 3378).

† *Ibid.*

duties. But whatever might happen under circumstances which do not at present exist, it is certain that the Treaty of Tientsin and its Tariff Regulations confer upon China no other right than that of proposing to Great Britain that there shall be a revision; and thereafter proposing to Great Britain that the duty shall be increased, or that Opium shall be made contraband.

“ I can call spirits from the vasty deep.”

“ But will they come, if you do call for them ? ”

China may propose, but will Great Britain consent? At all events the Treaties and Conventions do not impose any obligation upon Great Britain to consent to any terms whatsoever. In this respect, the Additional Article of 1885 governs the situation; clause 8 of which distinctly declares: “ The high contracting parties may, by common consent, adopt any modifications of the provisions of the present Additional Article which experience may show to be desirable.” China may propose: Great Britain may oppose. That is all that the Treaties settle.

Conscious of the weakness of their argument, the Commissioners attempt to strengthen it by quoting Sir James Fergusson's statement in the House of Commons.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON'S DECLARATION.

Far from wishing to depreciate this important declaration, we may remind the Commission that they owe it to Sir Joseph Pease and the Anti-Opium Crusade. But although Sir James Fergusson spoke with official responsibility, and, doubtless, with the approval of the Government then in power, such a declaration is not equivalent to an article in a Treaty, and the Government on behalf of which the assurance was given is no longer in power. Moreover, even on the assumption that the declaration were renewed by the present and every succeeding Government, that would not of itself suffice to secure to China practical freedom. The Indian Government has already pointed out that moral intentions are not sufficient security. The British Government might scrupulously adhere to the pledge thus given; but if the old policy of conniving at and participating in the “ illicit traffic ” is revived, Opium would be forced into China as it was before 1858. There are more ways than one of coercing a weak nation. To give China nominal freedom, and to collect from her a revenue for India by

the aid of smugglers, would be a return to the darkest and worst stage of the Opium trade.

It is vain, therefore, to offer us Sir James Fergusson's declaration as constituting a guarantee and a proof that Great Britain has actually restored to China her liberty to do as she thinks fit. That declaration is merely a declaration of sentiment: honest sentiment, sincerely felt, but of no legal or international force. It adds not an iota to the existing Treaties and Conventions; and these existing Treaties and Conventions permit China to ask for anything, but do not bind Britain to grant anything.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION'S CONCLUSION.

"142. We come therefore to the conclusion that at the present time there is nothing in the attitude of the British Government that can fairly be described as forcing opium on the Chinese."

The reasoning by which the Report supports this conclusion is, we have seen, unsound and misleading. The conclusion itself is correct, but unsatisfactory, if it is presented to us as a conclusion in which Great Britain may righteously and with good conscience rest contented.

The conclusion is correct as a mere statement of fact. But the fact is not of a legal nature, made by and embodied in Convention and Article. The fact is an historical fact: one of a class of facts of which the Commission owns its inability to judge. There was force, actual force, armed ships, armed men, war, bombardment, slaughter, behind the Treaty of Nanking; there was force, of the like brutal nature, behind the Treaty of Tientsin; there was no war, but there were armed ships, and menace of war, behind the Chefoo Convention. During all the tedious negotiations carried on by Sir Thomas Wade, the British arguments rested on the same fear of war in the background. In connection with the negotiations of 1883-1885, there was no force—neither actual, nor threatened. Since that time there has been no action on the part of the British Government which can be construed, even by suspicious minds, as constituting or even hinting at using force to protect the Opium trade. The statement of paragraph 142 is a bald statement of fact.

Another ground for accepting this conclusion is a sad one, and we regret to write it, but it is the truth. During these recent

negotiations, and since these negotiations, the Chinese Government has refrained from making any demand for the prohibition of the import of Opium, or even any profession that at some future time they will make such demand. We forced Opium into China when China declared Opium contraband; we refused to listen to China when she implored us to join her in prohibiting the trade; we refused the ratification of the Chefoo Convention to prevent China from imposing a prohibitive duty. That was forcing—because China resisted. Where there is no resistance we cannot assert there is force. *If* China at this time really elects to have the Opium trade and its revenue rather than not to have it, then it would be absurd to say that Great Britain is now forcing the drug into China.

But here the question arises, Is this a conclusion with which Great Britain can rightly be satisfied and rest content?

In this place we are considering the question on its international side, as distinct from the medical question. If Opium is a demoralising and enslaving drug, our national position as the owners and managers of a colossal Opium-trading concern, which spreads ruin among millions of the Chinese, is indefensible and intolerable. But, apart from this consideration, and looking only at the international relations, it is conceivable that a perfectly voluntary trade might not be open to moral objections. For illustration—France and Britain are both producers and consumers of alcoholic liquors. The abuse of alcohol is a serious evil in both countries, but it does not appear that this evil is enhanced by French brandy entering England or by English gin entering France. So China and India are both Opium-producing countries, and if China is perfectly free and of her own accord admits Indian Opium, why should there be any political grievance in the matter? In such a state of affairs the anti-Opium feeling in this country would not be what it is.

But such a state of affairs is purely ideal. The Opium trade of to-day cannot be separated from its past. We have shown that Opium was forced upon China as recently as 1882. Are we quite sure that China is, and feels herself, perfectly free now? No one can be quite sure of this. True, during the latest negotiations no protest was raised against the Opium trade by China. This may have been because China has now abandoned her former

antagonism, and is, like India, fascinated by her Opium revenue. But also, this may have been because China was convinced by the attitude and action of Great Britain, from 1839 to 1882, that to obtain Britain's consent to prohibition was hopeless. To one who studies the history it will seem improbable that China should have any other conviction.

Again, it is quite possible that in recent years a pro-Opium policy has been in favour in Peking. Considering China's sore need of money to pay the Japanese war indemnity, and restore her own financial position, it would not be surprising if at this moment the Chinese Government were to hesitate before parting with their Opium revenue. But if a pro-Opium party prevails to-day, the old and prevalent anti-Opium feeling may come to the front again to-morrow.

Under these circumstances, the present state of affairs cannot be regarded as final. It is true that the Chinese Government turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the Anti-Opium Society, and did not repeat, in 1885, the demand for a joint prohibition which Britain rejected in 1869. It is equally true that the British Government turned a deaf ear to the appeal of the Anti-Opium Society, that a plain and explicit declaration should be communicated to the Chinese Government, to the effect that Great Britain would not in any way restrain China's liberty of action in dealing with the Opium trade. Has not the time to make this communication now come? Until such a communication has been made Great Britain is not clear from suspicion. We know that Sir James Fergusson proclaimed that Britain would never wage another Opium war: but we know also that the Indian Government has urged that it is by no means safe to rely upon such a promise, and we know also that the Indian Government is to-day as eager and as determined as ever to maintain its Opium revenue. If the matter is left to the Indian Government, there will be no war in the first instance, but there will be no relinquishment of the Opium revenue, which means that there will be a renewal of Opium smuggling, with all the disgrace and the dangers that attended it in the past.

A. HIGH LEGAL OPINION.

For we must not blind our eyes to the fact that *if* China does demand her liberty, and does prohibit the Opium trade, Great

Britain will be under the strongest moral obligation *to stop the Opium monopoly production*. Not only under a moral obligation, but according to former legal advisers of the Crown, under a treaty obligation. It has fallen much out of sight in this controversy, but ought not to be overlooked, that in 1857, on the motion of the Earl of Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, the Court of Directors of the East India Company was "requested" to take a legal opinion as to their Opium monopoly. The case was referred by the Court to "the Queen's Advocate, the Attorney and Solicitor General, and the Company's Standing Counsel." The opinion was given, and is on record. It is decidedly adverse to the monopoly system, pronouncing it "though not an actual and direct infringement of the Treaty, yet at variance with its spirit and intention, and with the conduct due to the Chinese Government by that of Great Britain as a friendly power, bound by a treaty which implies that all smuggling into China will be discountenanced by Great Britain."

The immediate duty incumbent on Great Britain is to remove the last shadow of suspicion from herself by unequivocally, in the most solemn, public, and direct manner, restoring to China her natural and rightful liberty of action, with which Great Britain has undoubtedly interfered from 1840 to 1882. This is the course of action recommended by a member of the Royal Commission, Mr. Haridas Veharidas, in his Memorandum annexed to the Report: "I would suggest that an official communication might be sent from the British Government to the Chinese Government, informing the latter that any action on their part towards the stoppage of the importation of Indian opium into China, would be unhampered by the Treaty obligations entered into by them with the British Government." When this recommendation has been carried into effect, the responsibility, on the political side, will rest with the rulers of China. But until then, we must raise our protest against the conclusion of the Royal Commission. Under the circumstances we maintain that it is the duty of Great Britain to take the first step. Let us clear ourselves, as far as possible, by an open repudiation of what has hitherto been the policy of this country, from the wrong of past days. Let our Government and our nation assure the Chinese Government that henceforth Great Britain will in no way interfere with China's

perfect freedom of action ; that China may prohibit or tax Opium as she pleases, may establish bonded-warehouses, or safeguard her revenue in any other legitimate way ; and that Great Britain will use its power to compel British subjects to obey the laws of China while residing in Chinese territory, or visiting Chinese ports. The British Government demands ex-territorial rights and privileges for her citizens in China, and is therefore responsible for their conformity to the just laws of that country.

AN OMISSION POINTED OUT.

We have found upon examination that the Final Report of the Royal Commission on the China Question does not establish the conclusion which it wishes to establish. We have now to point out that it does perfectly establish a conclusion which it omits to mention. The Report fails to justify the Opium trade: it is a complete justification of Sir Joseph Pease and the anti-Opium agitation. Sir Joseph Pease and his followers have had to bear some abuse. They have been called by defenders of the Opium revenue "faddists," "fanatics," "lunatics," "birds that foul their own nests," and so forth. And yet it comes out as clear as daylight that to the anti-Opium agitation the Indian Government owes its escape from the direct and scathing censure of the Royal Commission. As regards India itself, the anti-Opium action in Burma, the decrees against Opium-smoking dens in India, are reforms which were wrung from the Indian Government by the persevering agitation of Sir Joseph Pease and his party in Parliament and at the India Office. If the Indian Government had been left alone, these reforms would not have been effected, and their defence on the Indian side would have been a failure. But in regard to China, to which *the* Opium question belongs, the only refuge of the Indian Government is that Additional Article, which it opposed to the last! Had not the Chefoo Convention been ratified, where would the Indian Government be now? In the pillory of a public condemnation by a Royal Commission. The two Governments—that of Britain and that of India, for they are united in this business—have for the moment just managed to evade this public shame, because the Royal Commission has this semblance of defence to offer, "Great Britain is not now forcing Opium on China, as the

Additional Article shows." This vantage-ground on which the Royal Commission plants its feet, they owe entirely to the anti-Opium agitators, yet they accept the advantage without one word of recognition of Sir Joseph Pease's services!

But if the Commission could pass by these great services in silence, the records of their work contain a testimony to Sir Joseph Pease and the agitators which should put them to the blush. In that despatch from Lord Kimberley to the Indian Government which the Report quotes, Lord Kimberley explains his reasons for giving assent to the ratification. The last of these is as follows:—

"6. Finally, the anti-opium agitation in this country, already serious and likely to be yet more formidable in a new House of Commons, is a factor in the present question to be taken into grave consideration. For some time past the leaders of that movement in Parliament have been chiefly insisting on the injustice of preventing China from doing what she desires as regards the taxation of Indian opium. If the present Chinese proposals are accepted, the answer to this argument will be obvious and conclusive. You will observe that the Chinese Ministers' Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing, and includes all that they desire, but should the negotiation be broken off on the question of the amount of the uniform rate, an answer would not be easy to frame, and I need not remind your Excellency that the adoption by the House of Commons of a resolution, such as has been repeatedly moved, condemnatory of your opium revenue, would prove embarrassing to your Government."

This amounts to an acknowledgment that the ratification of the Convention with its Additional Article was brought about by the anti-Opium agitation. The fact is unquestionable. The ratification of the Chefoo Convention is not due to Lord Salisbury, nor to Mr. Gladstone, nor to Earl Kimberley; it is due to Sir Joseph Pease and Sir Mark Stewart, to Mr. Samuel Smith and Mr. Alfred Webb, and their supporters in the House of Commons; who, in this long contest, strove for truth and righteousness, and at the same time for their country's honour and her highest interests. The one thing which the Final Report proves is that these men deserve a vote of thanks from both Houses of Parliament and from the Indian Government, and that one thing the Commission had not the grace and the magnanimity to mention. The omission is not worth notice for its own sake, but I hold it up, to

public view because it seems to me a convincing evidence of the extent to which the Commission had, insensibly it may be, sunk into the position of a mere tool in the hands of the Indian Government and lost almost the last shred of independence and impartiality. The Report is the Report of the Indian Government, drawn up by their agent, Mr. Baines. But Lord Brassey and his colleagues, save one, put their names to it, and must bear the responsibility for its contents and its omissions.

F. STORRS TURNER.

OPIMUM IN MADRAS.

We have received the following interesting letter from Mr. W. Raju Naidu, whose visit to this country three years ago will be in the remembrance of many of our readers:—

Dear Sir,—I should have written to you earlier, but my heavy evangelistic work in a number of pariah villages in Madras leaves me little or no time for anything else. I add to this field of labour my exertions on behalf of the Anti-Opium propaganda. A good deal of my time is consumed in going about the city to accumulate facts to be utilised in the campaign. We are fighting a very up-hill battle; the Government, as the upholder of the monopoly, puts every possible obstacle in the way of investigation. But now that the terror of the Opium Royal Commission is removed, the officials here are not quite so watchful; and now is the time to get at the truth, as many of the Opium dens, designedly closed when evidence was being taken, are again in full swing. Such is the way of the Government that calls itself honest, and has declared, in connection with this question, that its one object is to arrive at the truth. I often visit the dens, and one of the most painful circumstances associated with the Opium habit is, I notice, that the unfortunate victims themselves are aware of their awful condition, and earnestly long to be released from their tyrant.* The collective misery produced by this vice does not appeal so nearly to the heart as the pathos of individual cases. To realise the untold evil worked, one must listen personally to the sad tale poured out by the poor sufferers themselves. The worst of it is that no earthly or spiritual remedy seems possible in such cases. They are so far gone in the fatal vice that to abandon it would result in death; which is one

* This is everywhere a characteristic of the Opium habit—at least, of the habit of Opium smoking. We have been spontaneously appealed to by Opium smokers in the dens of Bombay, of Gya, of Calcutta—where two members of the Opium Commission, Messrs. Wilson and Mowbray, were also present—and of Hong Kong to the same effect, that Government would shut up the dens, and thus save the poor victims; other salvation, they say, there is none for them.—ED. *F. of C.*

of the differences, and that the most terrible of all, between alcohol and Opium. The former may be stopped at any stage, but it may be truly written over the door of every Opium den—

“ Abandon hope, all ye who enter here.”

Truly the Government, by its policy, is incurring a terrible responsibility. However, we must go on working, hoping, through God's grace, that illumination will come eventually, and with illumination repentance, and with it deeds worthy of repentance.

Believe me, Dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully, in the service of Christ,

W. RAJU NAIDU.

No. 138, Pophams Broadway,
Black Town, Madras,
16th October, 1895.

A BIT OF SUPPRESSED EVIDENCE.

The following statement has been made by an Indian gentleman holding a position under the Indian Government that gives him special opportunities of forming an opinion on the merits of the Opium question :—

You ask my opinion about the Opium Commission : it has ended in smoke. The fact is that the Opium Department, like the Survey and the Police Departments, is the stand-by of the sons and relatives of Anglo-Indian officials who are good for nothing, as there is little or no competitive examination. It is to maintain these that officialdom in India supports the traffic.* I offered to tell the Commission what I knew of the effects and curse of Opium, which, as you understand from the position I occupy, is a matter on which I am peculiarly qualified to speak. But they [the officials] would not have it. Any official who expressed an opinion contrary to the wish of his superiors blasted his prospects. Independent witnesses were not sought, and official witnesses were instructed beforehand.

As to the effects of Opium, you have only to show me a man who uses it and I can pick him out anywhere. I do not say that a few strong-minded men may not use it with discretion without becoming its victims, but I say that it is the poor man's curse. It is not the Rajahs and Zemindars who consume it. If they did so, they, with their wealth, would not be affected by putting the drug on the same footing as in England, and the poor man would be saved. For the raising of so paltry a net revenue as Rx. 3,500,000 a year in such a land as India, it is absurd to maintain this curse. All this and

* This statement must, of course, be accepted with much qualification : many officials, whilst they support the traffic, are actuated by much less discredit-able motives. But there is, we know, a widely prevalent impression amongst educated native gentlemen to the effect stated, and the facts certainly lend colour to it.—ED. *F. of C.*

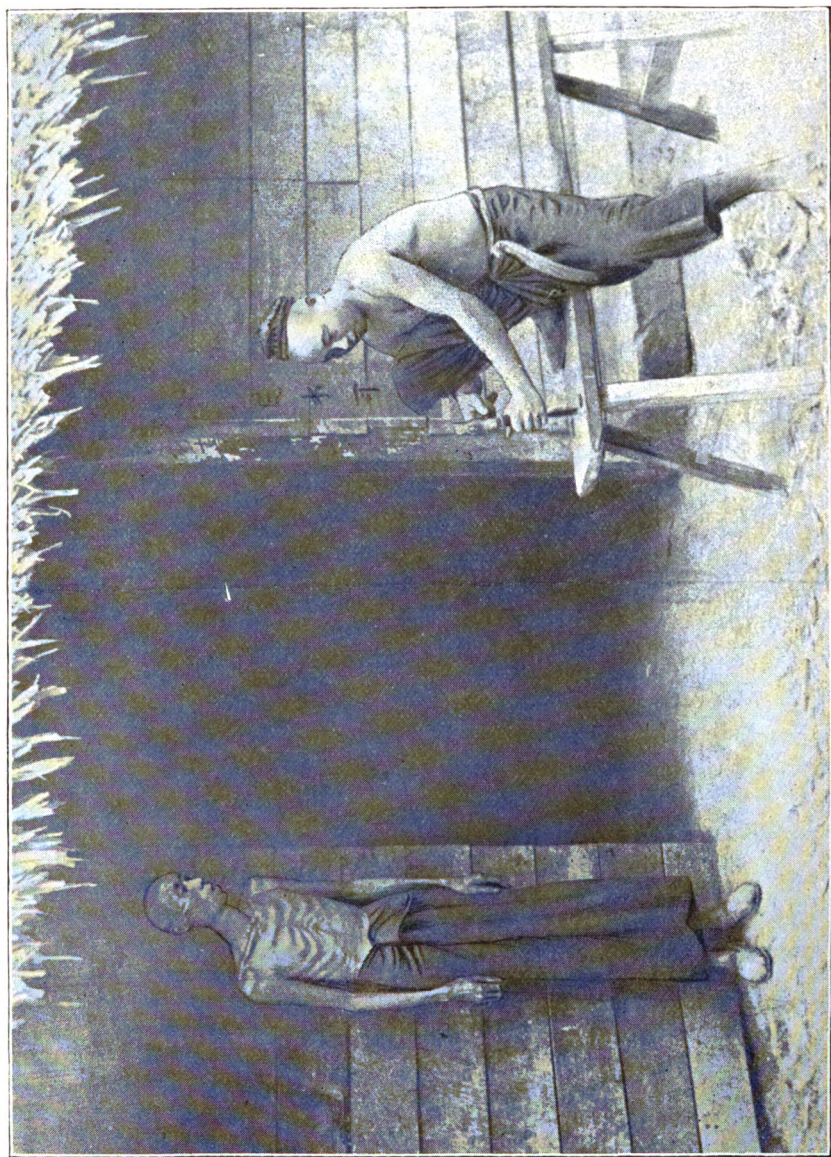
more could be raised by a tax on tobacco, which is consumed by all classes; but then that would not feed so many Europeans. The land that grows Opium is the richest in India, which could produce splendid crops of wheat, sugar-cane, indigo, &c., with larger returns to the cultivator. Opium is cultivated under a subsidy system, without giving freedom to the cultivator in the choice of crops, to suit his needs and requirements. The whole Opium Department is corrupt, and the cultivators are mercilessly under the power of its subordinate officials. These advance them money to enable them to grow the poppy. It is an opportunity for every needy man to raise cash. But woe if he neglects to fulfil his contract. The temptation to the impecunious native is immense, to say nothing of the bonuses and bounties offered to extend the cultivation. The man who gets entangled in it becomes a slave to the Department.

Notes and Extracts.

OPIMUM IN FORMOSA.—The *Chinese Recorder*, of Shanghai, writes:—"Now that Formosa belongs to Japan we hope that fair island may soon become free from the curse of Opium. According to recent statistics we notice that an average of seventy-seven per cent. of all the imports for the last ten years has been for Opium. Would the most pronounced pro-Opium agitator maintain that this sum could not and would not have been better spent and the people of that island have been immeasurably better off if Opium had been interdicted from the first? No doubt it was Opium even more than patriotism which caused the Formosans to dread the coming of the Japanese. But now, with over a million of Haikwan taels—say a million and a half of Mexican dollars—being diverted annually from the purchase of that drug, there is little doubt of the good effects which may be expected to follow. And if the Japanese had been a nation of Opium smokers—as are the Chinese—is it to be supposed for a moment that the Japanese army would have achieved such an uninterrupted succession of victories as it did during the late war? And is it not a sad comment upon the boasted civilization of England and France that if Formosa had fallen into the hands of either of these two powers the Opium would have been continued? And so we say, all honour to Japan, erstwhile called heathen." We notice that the China Association in London has been memorialising the Foreign Office to maintain former conditions of trade with Formosa. Opium is not mentioned, but we fear that it may be intended. We hope Japan will be firm in resisting any pressure to admit Opium into Formosa.—*Ed. F. of C.*

OPIMUM PROHIBITION IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—A deputation from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of South Australia, as we learn from the *Bombay Guardian*, waited on the Premier of that Colony in October last, urging the enactment of a measure to prevent the importation of Opium except for medicinal purposes, and were very sympathetically received. An Australian paper brings the news that in the Legislative Chamber at Adelaide on the 6th November, the Chief Secretary introduced a Bill to regulate the sale of Opium, which is not to be imported except for medical purposes. We shall heartily congratulate South Australia if, after all, she should be the first Australian Colony to obtain protection from the Opium vice.

A CALL FROM MISSIONARIES IN JAVA.—At the "Founders' Week Convention" held in London last November, to celebrate the centenary of the London Missionary Society, the Rev. F. Lion Cachet, representing the missionary work of the Reformed Church of Holland, said, at the close of a brief address, "I have only one minute more, and I will spend half that minute in saying that we look to England to help us to do away with the Opium curse, which is destroying our work in India"—*i.e.*, Netherlands India—"to the utmost."



CHINESE WORKMEN IN BURMA. A SMOKER AND A NON-SMOKER.

From a Photograph taken by an Official.

THE
FRIEND OF CHINA.

The Organ of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

VOL. XVI.

APRIL, 1896.

No. 2.

SUMMARY.

“Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression.”

Our Annual Meeting. THE Annual Business Meeting of the Society will be held this year at the Y.M.C.A., Aldersgate Street, on Wednesday, 20th May, at 4 p.m., when Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P., will preside, and Messrs. H. J. Wilson, M.P., and Samuel Smith, M.P., have promised to speak. A public meeting is to be held at 7.30 at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, arranged jointly with the Women's Committee, when Rev. C. G. Sparham, of Hankow, has consented to be one of the speakers.

The New Blue-Book. THE promised Blue-Book, containing the Indian Government's despatch on the conclusions of the Opium Commission, was only issued on the 7th inst., though it had been published in the *Gazette of India* on the 18th January, and formally presented to the House of Commons on the 2nd March. The delay in its appearance has led to a corresponding delay in putting down a notice of motion on behalf of the Anti-Opium party in the House of Commons. Our parliamentary leaders felt it to be essential that, before framing such a motion, they should know the precise extent of the concessions made by the Indian Government.

Why we want a Parliamentary Debate. WE hope it may be found possible, even yet, to raise a debate on the Opium question in the House of Commons this session. Such a debate, whatever the exact object of the motion, is especially to be desired as

affording an opportunity of exposing the uncandid and misleading character of the Majority Report. Last year the speeches on the Anti-Opium side were, of necessity, mainly occupied with an attack on the unconstitutional proceedings of the Royal Commission, and of the Indian Government with regard to it. This part of our case was so clearly proved, that no one ventured to attempt its disproof, though Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Mowbray had the fullest opportunity of meeting the allegations of Sir Joseph Pease and Mr. John Ellis, if there had been anything to say. The Indian Government, in its recent despatch, evades reply on this matter with even more than its usual adroitness. It expresses willingness to deal with Mr. Wilson's criticisms of its action, if the Secretary of State should desire it to do so. Seeing that the most serious of all the charges brought against it, alike by Mr. Wilson and by Mr. John Ellis, related to the gravely unconstitutional action of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who is now one of Lord George Hamilton's colleagues in the Cabinet, this was a perfectly safe offer. The Government of India, in effect, allows judgment to go against it by default, except on the single point of selecting witnesses, as to which it offers some further despatches, which do not affect the real point of the charge against it. Now that we have had time to carefully examine the Majority Report, it has become clear that a case can be made out against its contents, not less cogent and unanswerable than that which was then established against the methods by which its verdict in favour of the Indian Government had been obtained. Even Mr. Rowntree's admirable critique, which we commended to our readers three months ago, and which we hope they will help us to circulate much more widely than has been done as yet, deals with a comparatively small proportion of the misstatements with which the Report abounds. As Mr. Wilson truly said at the St. Martin's Hall Conference last December, "There is scarcely a single page of that Report, I might almost say a single paragraph, which, if thoroughly examined and carefully criticised, and the figures carefully checked, will not break down and be found to contain serious fallacies and serious errors."

**Chinese Feeling
against the
Import of
Indian Opium.**

ONE of the most glaring of these misstatements relates to the feeling of the people of China as regards the import of Indian Opium. The Commission sent to China a question in the following terms:—"15. Is there among the Chinese, in the part of China with which you are acquainted, any wish that England should not allow Opium to be exported from India?" (Compare Vol. VII., page 324, "Errata," with Vol. V., page 212.) We have carefully gone through the answers to this question, with the following results: 26 witnesses, including some of the most experienced missionaries (*e.g.*, Revs. Dr. Muirhead, Dr. Griffith John, and H. L. Mackenzie) and three Chinese gentlemen, unhesitatingly reply that such is the general wish of the Chinese. A Chinese graduate attached to the British Consulate at Chefoo tersely says: "The inhabitants of Shantung naturally do not like England to import Indian Opium. Every chest of Opium imported is so much injury to the people, and the flood of poison is never ending." Besides these, 38 witnesses, including ten Consular officials and a Chinese secretary in the British legation at Peking, state that such a wish is expressed by officials, or by sections of the Chinese, though some of the answers in this category either attribute interested motives, or throw doubts on the sincerity of these expressions. Six witnesses speak of the desire for the exclusion of Indian Opium as mostly, and three more as entirely, a thing of the past. Excluding the last three, there are in all 70 witnesses who more or less clearly recognise that such a feeling is expressed by the Chinese, against 55 witnesses who either deny its existence or state that they have never heard it expressed. In spite of all these answers to their own question, however, the Majority of the Commission have the audacity to tell the British public "that there is *no evidence* from China of *any* popular desire that the import of Indian Opium should be stopped."*

* The above was written before we received the article of the Rev. Arnold Foster on the same subject, reprinted from the *Chinese Recorder*, a summary of which will be found at p. 70. Mr. Foster has not enumerated the more or less qualified replies, and has reckoned amongst the affirmatives five which we had put into our second category. Substantially our results agree.

The Suppression of Opium-smoking in India. As will be seen from our article on the Indian Government's despatch, the fresh concessions it contains are two : one relating to Opium-smoking, the other to Opium cultivation. The discontinuance of licenses for the sale of Opium-smoking compounds is, beyond question, a reform valuable in itself ; though it needs to be supplemented by the prohibition of Opium-dens. On this latter point, the Indian Government, imitating the hesitancy of the Majority Report, declines to commit itself to immediate action, but promises to make enquiry. An Appendix to the despatch contains some interesting observations of Excise officials as to the effect produced by the withdrawal of licenses from Opium-dens. Mr. Stoker, Excise Commissioner of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, Mr. Gordon Walker, who fills the same position in the Punjab, and Mr. Drake-Brockman, Excise Commissioner in the Central Provinces, are of opinion that the measures adopted by the Indian Government in 1891 "cannot but have a repressive effect," and are likely eventually to put an end to the practice, as the present generation of Opium-smokers dies out ; though they all dwell upon the difficulty of preventing those who have already formed the habit from obtaining the means of its indulgence. Mr. Drake-Brockman believes "that the prohibition has done and will continue to do good, inasmuch as it indicates plainly that *madak* smoking is disapproved of by Government, and will be discouraged even at the cost of some loss in revenue." These opinions are heartily endorsed by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Woodburn, who declares "that all respectable native opinion is opposed to the habit, which is known to be most harmful and ultimately ruinous to those who indulge in it," and advocates "a system of obliging each *madak* smoker to provide himself with an annual license to purchase the drug." It is pleasant to read opinions so obviously dictated by a sincere desire for the moral welfare of the great populations concerned. On the other hand, the Excise officials of Bengal and of the Bombay Presidency, who appear chiefly concerned for the loss of revenue, cast doubt upon the policy of discontinuing licenses for Opium-dens.

Elimination of Middlemen in Behar. As regards the recommendation of the Majority Report, that the employment of middlemen in the payment of Opium cultivators in the Behar Agency should be discontinued, we cannot but feel doubtful whether the professed compliance of the Indian Government is genuine. The system of direct dealing with the cultivators is to be adopted *at their option*. How is this option to be ascertained? Sir Charles Elliott, who concurred with the Bengal Opium Commission of 1883, with Sir Rivers Thompson, his predecessor as Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and with the Royal Commission, in recognising the superiority of the system of direct dealing, proposed* "a small Committee of enquiry . . . to visit each Opium sub-division in Bengal, and report their conclusions on" the question (amongst others) "what number of cultivators would prefer to deal with Government direct." But this suggestion is unceremoniously brushed aside in the final decision of the Government of India.† In the absence of any independent enquiry, it would seem that the wishes of the cultivators can only be ascertained through the very middlemen whose illegal perquisites it is proposed to abolish, and who were described by an official before the Commission as "some of the most dishonest of our servants."‡ If so, the "option" will assuredly be a mere farce.

Freedom for the Poppy Ryots. THIS part of the Indian Government's despatch does not directly bear upon the object of our Society, that of suppressing the Opium traffic; indeed, we note that the change of system is advocated by Sir Charles Elliott on the ground that it is likely to put a check to "the great and continuous decrease in the area under poppy, which the rise in price of crude Opium has not arrested."§ But our deep sympathy with the Opium ryots of Behar, who are amongst the very poorest populations of

* Blue-Book, p. 16, par. 12.

† Ibid., p. 28, par. 5.

‡ Opium Commission Report, Vol. III., p. 6, Q. 10,848.

§ Blue-Book, p. 17, par. 5.

India—and that is saying a great deal—cannot leave us indifferent to any measure calculated to ameliorate their lot. So long as the poppy culture continues, the only effectual remedy for the evils under which they suffer is that recommended by the late Mr. Haridas Veharidas, that a general notification should be issued throughout the poppy-growing districts to the effect that no one is bound to cultivate the crop unless he may wish to do so. “A notification of the kind,” says the Indian Government, “is in our opinion certainly not required, and, in a population like that of India, would be liable to misinterpretation.”* But the argument used by Sir James Lyall at Patna in defence of the Opium cultivation is much more applicable in reply to this objection: if the trade be in fact profitable to the ryots, they assuredly have sufficient shrewdness not to refuse the proffered advances of the Indian Government, simply because of a notification telling them that they are not bound to accept its proposals! It seems to us impossible for any impartial person to peruse, on the one hand, the very careful and exhaustive treatment of this part of the subject by Mr. Wilson in his Minute of Dissent, supported by the recommendations of both the Native Commissioners, and, on the other hand, the arguments of the Majority Report and of the Indian Government, without being convinced that the real reason for the latter’s reluctance to tell the cultivators that they are free is the fear that they would, in large numbers, shake off the heavy bondage of the Opium Department by ceasing to grow the poppy.

The Press on the New Blue-Book. THE comments of the Press on the new Blue-Book have opened the way for several of our friends to restate our position with regard to the Commission Report. This has been done by Sir Joseph Pease, in the *Daily News*, by Mr. Southall, in the *Leeds Mercury*, and by Mr. Alexander, in the *Standard*. The *Daily Chronicle* and *Manchester Guardian* had notices of the Indian Government’s despatch in harmony with our views.

* Blue-Book, p. 10, par. 20.

The **"Daily News"** Leader. THE article in the *Daily News* seems to show that its recent change of editor has led to a change of front on the Opium question. If the writer of the article had taken the trouble to refer to the files of his own paper, he would have found the arguments of the Majority of the Commission answered by anticipation in its admirable leader of 10th April, 1891, which materially conduced to the Anti-Opium victory in the House of Commons the following night. Even now, the *Daily News* does not go all lengths with the Majority; it is shocked by their defence of "the abominable habit of dosing children with Opium." It represents Mr. Wilson as having "recommended that the use of Opium should be permitted in India for medical purposes alone." This needs qualification, as will be seen by the following extract from Mr. Wilson's "Minute of Dissent."

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

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

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

Mr. Wilson, it is stated, "refused to be convinced by any amount of testimony, even from Christian philanthropists, that Opium was not a physical and moral poison." The writer was evidently unaware that an overwhelming preponderance of missionary evidence showed Opium to be, even in India, an unmitigated evil, whilst the missionary testimony from China was practically unanimous to the same effect. Finally, the *Daily News* makes the astounding assertion that "only a very small minority

of persons in this country, and a mere handful in India, believe that Opium is poison." Yet Opium is in the schedule to our Poisons Act; and the frequency of Opium poisoning in India was admitted, even by several pro-Opium witnesses, to call for further restrictions on the sale of the drug in that country.

Good News WE learn, on the eve of going to press, that the **from Formosa.** Japanese Government has issued a proclamation in Formosa forbidding the Opium trade, on the ground that Formosa must come under the same law as the rest of Japan. Provision will be made, by means of a Government office, for old habitués.

This Year's Poppy Crop. NEWS reaches us from India that, for the eighth time in succession, the present season's poppy crop is an utter failure.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE OPIUM COMMISSION REPORT.

Anti-Opiumists will find much to encourage them in the Blue-Book containing the comments of the Indian Government on the Report of the Opium Commission. The despatch first deals with the two specific recommendations made by the majority of the Commission. Of these, one was that the system of direct dealing with the cultivators, already generally in force in the Benares Opium Agency, should be extended to the Behar Agency; the object being to prevent oppression and corruption on the part of subordinate officials, several cases of which were proved before the Commission. The Indian Government consents to adopt tentative measures in this direction. The other recommendation was that throughout India licenses for the sale of Opium-smoking compounds should be withheld, a measure which is already in force in three provinces. The Indian Government, in its reply, states that it has already "accepted the policy of attempting to check Opium-smoking in India by diminishing the facilities for the practice of the habit." It accordingly accepts this recommendation, whilst rejecting that of the two Native Commissioners and of Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., who had united in asking for a stringent measure of prohibition, such as is already in force in several important Native States of India.

The significance, for Anti-Opiumists, of this recognition by the Indian Government of its duty "to check Opium-smoking in

India," lies in the fact that this form of the Opium habit prevails almost universally in China; and the China trade has always been our main object of attack. To this extent, therefore, the Native and official testimony given before the Commission in India confirms the missionary evidence from China. The Indian Government tries to minimise what it plainly feels to be a damaging admission, and points out that the practice of taking Opium pills, which in India is considered a less objectionable form of the Opium habit, is in China looked upon as even worse than Opium-smoking. But it is hard to see how this difference of opinion between the two countries as regards the relative evil of the two habits can lessen the impressiveness of their agreement as regards the one habit which both countries alike condemn.

As to the evidence obtained by the Commission from China, the Indian Government finds itself constrained to acknowledge that, "as a body, the missionaries of every denomination in China are strongly opposed to the use of Opium, and hold that Opium-smoking, as practised in that country, is the cause of both moral and physical degradation." It calls attention to the contradiction between Mr. H. J. Wilson and the majority of the Commissioners on the question whether, as a matter of fact, the majority of the replies received from Consular officials and private medical practitioners (not medical missionaries) in China support the missionaries; Mr. Wilson stating that they do, whilst his colleagues claim a majority of these classes for the pro-Opium side. The Indian Government endeavours to support the latter view by scheduling the answers of the Consuls and medical men to three selected questions. But the careful analyses of this evidence, on quite independent lines, made by Mr. Joshua Rowntree and the Rev. F. Storrs Turner, bear out Mr. Wilson's statement.* The Indian Government admits that the twelve medical officers of Her Majesty's Consular Establishments who have sent answers are about equally divided. Thus, even according to the case as stated by the Indian Government, the practically unanimous opinion of the missionaries labouring in China is confirmed by somewhat less than one half of the British Consular officials and the European non-missionary medical practitioners. Unbiased readers will agree with Mr. Wilson that "it is abundantly manifest that Opium in China is a gigantic national evil."

The Indian Government evidently feels its ground somewhat insecure as regards this part of the case. "Turning," with undisguised relief, from what it describes as "the difficult and doubtful question of the effect of Opium on the Chinese, to the question of practical politics," it heartily concurs with the conclusion of the Commissioners, that the cessation of the export of

* We have received a letter from Mr. Turner, which we are compelled to hold over for our next issue, dealing fully with the point.—*Ed. F. of C.*

Opium from India would have "no real effect" in reducing the use of the drug in China. The Chinese production, it tells us, would only be increased. Persian Opium, too, already commands in China a higher price than the Indian drug, and during the last five years "not much short of 6,000 chests" have been annually exported from Persia—the Report had put the amount at 12,000 chests. Thus the six English Commissioners who signed the Majority Report and the members of the Indian Government who sign this despatch have solemnly and publicly committed themselves to the proposition by which a receiver of stolen goods justifies his trade. They contend that the British rulers of India are justified in carrying on a trade in a poisonous drug, without inquiring into the effect produced by that drug on its consumers, and in spite of a great body of evidence showing the effect to be highly injurious, because if they withdrew from the trade others might probably step in and reap the profits instead of themselves. What a striking and melancholy instance is here presented of the way in which even good men—for there are such amongst the signatories of both documents—can be blinded by pecuniary interest!

THE HISTORY OF THE OPIUM TRADE CARRIED ON BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I.—SIR JAMES LYALL'S MEMORANDUM.*

In his prefatory note† Sir James Lyall tells us that the Chairman of the Commission suggested to its members that they should read up different branches of the subject. In response to this suggestion he undertook to study the export trade in Indian Opium. The results of this study are contained in two papers, one printed as Appendix A in Volume VII., the other the Memorandum referred to in the Final Report, to which it is affixed. How it was that the author of these able and honest papers could reconcile it with his conscience to sign the Majority Report, would be altogether incomprehensible if it were not, unhappily, only too common for members of a group to do jointly what they would not do separately and independently. Leaving that inconsistency out of

* Report of the Royal Commission on Opium, Vol. VI., p. 120. "On some historical Aspects of the Opium Question in India and China"; by Sir J. B. Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

† Report, Vol. VII., page 5.

sight, I gladly bear witness to my confidence in Sir James Lyall's honest purpose to conceal nothing, to distort nothing, but to set out fully and fairly all the facts, and to deduce the true conclusions from them. And I am glad also to acknowledge that he has thrown a ray of new light upon the subject. If at the same time his writings show entire ignorance or oversight of important aspects of the case, and contain wrong interpretations of the facts; this is not surprising in one who did not commence the special study of the history until after his appointment on the Commission, and who, as a representative of the India Office view, necessarily approached the subject under a strong bias. Even as it is, Sir James Lyall manifestly finds the facts too strong for him. His task was to condemn the Anti-Opium agitation, but again and again he is compelled to make admissions which at least go a long way towards acknowledging that it was in the right. No wonder the compiler of the Final Report made such scanty use of his labours.

Passing over as irrelevant some contributions to the ancient history—for it matters nothing to us when, and by whom, Opium was first taken to China—we will follow Sir James Lyall's order, and consider in the first place an argument which has been made much more of than it really deserves.

THE DRAIN OF SILVER.*

Sir James Lyall is not the first who has suggested that the objection of the Chinese Government to the import of Opium should be attributed, not solely or chiefly to the evil effects of the drug, but also to the exportation of silver which it occasioned. There is something in this argument; not much. Whether or no this objection to loss of the precious metal is itself an economic heresy, which merits reprobation or even chastisement, I do not pretend to judge. But as a set-off against the stupidity of the Chinese, I may point out that the Indian Government was under the dominion of the same feeling. The Chinese objected to the Opium import because it drained their country of silver. The Indian Government exported Opium, in order to avert a drain of silver from India. In 1789 the Governor General wrote to the Board:—

“The Opium now serves as a remittance to China to answer the bills drawn

* Memorandum, paragraph 2, page 121.

upon Canton for the provision of the investment. Were the trade to be laid open, it is probable that this resource might in some measure fail, and occasion the exportation of large sums in silver from this country, already too much drained of its circulating specie."*

If there is any sin in objecting to the loss of silver, the Indian Government was as bad as the Chinese.

But the principal use made of this argument is to cast doubt thereby on the honesty of the Chinese Government's condemnation of Opium as the cause of physical and moral evil. Mr. Lay goes so far as to contend that the drain of silver was "the sole ground of objection to Opium."† Sir James Lyall does not proceed to this extreme. Yet, while partially rejecting Mr. Lay's view, he nevertheless employs the argument to depreciate the value of the Chinese protests against Opium, and as an excuse for the Indian Government.

"There is no reason," he says, "to doubt that Chinese views of religion and morality and of the injurious nature of the habit were the principal motives of the earlier edicts, but it would be contrary to fact to assume that the later edicts and the strong action taken to enforce them were elicited by these motives only."‡

"The edict of 1799, which was the first to directly prohibit import," is quoted at length by Mr. Dane.§ It makes no allusion to the exportation of silver. The earliest reference to the drain of silver in the Chinese edicts brought to light by Mr. Dane's researches, is an Imperial Edict in 1822, which reveals a curious fact. The Emperor forbids, equally, the import and the export of silver.

"It is fixed by law," says the Edict, "that the Hong merchants at Canton, in their commercial intercourse with foreigners, should only receive goods and give goods in return, and not be allowed to employ silver. The law on this subject is very full and explicit." Further on it condemns "their purchasing things with foreign coins which they have bought, a proceeding exceedingly contrary to law, and which it must not be omitted to examine into strictly and prevent."

The Edict, in a subsequent paragraph, prohibits the import of Opium without mentioning its influence upon silver. The reason given is: "This growing base vice must be put aside to purify the military, and Custom House, and to benefit the manners of the

* Vol. VII., page 44.

† Note on the Opium Question, page 6.

‡ Memorandum, page 121.

§ Memorandum, page 121. Vol. VII., page 74.

people."* Clearly at this time there was no strong connection in the Chinese mind between silver going out and Opium coming in. Both had been long interdicted, each on its own grounds. Later on, when the import of Opium had greatly increased, it was different. In 1836 Heu Naetse's memorial, which proposed the legalising of the traffic, based that proposition upon the objection to the drain of silver, and in the subsequent controversy the export of silver is one of the prime factors. But the important fact is that in this battle the enemies of Opium beat the friends of silver. Though it was acknowledged on both sides that the loss of silver was a great evil, and that the legalization of the trade would mitigate that evil, hostility to Opium prevented that course being taken.

What, then, is the value of this "silver" argument? There is nothing in it which tends to cast suspicion on the genuineness of Chinese opposition to Opium. When the drain of silver became alarming, there is no doubt that this fact did stimulate the Government to greater activity against the trade. Does this admission in any degree excuse the Opium smugglers? On the contrary, the fact aggravates their offence, for they were violating not one law, but two. China had a full and just right to prohibit the import of Opium. China also had a full and just right to prohibit the export of sycee silver. The Opium merchants were under a moral obligation to refrain from illegal and injurious practices. It is a strange excuse to make for their disregard of one law, that they also were setting another at naught!

THE WARREN HASTINGS MONOPOLY.

The history of the Opium trade which has been declared by the House of Commons to be "morally indefensible," begins in 1773, or a few years earlier. This trade is not a mere branch of commerce which happens to be conducted by Englishmen. The production, manufacture, and sale of Opium in British India have for more than a century been owned and managed by the British rulers of India; by the East India Company at first, afterwards and now by the Indian Government under the Crown. Whatever happened previously under the Mogul dynasty is no concern of ours. But when a Chartered Company, holding its powers from

* Vol. VII., page 92.

the Crown and Parliament, became the Sovereign of part of India, and in its capacity as Sovereign took possession of the Opium monopoly as a branch of business, the profits of which were to be regarded as public revenue for government purposes, then the Opium trade became indirectly a national affair; and when the Company was dissolved, and the Empress of India took the management of this business, and by her agents continued it, it was from that time directly and literally a national trade.

The commencement of this national Opium trade is imputed to Warren Hastings, and its date was 1773, because in that year the newly-appointed Governor took possession of the monopoly on behalf of the Company. This monopoly was a very different affair from that which was afterwards created by the Indian Government. It was a monopoly of purchase only. The ryots were, at least nominally, free to grow the poppy or not as they pleased, but if they produced Opium they must sell it to the monopolists, not in an open market. A monopoly of this kind existed at Patna under the Mogul rule, but its origin is obscure.* However, when the victories of Clive and his successors made the traders and clerks of the East India Company masters of Bengal, these gentlemen, who had always been allowed to trade for themselves as well as for their masters, found themselves in their double capacity as rulers and also merchants, in a position to control and engross most of the export trade, and they did not hesitate to use their irresponsible powers to fill their own pockets. Among the rest, the Company's agents at Patna found this Opium monopoly ready made to their hands; they "almost at once appropriated it, not on behalf of the Company, but for the benefit of their own private trade." This usurped monopoly was the occasion of disputes with the Agents of the Dutch and French at Patna, and "led to affrays and troubles of various kinds." Such is Sir James Lyall's account of the origin of the monopoly and its seizure by the British traders.† According to him, it owed its birth to fraud, oppression, and rapacity; first Native and then English. Warren Hastings put an end to the period of anarchy. Into this Opium business he introduced at least a measure of order and of honesty. In some Anti-Opium histories, Warren Hastings figures as the evil genius of the story, the unscrupulous

* Appendix A, page 7.

† Appendix A, page 7.

promoter, if not inventor, of an infamous traffic. Sir James Lyall vindicates the great Governor from this aspersion. In 1773 the Governor deprived the Company's servants of the privileges of private trade, which they had abused, and broke down all the irregular monopolies they had created. But this Patna Opium monopoly was made an exception. "After full discussion in Council at Calcutta it was decided not to set the trade in Opium free, but to take over and authoritatively maintain the monopoly as a measure of State for the benefit of the public revenue."* Here then our national Opium trade emerges from its embryo condition, and appears distinctly on the field of history, to run its course for good or evil.

Was this transaction right or wrong? This is a question, the answer to which will settle the main principle, and govern our conclusions throughout the whole controversy. Sir James Lyall accepts the transaction as wise, right, and indeed the only sane course, under the circumstances. And yet he saw in the monopoly under the Moguls, and in the same monopoly carried on by the gentlemen at Patna, nothing but rapacity and oppression. This is inconsistent. How could a monopoly, which was fraudulent and tyrannical in the hands of private traders, become good and righteous simply because appropriated by the East India Company? Sir James Lyall lays stress upon the fact that the profits of the monopoly were to be used for "the Company's Territorial Government."† I am not sure that he is quite right as to the fact. In after time the Opium profits became public revenue, just like the land tax and the salt tax. But at first, if the distinction was made, it was merely a nominal distinction. "Francis, Clavering, and Monson . . . were of opinion that the contract was a branch of the territorial revenue. Hastings and Barwell thought that it was an article of investment."‡ The matter was referred to the Directors, who decided that the Revenue Board should conduct the business, but that the Opium, when provided, should be consigned "to our Board of Trade at prime cost, who are to dispose thereof at public auction, and to apply the produce towards the provision of our investment."§ Hastings himself thought it "a matter of little consequence on which way

* Ibid., page 8.

† Memorandum, page 122.

‡ Appendix B, page 38.

§ Ibid., page 39.

the question may be determined."* Evidently in those days the East India Company's public revenue and commercial profits were not too severely disconnected.

Sir James Lyall finds, in the records of the Council, four reasons given for the maintenance of the monopoly; stated briefly these are: (1) to raise revenue; (2) to protect the ryots; (3) to prevent adulteration; and (4) "to have power to regulate or restrict internal consumption."† Of these reasons, the last alone possesses real and permanent value. Revenue might have been raised without continuing the monopoly. The ryots were not protected. Sir James Lyall admits that Warren Hastings' contract system "proved oppressive and almost ruined the industry." The restriction of internal consumption, however, has, from that day to this, always been the first line of defence taken up by the advocates of the monopoly: as the second line of defence has been, "if we do not poison the Chinese, some other people will, and we shall lose the money!"

In regard to the first line of defence, the important fact is that in 1773 there appears to have been no doubt about the harmfulness of the Opium habit. At that time the proposal that the Company should hold the monopoly was assailed both within the Council and without. Two alternatives were proposed: one, that the monopoly should be carried on by private persons, the Company receiving compensation; the other, that the trade should be made free. In discussing the arguments for and against this last proposal, "and with special reference to the argument that free trade would increase production, Hastings urged that it was undesirable to increase the production of any article not necessary to life, and that Opium was 'not a necessary of life, but a pernicious article of luxury, which ought not to be permitted but for the purposes of foreign commerce only, and which the wisdom of Government should carefully restrain from internal consumption.'"‡

Hitherto, I think, it has almost escaped notice that Warren Hastings was in principle an anti-Opiumist, and in this respect as much a "faddist" and "fanatic" as Sir Joseph Pease. No one will dispute that Hastings was a great statesman, not a dreamer or mere theorist, but eminently a practical man of first-rate

* Ibid., page 38. † Memorandum, page 122. ‡ Appendix B, page 37.

business faculty. This man, who knew his India so thoroughly, denounced Opium as "a pernicious article of luxury" which the Government should not permit its subjects to indulge in. On this ground he defended the appropriation of the monopoly; and this, if indeed no other method of restriction was possible, must be allowed as at least a respectable excuse for a policy otherwise so objectionable.

What must be said about the other side of the policy? Nothing more is needed to secure its condemnation than the bare statement of its character. Here is an article which the Government declares to be "pernicious," and on that account to be denied to its own people. At the same time the Government resolves to produce this article for export to foreign parts. Sir James Lyall thinks that "no sane person would have suggested" any other course.* And yet it seems to me that every morally sane person must see clearly that the course actually adopted is indefensible. The moral law knows no distinction between internal and export trade. The man, or the Government, which should endeavour to secure total prohibition of alcohol in England, and at the same time should ship unlimited quantities of gin and whisky to Africa, would be deservedly condemned as hypocritical. Warren Hastings no doubt was hard put to it to satisfy the demands of the Directors. Money must be had, and he tried to get it by sending ship-loads of Opium to Canton; in fact he spoilt the market there for a time by excessive supply, and this he did although the import into China was known to be forbidden. Warren Hastings and his Council were bound to keep their own hands, as a Government, clean from all participation in a "pernicious" traffic. The profits were too tempting; the money seemed indispensable. This is all that can be said in excuse. The eternal laws which govern the world work out their inexorable judgments, taking no notice of man's feeble excuses for his transgressions of them. The assumption of the monopoly by the Company was wrong in principle and bad in policy. Deplorable consequences followed in after years, and the end of the sad business has not yet been seen.

THE STATE-AGENCY MONOPOLY. FIRST PERIOD, 1799-1830.

The monopoly under Warren Hastings' management did not

* Memorandum, p. 122.

interfere with the cultivation of the poppy. In 1799 an important change was made. The Government then determined "that the Opium should in future be *provided* by agency."* Hence the name "provision Opium," by which the drug intended for export was thenceforth known. The Government now had a closer relation to the trade than before. It controlled not only the sale, but also the production. In some districts, poppy cultivation was totally prohibited. In others, it was allowed to such extent as suited the Government, under licences specially granted for the purpose. From this time the old spontaneous cultivation ceased. Throughout a great part of the Company's territory, no ryot might grow so much as a square yard of poppies, even for his private use. In general, the new statute was prohibitory: the Government determined how much Opium it would "provide," and issued licences accordingly. This later form of monopoly has continued to the present day; and as the area of cultivation has increased more than tenfold since 1799, it is obvious that the present poppy cultivation in British territory in India is nearly all the arbitrary production of the Government. It is obvious also that the responsibility of the Government is complete and direct. We have to consider, not the regulation and taxation by Government of a pre-existing spontaneous cultivation. From 1800 and onwards we have to consider the cultivation, manufacture, and sale of a pernicious article, designed and controlled by the Government, not for the benefit of the ryots, but for revenue. It is noteworthy that the Regulation which established this new State-agency monopoly was enacted in the very year in which the edict, prohibiting the import of Opium, was issued in Canton; in which the drug is described as

"of a violent and powerful nature, and possessing a foetid and odious flavour; being, however, remarkable at the same time for a quality of exciting and raising the spirits. . . . The use of Opium originally prevailed only among vagrants and disreputable persons . . . but has since extended itself among the members and descendants of reputable families, students, and officers of Government, many of whom are so infatuated in their attachment to this drug, as to make habitual use of it. Their inducement appears to be the power which this drug communicates to those who partake of it, of not closing their eyes for entire nights, and spending them in the gratification of impure and sensual desires. . . . When this habit becomes established by frequent repetition, it gains

* Appendix B, p. 45.

an entire ascendant, and the consumer of Opium is not only unable to forbear from its daily use, but, on passing the accustomed hour he is immediately seized with pains in the head and a feverish heat, cannot refrain from tears, or command himself in any degree. . . . Desirous, but in vain, of quitting so dreadful a practice, they would willingly end it with their lives by tearing out their entrails in despair. The extraordinary expense of this article is likewise to be noticed, as it raises an excessive appetite, . . . which the fortunes of the bulk of the community are unable to satisfy, and are therefore in the course of a few years wholly dilapidated and wasted away. . . . The weak perish from hunger, the strong become thieves and robbers. . . .”*

Such was the opinion which the Chinese Government held concerning Opium, at the time when the Indian Government made its arrangement to “provide” for the export of the drug to China.

THE NEW LIGHT.

At this point attention must be called to the new light which Sir James Lyall has thrown upon the history. Most anti-Opium accounts represent it as substantially of the same character throughout. Looking back upon the earlier period through the lurid light of the Opium war, with its bombardments and massacres, they have seen only one long monotonous chain of cruel injustice to China for the advantage of the Indian revenue. Sir James Lyall divides the story into two parts, by recognising a decided “change of policy” in 1830.

“There does not appear to be,” he says, “any good opening, down to the year 1830, for impugning, from an anti-Opium point of view, the policy followed by the Government of India in respect to Opium. From 1830 its policy as regards the export trade changed.”†

This marked change of policy was not wholly unnoticed, but it certainly has not hitherto attracted much attention. The assailants of the monopoly generally regarded it as unchanged in character from the first commencement to the present day. That the monopoly has passed through two distinct periods, that it had a different moral character in each, that at first it was moderate, merciful, self-restrained, and only became reckless, unbridled, unscrupulous after 1830, is a novel idea, which demands careful examination. For myself I think that Sir James Lyall is right, that there was an important change in 1830, and I thank him for calling attention thereto. Still, I cannot agree that in its earlier years the monopoly wore “the white flower of a blameless life.”

* Appendix C, page 74.

† Memorandum, page 129.

Already its low and unworthy origin has been exposed, and I am about to show that the period 1799-1830 was by no means immaculate. However, the case at present stands thus. Sir James Lyall justifies the former period at the expense of the later period. The first in his view was innocent; the second questionable, or, by comparison, bad. I agree that there was a change; but, in my view, the first period was bad, the second worse; the first was a mitigated and scrupulous evil, the second the same evil grown shameless and reckless. The reader shall judge which of us is right.

EXAMINATION OF THE FIRST PERIOD.

Sir James Lyall describes the policy of the State-agency monopoly established in 1799 as being intended to secure the following objects:—

“(1) To regulate internal consumption in a restrictive direction.

“(2) To confine cultivation of the poppy to certain tracts where soil and cultivators would produce the best quality, and where the collection of the raw Opium could be carefully supervised.

“(3) To raise as large a revenue out of the export trade as could be got without materially increasing the supply at Calcutta.”*

Down to the year 1830 this policy, he maintains, was consistently pursued. This contention is, I think, supported by the facts. The absolute prohibition of poppy culture, except in certain specified areas, was itself a restrictive measure. The high prices of Opium sold for internal consumption, the limitation of the amount which might be sold to, and possessed by, one individual at one time, and the prohibition of sale, except at a limited number of places under licences from Government, had also a restrictive influence. For instance, by Regulation X. of 1813,

the retail sale was to be confined to one or two of the principal towns in each district, and collectors were enjoined to “discourage to the utmost extent of their means, the sale and consumption of the drug except for medicinal purposes.” †

Again, in 1816, the Governor-General and Council informed the Board of Directors that

“the object of Government in interfering with the traffic was more with a view to control the use of an article which is so prejudicial to the morals of the people, and to the interests of society in general, than with a desire of increasing the revenue by an extensive sale of it. . . . the object of course being to confine the consumption of it to medicinal purposes.” ‡

* Memorandum, page 123. † Vol. VII., page 49. ‡ Ibid., page 50.

In 1817 the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in Council the oft-quoted declaration of their policy, which deserves yet another repetition :

“After all, we must observe that it is our wish not to encourage the consumption of Opium, but rather to lessen the use, or, more properly speaking, the abuse of the drug; and for this end, as well as for the purpose of revenue, to make the price to the public, both in our own and in foreign dominions, as high as possible, having due regard to the effects of illicit trade in our own dominions, and of competition in foreign places, from Opium produced in other countries. *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 impracticable, we can only endeavour to regulate and palliate an evil which cannot be eradicated.*”*

It is quite certain, then, that from 1773 down to 1817, a period of forty-four years, the owners and managers of the Opium monopoly, that is, the Board of Directors in London and the Governors and their Councils in India, were profoundly sensible of the baleful nature of the Opium vice, and that their policy professed to be an anti-Opium policy; intended to restrict, if it could not altogether prevent, the consumption of Opium at home and abroad. If solemn asseverations can prove an anti-Opium heart, then during this period the Directors, and Governors, and Councils, all were in reality, if not in name, a Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. To this extent the earlier period is not open to objection from an anti-Opium point of view. No doubt these fervid protestations, read in the light of subsequent events, do tend to create a strong suspicion that their authors cannot have been sincere. But, although there was at that time glaring inconsistency between profession and practice, I would not attribute to these men any conscious insincerity. I believe they meant what they said; that they really were convinced that Opium was a terrible curse, and that their policy aimed at restricting its ravages. I believe this, not on their bare word, but because up to 1830 their acts corresponded. It is undeniable that the policy of the Government until 1830 was restrictive, and that it was so in face of strong temptation to the contrary. In 1775 the Patna “Council estimated that if the French and Dutch were excluded from the trade and smuggling stopped, they would be able to provide at least 33,000 chests a year” for the China

* Ibid. [I have ventured to print some lines of the above quotations in italics.]

market, the profits from which would be "prodigious."* This indicates the supposed possibilities of the trade; and these expectations, vast as they then seemed, were subsequently far surpassed. The Government refused to hearken to the tempter. During the last thirteen years of the last century the average export was less than 4,000 chests. During the first twenty years of the present century it still remained at about the same figure. Not till the third decade is there any decided increase, and this, which was not great, was due to the competition of Malwa Opium.† Considering the enormous prices which their Opium attained during these years, £200, £300, even £400 per chest (the cost price to the Company being, I suppose, under £50 per chest), the self-denying ordinance of the Directors deserves our sincere admiration. Even though we credit them with a prudence which dreaded to provoke the Chinese Government, there is still an impressiveness in this abstinence which compels belief in the sincerity of that solemn protestation of 1817.

If the Indian Government's policy down to 1830 was actually restrictive, both at home and abroad, what fault can we find in it during that period? Just this: it was not restrictive enough. This it ought to have done; and there was something else, which it ought not to have left undone. I have urged that the same sense of duty which led the Government to adopt an anti-Opium policy at home, necessarily forbade them to take part in the export trade. But now I will descend to a lower stage of morality, and for the moment make no objection to export in general. There was one country, however, to which they were bound, in honour, in justice, in common humanity, not to send a single chest of the pernicious drug. That country was China. For China also had an anti-Opium Government, and the Chinese Government had repeatedly prohibited the import of Opium. The Indian Government knew of this prohibition. Therefore the moral obligation not to provide Opium for shipment to China was plain and imperative.

SIR JAMES LYALL'S EXCUSES.

The defence of the Government's action which the Memorandum puts forth is as follows:—

"The Opium was sold, for export only, at public auction to the highest

* Vol. VII., page 39. † See Mr. Dane's statistical table, Vol. VII., page 61.

bidder. The Government only appropriated and monopolised the position and profits of the manufacturer. It had nothing to do with the export.*

This excuse contains its own refutation. The Opium was sold "*for export only.*" By whose order? By order of the Government. That Government "provided" Opium for export, manufactured it for export, sold it for export, obliged the purchaser to export. How, then, can it be said with truth that "it had nothing to do with the export"? If the purchaser in Calcutta had been left free to do what he pleased with the Opium, that assertion might have a semblance of plausibility: but the obligation to export contradicts it. The whole chain of events, from the sowing of the poppy seeds in Bengal and Behar to the smoking of the prepared drug in the Opium-dens in China, was indivisible; the Indian Government had complete control, and could have severed the chain at any moment. Without its licence the ryot could not sow. Its agents manufactured the balls of Opium, and sold them in Calcutta, not visibly labelled "for export to China," but as really intended for China as though Government had affixed the label. The English traders, the Chinese smugglers, were virtually agents for the Company. Without their co-operation the Opium would not have reached the consumer. The Indian Government was the central and controlling will and power, setting all the agents at work, and supplying them with the means of their activity.

That the Indian Government designed and controlled the export, Sir James Lyall admits in another place. After the Chinese Edict of 1799,

"the East India Company, on the advice of its Canton Supercargoes, at once strictly forbid any of its ships or servants from carrying Opium to China, but it continued as heretofore to freely grant to private ships licences to trade to the Straits and China, and did not attempt to forbid the private shipowners from carrying Opium as part of their cargoes."*

Here an important fact comes to light. Private ships could not trade with China *without licences from the Indian Government*. We know also that British merchants could not reside in the Canton factory without their permission. Thus they could as easily have dissociated the British flag from the traffic as they did actually relieve their own ships and agents from direct participation in the carrying trade. The ready reply that the drug would have been carried under other flags, is the old argument, "seeing that evil

* Memorandum, page 122.

† Appendix A, page 18.

will be done, let us do it, and pocket the gains." But the assertion that the trade would have gone on just the same is not only mere unsupported assertion, but is refuted by the facts. If the Indian Government had done all that it could to stop the export to China, then it would have washed its own hands clean; and whatever else happened, there would have been no "Opium war" between Britain and China.

Sir James Lyall finds an excuse in the fact that when Warren Hastings sent Opium to China, "the export of Bengal monopoly Opium to Malay countries and elsewhere was still as great, if not greater than that to China."* But why should the Indian Government have continued sending to Malay countries a pernicious article, from which it was striving to protect its own subjects? And whatever the value of this excuse, it disappeared when the amount of the export to China far exceeded that to all other places. Nor can we find any valid apology in the limited power of the Government. "From all the rest of India, in much of which Opium was produced, the drug could find its way to a hundred ports beyond the Company's control." No one blames the Indian Government for not forcibly preventing the Turks and the Persians from sending Opium to China: and similarly that Government could not be made responsible for the "hundred ports beyond the Company's control." Unhappily, beneath the surface of this excuse lies the old plea: if China is to be poisoned by somebody, we may as well be the poisoners and pocket the dollars.

THE SHAMEFUL SITUATION IN CANTON.

This deliberate determination to continue the export to China, in spite of the known illegality of the trade, was the fatal flaw which marred and doomed the East India Company's Opium policy. Its disastrous results appear most conspicuously in the Chinese part of the story, but we may notice in this place the shameful situation of the East India Company at Canton, for this belongs properly to the Indian side. For more than a century the East India Company had been settled in Canton, where it held a dignified and lucrative position. In those days there was no official intercourse of any kind between the Government of the "Central Kingdom" and the "outside barbarians." At this time our merchants had no treaty rights in China. They went there at their own risk; they were accorded permission to trade

* Memorandum, page 122.

on certain conditions, and so long as they abided by these conditions the trade was peaceful and prosperous. So far as China was concerned, they were almost outside the pale of law, but their interests bound them to good behaviour. Stoppage of trade was a potent weapon, the mere threat of which was generally effective. The British merchants were under the authority of the East India Company, which, by its Charter, had exclusive rights and privileges in the China trade, and could deport anyone who made himself obnoxious. The Company ruled through a Superintendent, or Supra-cargo, and Committee, as its representatives.

Now consider the position which this Committee had to occupy. It was the only governing power over British subjects, and its responsibility for their conduct was real, seeing that it could expel them from the place and the trade. It was itself the chief trader, as representative of the great commercial Company which appointed it. That Company strictly enjoined upon the Committee to keep upon good terms with the Chinese, for its China tea trade was of immense pecuniary value. The Committee had to represent to the Chinese Government, through the Hong merchants, that the Company had nothing to do with the illicit Opium trade, and could not repress the lawless doings of those merchants who engaged in it. For thirty years and more they gravely persevered in this course, and yet all the time the Company was the original source of the trade, and was pecuniarily interested in it. The Committee solemnly talked of the "legitimate" and the "illegitimate trade" or "illicit traffic," disavowing the latter in the name of their masters, while in fact the trade was one and a whole, the Opium being sold by the Company in Calcutta on purpose to provide for their China investment. In a word the Committee had to wear two faces and to speak with two voices. To the Chinese they protested the Company's entire separation from the Opium trade; to the Company and the Opium merchants they expressed their anxiety for its safety. Here is a specimen of their correspondence with their masters in July, 1823:—

"We have the honour to enclose to your honourable Committee three edicts received from the different officers of the Canton Government, on the subject of the ships remaining on the coast laden with Opium and our reply thereto. We were desirous to avoid the slightest implication on the part of the honourable Company, and at the same time not to oppose unnecessary impediments to the trade. The arguments we have taken up, though specious, cannot be maintained should the Viceroy place any obstacles to our

commercial transactions dependent upon the departure of the vessels in question. In the margin we have noted the number and names of the British vessels, and we are in hopes that the Government will continue for some time silent and inoffensive. . . .”*

In this case we see the face and hear the voice turned towards India : another Parliamentary paper shows us both faces, lets us hear both voices. In 1833 a Captain Grant, commander of the “Hercules,” one of the Opium-store ships, got embroiled with the Chinese ; and, in the words of the Canton Committee, Grant “pursued a series of unjustifiable acts amounting we may almost say to piratical conduct.” This was written on October 25th. On November 7th they wrote to the Viceroy of Canton, in reference to this series of unjustifiable acts amounting almost to piracy :—

“We disclaim all connection with the operations of the Opium ships which remain outside the river unmolested by the officers of this province. We cannot be responsible for acts of violence and affrays between these ships and the Chinese.” †

First, they judge the man, and report the case to Calcutta ; next, they assert to the Chinese that they have no connection with it, no responsibility for it. It seems incredible that English gentlemen in a high official position could be guilty of such duplicity. Long habituation to an essentially insincere policy must have deadened their moral sensitiveness ; until perhaps they had succeeded in persuading themselves that the smuggling trade could not be stopped, while in reality the Indian Government did not want it to be stopped, would not use its power to stop it. It reminds one of the sarcastic definition of an ambassador, as a gentleman “sent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country.” For sixty years the function of wearing a false face and speaking with a false voice in China was discharged by the East India Company’s representatives. Later on, until the Opium war, the Queen’s representatives endured to perform the dishonourable part.

So far our attention has been directed to features of the Opium policy which belong to the first period marked out by Sir James Lyall, though most of these features characterize the later policy also, until the legalisation of the trade put a new face on it. The only distinctive features of the earlier period are two : first, its outspoken and extreme denunciation of Opium, as a drug which

* Quoted from “Parliamentary Papers, 1831,” Vol. VI., pp. 134-5, in Tinsling’s *Poppy Plague*, page 59.

† Parliamentary Paper in British Museum, XXXVI., page 595.

ought to be suppressed altogether if possible ; secondly, the actual restriction, during the earlier part of this period at least, that is, down to 1820, of the export of Opium to about 4,000 chests, which was the annual average from 1773 to that year. In regard to this period, while recognising its superiority in morality to that which succeeded it, it cannot be pronounced blameless. On the contrary, its inconsistency and insincerity are too sadly conspicuous ; and these faults paved the way for the lower descent which followed. We pass now to the second period.

THE CHANGE OF POLICY.

"The year 1830 was a most important epoch in the history of the Bengal monopoly." "In that year the Government reconsidered the whole case, and appear to have decided that a change of policy was necessary." Finding it impossible "to control the Malwa trade," they concluded that "it was necessary to abandon the old policy of not increasing the supply of Bengal Opium. The Government, in fact, made up their minds that in future the Calcutta export market must be allowed a supply which would enable it to compete favourably on commercial terms with the Bombay export market."

"To carry this out they directed their Behar and Benares agents to invite applications to cultivate poppy in tracts and villages, other than those to which they had hitherto restricted it." Import of Opium from Oudh and Nepal was "allowed for sale to Government only." The production was at once almost doubled, in a few years quadrupled. "The steady rise in quantity was not checked by Chinese edicts, or even by war with China ; and did not begin to abate till it was affected in 1854-55 by the great extension of poppy cultivation in China."

The change thus described, mostly in Sir James Lyall's words,* was a change from a policy governed to some extent by moral considerations to a policy henceforth avowedly commercial and financial. Sir James Lyall is of opinion that he has shown that "down to 1830 the policy of the Government of India was strongly restrictive." The new principle was "to abandon the old policy of a small supply sold at a high rate, in favour of a larger supply at a cheaper rate"; "in future the Calcutta export market must be allowed a supply which would enable it to compete favourably on commercial terms with the Bombay export market." That is, the Indian Government resolved to set aside moral scruples, and to be guided solely by commercial considerations. Under this new principle of action, there was no longer any thought of merely preserving a revenue which had been handed over to them on their coming into possession of Bengal. The income was speedily increased from two millions to three, to five, until in 1879-80, and

* Memorandum, pages 124 and 125.

1880-81, it exceeded eight millions. The former modest export of 4,000 chests swelled to nearly 60,000; the export of Malwa Opium increased simultaneously; until in 1879-80 the total export of Bengal and Malwa Opium exceeded 105,000 chests, containing more than 6,000 tons of Opium! Of these, more than 90,000 chests went direct to China. "Whether the new working policy then adopted," says Sir James Lyall, "was justifiable, is, no doubt, open to question."* Can there be any question about it? Sir James Lyall himself shrinks from saying that the change was justifiable: and his half-hearted excuses are almost equivalent to a denunciation of its iniquity.

NO CHANGE IN OPIUM.

Opium was the same in 1830 as it had been before and is now. It fascinated, enslaved, ministered to vice, brought poverty and demoralization in its train, just as before. No new facts had come to light; no inquiry had been set on foot. The restrictions upon internal consumption were not relaxed. Sir James Lyall says—"In defence of the Government of India it must be first remembered that it was not even asserted at this time that any Government had used force against China in support of the trade." That, as a statement of fact, is true—but what has that fact to do with the question before us? Nothing whatever; and there is no reason why it should be mentioned in excuse of the immoral change of policy, unless it be the extreme difficulty of finding anything to say by way of apology. The change of policy was made ten years before the Opium war: it was, indeed, a cause, though not the only cause, of that war, as we shall see hereafter. The Indian Government must have been sadly deficient in sagacity if it did not in 1830 foresee the probability that its change of policy might lead to war; and if its agents in Canton did not warn it of this grave danger it was very badly served by them. However that be, the war was then future, and the question is—Was it right in 1830 to increase without definite limit a contraband trade in a pernicious luxury? Was it justifiable to pour unlimited poison into a foreign land, while the Government was doing what it could to prevent its own people from consuming this poison? To talk about the subsequent war at this stage is simply to distract attention from the question before us.

* Memorandum, page 125.

Sir James Lyall proceeds :—

"Nor can it be fairly assumed that that Government, which was familiar with the use of Opium in India, had reason to consider the drug an article which must be regarded as a poison, and on a different plane from other dangerous stimulants like alcohol, for example."

This suggestion is an anachronism. No doubt in 1890 this argument represents an actuality, but in 1830 the "euphoric" theory had not been invented. It is an interesting historical fact that the apology for Opium as an article to be classed with alcohol, tea, and tobacco, came into common use when the progress of the Anti-Opium agitation began to be a serious danger to the Indian revenue. Sir James Lyall is not entitled to ascribe this attitude of mind to the Indian Government in 1830, unless he can produce contemporary evidence. In the absence of proof to the contrary, it must be assumed that the opinion of Warren Hastings, and of the Court of Directors in 1817, as to the evil effects of Opium, still continued to be held by the Government of India. As a matter of fact, Opium is a poison, and is so regarded in India at this very day, as the latest addition to the report of the Royal Commission proves. In his Note conveying his signature to the Report, the Maharaja of Darbhanga "points out the fact that Opium is, unlike alcohol, a deadly poison if taken in excess, and is a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant persons." And he "urges that Opium should be sold in bottles or phials, labelled 'poison,' and the minimum dose which is likely to be fatal should also be legibly printed in the vernacular on these labels." Nevertheless, the Maharaja is to some extent a convert to Sir William Roberts' theory. There has been, then, a considerable softening down of the old unsparing condemnation of the Opium habit; but this was certainly not the cause of the change of policy in 1830. The cause, according to Sir James Lyall's own statement, was the competition of Malwa Opium. It seems more natural and reasonable to hold that the change of opinion was an effect, rather than the cause, of the change of policy. After it had once been determined that the export must be increased for financial reasons, every one concerned in the change would naturally do his best to forget the mischief wrought by the drug; and the wish which is father to thought would by degrees lead men to indulge the belief that Opium is not so black as it has been painted.

But let us once more close with Sir James Lyall on his own

terms. Supposing that Opium and alcohol are on a level, would it have been right to flood China with contraband gin and whisky? This excuse is no more solid than the former. So long as the Indian Government continues to maintain legislation which aims at the restriction of Opium in India, and at its extinction in Burma, the argument that Opium is an article which may justifiably be poured into China to the full extent of commercial demand will not stand.

NO CHANGE IN CHINA.

Nothing had happened in China to make the change of policy excusable. The edict of 1799 was still in force. Sir James Lyall says:—

“No doubt the Government of India was well aware that the increasing demand came from China, where the article was contraband, but down to 1830 the Chinese Government had shown little or no anxiety to enforce the edict, and the merchants who took the drug to the China coast found an eager market, and had no difficulty in disposing of the drug to Chinese, who landed it with the connivance of Chinese officials.”*

Thus he plainly acknowledges the humiliating truth that the British Government of India, a nominally Christian Government, deliberately set to work to double, quadruple, and decuple, an illegal trade in a pernicious article, a poison. Let him look that fact in the face. The Chinese were, let us suppose, as bad as he represents them. Does the venality of Chinese mandarins excuse the action of the Indian Government? Is the burglar justified because the footman inside the house accepted a bribe? Rate the fault of the Chinese as high as you please, the magnitude of their fault does not diminish by one feather's weight the criminality of the Indian Government's action. The change of policy must be acquitted or condemned on its own merits or demerits.

The remark that “the Chinese Government had shown little or no sign of anxiety to enforce the edict” of 1799, must not be too easily accepted. In point of fact, the Chinese officials drove the Opium ships from Whampoa, the port of Canton. These were then transferred to Macao. The Chinese Governor brought pressure to bear upon the Portuguese, who compelled the Opium ships to leave their waters. Thenceforth the Opium ships anchored in what the Chinese called “the outer waters,” at Lintin, where they remained undisturbed. But why did not the Chinese molest them there? Because they had no naval force fit to cope with

* Memorandum; page 125.

them. Sir James Lyall notes that "the ships were heavily armed against attack either by pirates or by Chinese war-junks."* He also asserts that "the Chinese Government was never, before or after the war, capable of stopping the import of Opium."†

"The Chinese Government was known to be as incapable of itself stopping Chinese smuggling along its coasts as it had been of stopping Chinese piracy. So long ago as the year 1633, the Chinese Government had to ask the Dutch to help them to put down Chinese pirates, and partly succeeded only with their help."‡

Now this is all perfectly true, as the subsequent events proved. The Chinese officials at Canton knew that they could not capture and could not drive away those heavily-armed Opium clippers and store-ships; that if they had made the attempt their junks and fast boats would have been blown to pieces or sunk. It is therefore unjust to attribute the non-molestation of the Opium fleet wholly to the venality of the mandarins. No one disputes that venality. But on the other hand, had the mandarins been as incorruptible as Aristides, the contraband trade would have gone on in spite of them.

The Chinese had one irresistible weapon in their hands, if only they had known it. They could have summarily rid themselves of the illicit traffic once and for ever, by simply stopping all trade, and depriving Britain and the world of their tea. But did they know this? We know that the Indian Government, through its representatives, persistently endeavoured to blind them to this fact. This has to be remembered when the Chinese are accused of having allowed the smuggling trade to go on so quietly. True, they did not display much activity against it; but perhaps they did as much as they could, and as much as they dared. At any rate, it is brutal for us to upbraid them with their negligence, seeing that when they did proceed to strong measures the Opium war was the result.

THE INTERESTS OF INDIA.

One more argument—

"Moreover, the Government of India was bound to carefully consider the interests of its Indian subjects, for whom it held in trust the revenue derived from the Bengal monopoly." "By increasing the supply in Calcutta the Government of India only did what private manufacturers would have done in the same circumstances, as a matter of course."

One cannot help feeling a sentiment of pity for Sir James Lyall,

* Appendix A, page 19. † Memorandum, page 128. ‡ Ibid., page 125.

who, with evident awkwardness and dislike, puts forward these excuses. His own honest opinion expressed on this same page is, that the change of policy was questionable at least. He says :

“ Whether the Government of India, with the facts before it as they stood in 1830, was bound on moral grounds to act differently, seems not an easy question to answer with confidence.” “ It is perhaps a pity,” he thinks, “ that the Government did not abandon the monopoly and get rid of their responsibility.”

When the apologist for the change of policy writes in this strain, its assailant need not take much trouble. The Indian Government must abide by its own decisions, declarations, and actions. If Opium is an article which is dangerous and injurious to such a degree that the Government was justified in prohibiting free cultivation and free trade in this article to its subjects in India, and establishing a system whereby the cultivation and trade were confined within a small area and to a limited number of persons, then that Government was under no moral obligation to expand that trade to the utmost possible extent. On the contrary, the peculiar nature and effects of the drug, which justified the establishment of the monopoly, also laid upon the Government an imperative moral obligation not to use the system as a mere means of making money. It cannot be argued that they might lawfully act as private traders would act, when the very basis of their monopoly was the conviction that private traders would abuse their liberty and injure the public for the sake of enriching themselves. There are private traders, and there were such in those days * ; who would not trade in Opium at all. In short, there is no valid excuse for the change of policy. The Government connection with Opium was vitiated by half-heartedness and insincerity from the first. It wanted to combine two inconsistent aims : discouragement of a pernicious trade, and promotion of the trade for the sake of revenue. Until 1830 these two inconsistent aims had about equal influence ; the restriction in India being to a good degree effective, and the export trade not being pushed forward in a commercial spirit. But unhappily the

* The Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Morrison, the first Protestant Missionary in China, contain a deeply interesting letter from a young English merchant who, in 1823, gave up a lucrative business and returned to his native country because, having seen the evils produced by Opium, he could not conscientiously continue in the traffic. (Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 221.) The Chairman of our Society, Mr. Donald Matheson, as is well known, relinquished his interest in the great firm of Jardine, Matheson & Co., on the same ground.—Ed. *F. of C.*

commercial spirit was not entirely cast out; and in 1830 it got the reins into its power, and drove the Government swiftly along on the wrong road. The restrictive policy still held its own so far as the internal consumption in India was concerned, but this fact only the more effectually exposes the moral delinquency of the Government in the foreign trade.

Sir James Lyall's apology for the Opium war must be left for another paper.

F. STORRS TURNER.

Obituary.

Judge Thomas Hughes, Q.C., whose death we record with deep regret, had for many years been a member of our General Council, and his name was appended to more than one of its memorials to Government. His connection with the Society seemed to link it with the protest of his old master, Dr. Arnold, against the Opium war, of which our readers may like to be reminded. Writing to Mr. W. W. Hull, under date March 13th, 1840, he says:—"I do not often venture to talk to you about public affairs, but surely you will agree with me in deprecating this war with China, which really seems to me so wicked as to be a national sin of the greatest possible magnitude, and it distresses me very deeply. Cannot anything be done, by petition or otherwise, to awaken men's minds to the dreadful guilt we are incurring? I really do not remember, in any history, of a war undertaken with such combined injustice and baseness. Ordinary wars of conquest are to me far less wicked than to go to war in order to maintain smuggling, and that smuggling consisting in the introduction of a demoralising drug, which the Government of China wishes to keep out, and which we, for the lucre of gain, want to introduce by force, and in this quarrel are going to burn and slay, in the pride of our supposed superiority."

Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison, K. C. S. I., one of the noble Christian men who have from time to time adorned the ranks of Anglo-Indian administrators, will be ever remembered by those interested in the Anti-Opium agitation by his outspoken statement of the evils produced by Opium amongst the Burmese. It has been too often quoted to need repetition here. Sir Charles Aitchison, like other Christian officials, was not sufficiently emancipated from his official surroundings to join in protesting against the revenue derived from inflicting upon China similar evils to those which he so vividly portrayed as resulting in Burma; on this point his philanthropy was as limited as that of Warren Hastings. But he appreciated, if we are not mistaken, the force of the argument that what has now been conceded to Burma cannot be denied to China.

Mr. John T. Dorland, whose death, after a very short illness, we record with extreme regret, was a warm sympathiser with our movement. A native

of Canada, he came to this country first as a minister of the Society of Friends. His powerful and eloquent sermons, the unaffected manliness of his nature, the charm of his manner, and his whole-hearted dedication to the service of Christ gave him a wide influence for good, especially amongst the young men of the Society. He presided at the Farewell Meeting held at Devonshire House, London, on the eve of the departure of Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., and Mr. J. G. Alexander for India, in connection with the Opium Commission.

Notes and Extracts.

A CHINA MISSIONARY ON THE COMMISSION.—Mr. N. G. Terrell, of the London Mission, Hiao-kan, near Hankow, writes us as follows, under date 23rd September, 1895 :—"I need not say that we missionaries out here have watched with a deep and even painful interest the strenuous efforts made to bring home to the Christian Church and the British public the awful harm that the Opium traffic is doing throughout the East. The report of the Commission was not a surprise, after the outrageous evidence given by medical men and others, but I suppose there is not one of us that has not thanked God for the noble and courageous stand made by Mr. Wilson for the cause of truth and morality. God grant that the day may soon come when England shall, even yet, be clear of this abominable traffic. I have not the least hesitation in saying that Opium is, out and away, the *biggest hindrance* the Gospel meets with in China, even worse than the mandarins and officials, which is saying a good deal! It makes one's heart *ache* to see the awful hold Opium has on the people, ever increasing too, in spite of the fact that no Chinaman will trust an Opium smoker, nor employ him if he can help it. 'Opium smoker' and 'villain' are pretty much synonymous terms; only to-day when asking a heathen contractor, who is building a house for us, what had happened to a foreman he had three years ago, he replied, 'He was no good, a *bad* man, he *smoked Opium*,' quite a sufficient reason for dismissing him in the estimation of this worldly rich Chinaman! We meet the evil everywhere, on the small country roads ever and anon one passes a little Opium den, while every little street and market town has them. In this city they are, I should say, even more plentiful than public-houses in such a city at home would be."

SZ-CHUAN OPIUM EXPORTED TO CANTON.—The same correspondent calls our attention to the fact mentioned in the Anglo-Chinese press that the first large cargo of Sz-Chuan Opium has recently been shipped to Canton. The fact is ominous for the ill-gotten gains which the Indian Government at present obtains from Indian export. God grant that national repentance for our great national sin against China may not come too late, when there shall no longer be an Opium revenue to lose! It certainly looks as if, with increasing payments to cultivators and diminishing yield, making the cost of every chest of Opium higher, on the one side, and Chinese competition steadily reducing the price of the Indian drug, on the other side, the profits would ere long be reduced to vanishing point.

THE OPIUM COMMISSION'S REPORT: THE VERDICT COMPARED WITH THE EVIDENCE.—The Rev. Arnold Foster, of Hankow, the well-known

missionary, contributes to the *Chinese Recorder* for January, an article under the above heading, in which he deals with the following statement made by the majority of the Opium Commission: "There is *no evidence* from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian Opium should be stopped." He shows that, "So far from there being 'no evidence,' there is the evidence of at least forty competent witnesses, amongst whom were not a few men of exceptionally high standing in point of personal character, general intelligence, disinterestedness, long residence in China, and intimate knowledge of nearly all matters connected with the social life of the Chinese." Mr. Foster observes: "That all this evidence should have been calmly and unceremoniously brushed aside by the Commissioners, in the one sentence quoted at the head of this paper, goes far to support the observation made by Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P., in his Minute of Dissent from the findings of his brother Commissioners: 'The Report adopted by my colleagues appears to me to partake more of the character of an elaborate defence of the Opium trade of the East India Company and of the present Government of India than of a judicial pronouncement on the immediate questions submitted to us.'" Mr. Foster quotes thirty-two answers received by the Commission from China, containing explicit statements that the Chinese desire the import of Opium to be stopped, besides similar opinions expressed by witnesses heard orally in London and in memorials presented to the Commission. He winds up with the judgment: "The more the Report is studied in connection with the evidence, the more will it be seen that it cannot be permanently accepted by any considerable body of the community as a fair and equitable verdict."

AMERICAN PHYSICIANS ON THE COMMISSION.—Bishop Thoburn, the able and devoted chief pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Missions in India and the Straits Settlements, has been visiting the Keeley Institution for the cure of dipsomania at Dwight, Illinois, U.S.A. The Institution provides not only for victims of the alcohol craving, but also for those of Opium and other narcotics. The Bishop says, in one of his interesting letters to the *Indian Witness*:—"I found, as might have been expected, that in this famous Institute, to which hundreds of the victims of the Opium habit resort, the proceedings of the Indian Opium Commission have been watched with keen interest. Perhaps I need hardly add that the report finally adopted by the Commission has been read with utter amazement. In talking with the intelligent physician who is in charge of the Opium department at the Institute, I ventured to ask him what he thought of the report, viewing it strictly from a scientific point of view. He hesitated a moment, and then replied, 'If I express myself frankly, I can only say that I regard it as a farce.' Another physician connected with the Institute used much stronger language in speaking of the methods employed to belittle the evil effects of the Opium habit. Very much of the medical testimony given before the Commission reads strangely enough in the presence of the many human wrecks caused by the Opium habit which one constantly sees in this place. As the years go by the testimony given before that Opium Commission will be viewed with constantly increasing astonishment. The medical witnesses seemed utterly to forget that throughout the civilized world there is a vast medical fraternity of independent thinkers, and that the various questions discussed before the Commission have been thoroughly canvassed by tens of thousands of men in bygone years. In the course of conversation with one of the physicians here, the question was raised as to the sincerity of some of the

medical men who gave strong testimony before the Commission in favour of Opium. The doctor in question at once remarked that he did not question the sincerity of the witnesses for a moment. He said that one of the strangest facts which had come to light, in connection with his treatment of broken down wrecks, was the blind confidence of intelligent physicians in the many good properties of this baneful drug. It is an astonishing fact that of the patients who come to this Institute there is a larger proportion of physicians than of men of any other calling. Stranger still, it frequently happens that a doctor and his wife come together, and in all such cases it appears that the wife has become the victim of her own husband's bad practice. The misguided man becomes fond of the drug himself, is unconscious of its hold upon him, and under such circumstances is almost sure to feel disposed to prescribe it to patients. It is a painful evidence of his sincerity in the matter that he will give it to his own wife, even on a very slight pretence, and will not be aware of the harm he is doing until both he and his wife are bound helplessly in the chains of this fascinating habit. Of course it will be said by apologists for the habit that the effects of the drug are different on different sides of the globe; but this is only true in a slight degree. The Opium joints in New York and San Francisco do not differ from the Opium dens of Bombay and Calcutta. The vice is the same in all its main features wherever found, and it behoves Christians everywhere to oppose it more strenuously than ever."

THE POT CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK.—The Glasgow *Christian Leader* remarks with regard to the lynching mania in the South: "We must confess that the indifference of the rest of America to this frightful scandal and brutal injustice speaks badly for them as a people. Is there not one man among all their political, social and religious leaders who has soul enough to feel the intolerable weight of this horror?" Without apologizing in the least for the crime of lynching, we feel tempted to mildly suggest to our English [*sic*] exchange that until England succeeds in clearing her reputation in the matter of the Opium traffic, or exerts herself effectively in behalf of the oppressed Armenians, it would be well to refrain from wholesale condemnations of the American people.—*New York Observer*.

ABANDONMENT OF THE OPIUM SQUEEZE.—Under the above heading, an Anglo-Chinese paper exults over the failure of the attempt made by the Chinese provincial authorities, acting, as it is said, on the suggestion of the Peking Government, to impose an extra war tax of 20 taels per picul on imported Opium. "The Indian Government," it tells us, "was not slow to move, and strong representations were at its instance forwarded to Peking, pointing out the irregularity of the proposed measure. The result has been the collapse of the entire scheme." Where, then, is the alleged freedom of China to impose whatever taxation she pleases on Indian Opium, proclaimed by Sir James Fergusson in 1891, and reiterated, in spite of the clearest evidence from the Foreign Office itself, by the Majority of the Commission? The only possible answer is that it does not and never did exist, except in the imagination of men anxious, not to discover the truth, but to find a defence for an indefensible, yet profitable, traffic.

AN INDEPENDENT PUNJABI.—An Indian paper says:—"Babu Murli Dhar, Pleader, has been elected a member of the Umballa Municipality this time. His election has given satisfaction to Hindus as well as Mohammedans. The people are glad because they have now an independent representative in the Committee. A few years ago he refused the seat when he was *nominated* by the Deputy Commissioner. Notwithstanding his being a strong Congress-wallah, he enjoys the equal confidence of the officials as well as the people." Babu Murli Dhar was one of the most remarkable Indian witnesses who came before the Commission. The gist of his evidence is contained in the following answer: "I believe that public opinion would favour the adoption of a measure prohibiting the retail sale of Opium for other than medical use, provided special provision were made by means of a register of Opium-consumers, for the wants of those who are already habituated to the use of the drug, and if the people were assured that no fresh tax would be imposed."



THE REV. DAVID HILL.

THE
FRIEND OF CHINA.

The Organ of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

VOL. XVI.

JULY, 1896.

No. 3.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESENTED TO THE

Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the Society,

WEDNESDAY, 20th May, 1896.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S DESPATCH.

The most important event of the past year in connection with our agitation has been the issue of the Blue Book containing the views of the Indian Government on the Report of the Opium Commission. It is gratifying to note that this Commission, though appointed in opposition to our wishes, and intended as an obstacle in the way of our success, has resulted in an important step forward in the direction of the suppression of the traffic. Even the Majority Report was constrained to admit that "Native public opinion generally condemns the habit [of Opium-smoking in India] as disreputable," and recommended that the Government of India "should abandon in all provinces the licensing of shops for the manufacture and sale of" **Opium-smoking preparations**, "showing thereby that they are in sympathy with public opinion." This recommendation has been accepted by the Indian Government. The Majority Report further suggested that the Government of India should consider the subject of "legislation against the use of rooms as smoking saloons." On this point the Indian Government promises to "ascertain the opinions of local governments and administrations." It declines, however, to prohibit entirely the manufacture and consumption of preparations for smoking,

as had been recommended by the two Native Commissioners and by Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P., in accordance with the law already in force in several important Native States of India.

The Indian Government professes to accept the recommendation of the Majority Report, that the **Employment of Middlemen** in the payment of Opium cultivators in the Behar Agency should be discontinued. It has "authorised the experimental introduction into selected subdivisions of the Behar Opium Agency of a scheme for making payment to the poppy cultivator, for Opium delivered, either direct or through a representative, *at the cultivator's option.*" It has rejected Sir Charles Elliott's proposal of "a Committee of Enquiry to ascertain the wishes of the cultivators" as "unnecessary," but has not explained how otherwise they are to be ascertained. If they are only to be made known through the very middlemen whose illegal perquisites and other oppressions it is proposed to get rid of, the experiment can hardly be regarded as serious. The late Mr. Haridas Viharidas recommended that a general notification should be issued throughout the poppy-growing districts to the effect that no one is bound to cultivate the crop unless he may wish to do so. To this suggestion the Indian Government objects: "A notification of the kind is, in our opinion, certainly not required, and among a population like that of India would be liable to misinterpretation." It appears to us very improbable that the ryots would be deterred by any such notification from accepting advances to grow the poppy, if the crop were in fact advantageous and profitable to them.

On other points the Indian Government accepts the Majority Report "as a vindication of its own past action . . . in regard to the production, consumption, and sale of Opium, and as an endorsement of the views which have guided it."

With regard to the charges of **Unfair Dealing** brought against the Indian Government by Mr. Henry J. Wilson, in his "Memorandum on the Attitude of the Authorities in India," the despatch says: "We are prepared, if your Lordship wishes, to deal categorically with each of the charges contained in the memorandum, but this appears to us, in the circumstances, to be altogether unnecessary." Lord George Hamilton makes no reference, in his brief reply, to this offer. The only point on which the Indian Government makes any attempt to defend its

proceedings is with regard to the charge of selecting witnesses, as to which it furnishes some additional correspondence. This was also the only point of the case against the Indian Government made in the House of Commons last year by Sir Joseph Pease and Mr. John Ellis, to which any attempt at reply was made in the debate by Mr. Mowbray, as representing the majority of the Commission. All the other charges, including the grave allegation against the Marquis of Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, that he attempted to influence the minds of the Commissioners by a letter addressed to them privately, are left unanswered and unexplained, although in the House of Commons the Secretary of State for India (Sir Henry Fowler) expressed his agreement with much that had been said by Mr. Ellis on some of them. We cannot doubt that, if the Indian Government had been able to contradict the statements made with regard to the conduct of their officials, they would have availed themselves of the opportunity of doing so, without asking for Lord George Hamilton's instructions.

POSTPONEMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

At its meeting in February the Committee unanimously adopted a resolution, which was communicated to the Joint Board of the Anti-Opium Societies, to the effect that it was desirable, at the earliest practicable opportunity, to obtain the introduction into the House of Commons of a **Motion** condemning the Opium traffic. The Board appointed a Sub-Committee to confer with our Parliamentary leaders on the subject; such conference was, however, deferred till the publication of the new Blue Book, which had been promised by Lord George Hamilton to Sir Joseph Pease before the Session commenced, as it was obviously desirable, before framing a notice of motion, to know the precise position taken up by the Indian Government. The Blue Book did not appear until during the Easter recess, and before it had been possible to arrange the conference, the Government gave notice of their intention to take the whole time of the House. It thus became impossible to bring the subject before the House of Commons this session.

The debate of last year was necessarily mainly concerned with the procedure of the Commission and of the Indian Government with regard to it, and we regret that the opportunity for a similarly

authoritative exposure of the misleading and unreliable character of the Majority Report should be delayed. We hope, however, that the delay will enable the exposure to be all the more effective when the opportunity for it comes. The more that Report is studied, the more do we find its arguments fallacious, and its statements opposed to the evidence on which they profess to be based.

PROGRESS IN INDIA.

Meanwhile, the concession granted by the Indian Government with regard to Opium-smoking is not the only sign that our efforts, and those of kindred organizations, have not been in vain. The Indian Government has found itself impelled to make fresh enquiry as to the desirability of some legislation in the direction of a **Poisons Act**, to check the alarming increase of suicides in Calcutta and other places.

From **Bombay** we learn that the local Government has at length exerted itself to close the unlicensed Opium dens, for exposing which three missionaries and a Christian editor suffered imprisonment two years ago. Mr. Maurice Gregory, who has recently returned from a visit to India, reported, at the recent annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, that Opium-smoking can now only be practised in that city with the greatest possible secrecy.*

SUCCESS OF PROHIBITION IN BURMA.

In **Burma**, the Report of the Excise Department for 1894-5, shows that most gratifying success has attended the prohibitory legislation which came into force in that province at the commencement of 1894. The following are the figures of Opium consumption during the last five years:—

1890—1	...	...	...	...	57,674 seers.—(One seer = 2 $\frac{1}{10}$ lbs.)
1891—2	...	...	...	...	52,975 „†

* We have since received from Dr. Donald Morison the welcome news that "the Government of Bengal has at length closed the smoking dens entirely. This has only taken place here about two or three months ago. [The letter bears date, Rampore Boalia, 8th June.] . . . This is a great boon to India . . . I have no doubt Sir Alex. Mackenzie has done it." Sir Alexander Mackenzie is now Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.—*ED. F. of C.*

† So reported to the Opium Commission: Proceedings, vol. iv, p. 354. In the Excise Report for Burma, 1894-5, p. 4, it is stated as 51,725 seers.

1892—3	...	...	...	...	64,127 seers.
1893—4	...	...	...	...	44,995 „
1894—5	...	...	...	...	19,275 „

{The new regulation was in force for the last three months of 1893-4.) It thus appears that the consumption of Opium in the province has been diminished rather less than a third of its former amount, taking the average of the last three years under the old system. This result is no doubt largely due to the watchfulness of Mr. Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner. We are glad to observe that the Chief Commissioner, Sir Frederick Fryer, in his minute on the Excise Report, for a second time cordially acknowledges the "success which Mr. Smeaton has achieved" in the administration of the Excise Department. He and the other officials who have supported his efforts have a yet higher reward in the consciousness that they have done their best, notwithstanding the serious defects of the law which they had to administer, so to apply it as to save the Burman and Karen peoples from what Sir Charles Aitchison described, sixteen years ago, as an evil "affecting the very life of this young and otherwise prosperous province." For our own Society it is highly satisfactory that the protective measures which we so long urged in the interests of the Burman people, and which the Indian Government so obstinately opposed in the interests of its Opium revenue, have been attended with these beneficent results.

PROHIBITION IN FORMOSA.

The Japanese Government has adopted a similar but more complete measure of prohibition in **Formosa**. That island appears to have been the first part of the Chinese Empire to acquire the vice of Opium-smoking; according to one of the Chinese documents published in Dr. Edkins' historical sketch of the Opium trade in China,* the practice was introduced into Formosa from Java, about the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century, and spread from thence to the mainland. Dr. Dudgeon states that the first Chinese Imperial edict against Opium-smoking, that of 1729, applied in the first instance only to Formosa, though shortly afterwards extended to the whole Empire.

* Originally published in Chinese and English by the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, in 1879, and the English text reproduced as App. II to Vol. I of the Proceedings of the Royal Commission on Opium.

The vice has continued to be very widely practised by the Chinese inhabitants of Formosa to the present time.

When the Japanese first obtained possession of the island they issued strict orders to their own troops prohibiting them from indulging in the habit, and warning them that any Japanese found doing so would be as strictly punished as in their own country. Later, a proclamation was issued, denouncing, under penalty of death, the supply of Opium and Opium-pipes to the Japanese. There was some natural hesitation in applying to the inhabitants of the newly-conquered island, the stringent prohibition of the drug which is enforced in Japan itself. Finding, however, that it would be impossible to prevent their own people from acquiring the pernicious habit, unless the prohibition were extended to the entire population, they resolved on this measure, and accepted the recommendation of their medical adviser that provision should be made by a Government office for the wants of confirmed Opium-smokers, to whom the total stoppage of their supply might involve great suffering, or even death. A decree was accordingly issued, dated 24th February, 1896, which forbids the import of Opium into Formosa, except as a medicine, and the purchase and sale of the drug in the island.

INCREASED POPPY CULTIVATION IN BRITISH INDIA.

The Indian Government has been pursuing a precisely opposite policy to that of the Japanese. It has followed up the measure adopted two years ago of increasing by 20 per cent. the price paid to cultivators for crude Opium, by using its influence to increase the acreage under poppy in Bengal and the North-West Provinces, and has secured an increase of nearly one-fourth. This action has been taken in defiance, not only of the official statements made by Sir James Fergusson and the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith in 1891, but of the resolution of the House of Commons in 1893, which pressed "on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of Opium." But these efforts have been unsuccessful in their object of raising the supply of Opium provided for export to China and elsewhere to its former standard. The sales of Bengal Opium, which the Indian Government had found itself obliged to reduce, in 1892, from 57,000 chests, the quantity annually sold for several years

previously, have been still further reduced to 39,000 chests for the present year. Recent information is to the effect that this year again, for the eighth successive season, the poppy crop has proved a disastrous failure. Thus, whilst the Indian Government proclaims itself indifferent to the evils produced in China by the poison which it sends thither, and anxious only to maintain its profit from this immoral traffic, the All-Wise Ruler of the Universe withholds the climatic conditions without which an abundant crop cannot be gathered in.

HOME WORK.

At home, the Committee has done its best to take up the challenge of the Secretary of State for India in the Parliamentary debate of last year, by "arguing out the question" before the country, and "informing public opinion."

Through the assistance of sympathetic friends in various parts of the country, 119 meetings have been held by our Society since the last Annual Statement, in twenty different counties, including several each in Cornwall, Dorset, Hampshire, Lancashire, Derby, Nottingham, Northampton, Somerset, and the neighbourhood of London. The meetings held have included public and drawing-room meetings, lantern lectures, and addresses given to P.S.A. and other similar gatherings.

The Honorary Secretary has addressed 30 meetings, the Organizing Secretary 27. We are also indebted to the Rev. C. T. Byford for attendance at 18; Rev. S. C. Challenger (Notts), 9; Rev. Silas Walmsley (Pudsey), 5; W. C. Maughan, Esq. (Glasgow), 4; Rev. Joseph Kirsop (Penzance), 4; and Mr. W. J. Fox (Plymouth), 3; and 19 other meetings have been addressed by friends of the Society.

We would especially thank Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P., for his able advocacy of the Anti-Opium policy at important meetings; also Miss Lucy Guinness, Miss Ashby, Sir Matthew Dodsworth, Bart., Surgeon Lieut.-Col. R. Pringle, M.D., Revs. F. Storrs Turner, B.A., J. F. B. Tinling, B.A., James Hunter, B.D., J. C. Taylor, W. Holyoak, F. M. Young, J. Hawkins, and H. Hirst, and Mr. A. H. Barker.

The Committee of the Yorkshire Auxiliary arranged for a series of meetings conducted by Mr. Byford, and afternoon conferences at Leeds and Halifax.

BREAKING UP NEW GROUND.

While the members of the older organizations or local auxiliaries have been encouraged by the visits of deputations during the year, a forward movement has been made in places unvisited by any Anti-Opium organization. Meetings have been held in upwards of 45 new centres in 15 different counties. In the majority of these, small local committees have been formed, and a local secretary or correspondent appointed.

Advantage has been taken of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon gatherings in various parts of England, namely, Bristol, Barrow-in-Furness, King's Lynn, Barnsley, Huddersfield, Barking, Finsbury Park, Tottenham Court Road, and Acton. Audiences of from 300 to 1000 persons have been assembled at these gatherings. At all our meetings literature has been distributed, and the conduct of the Commissioners and their report been carefully reviewed by the speakers. We would recognise the valuable assistance received from many local auxiliaries of the Young Men's Christian and the British Women's Temperance Associations.

During the year some of the friends of the Movement have been willing to offer the use of their drawing-rooms for specially-invited gatherings. Such meetings have proved most helpful, giving opportunities of dealing with the Majority Report, and stating the reasons why it cannot be accepted by lovers of national righteousness.

ANTI-OPIMUM LEAGUE.

Another special feature of the year's organising work has been the efforts made by deputations to secure the enrolment of interested persons in the "Anti-Opium League." In this work we have encouragement, some 487 friends having joined the League since last report. These form the nucleus of a band of workers, who, it is hoped, in days to come will give a good account of themselves when petitions, resolutions, letters to and interviews with Parliamentary candidates, and meetings are required in their localities. Some 50 new annual subscribers to the Society's funds have been added to our list during the year.

An important conference was held in **St. Martin's Hall, Westminster**, last December, organised by Mr. Broomhall on behalf of our own Society, the Christian Union, and the Women's Committee, when a series of speeches were delivered by the

highest authorities on the various phases of the Opium question. Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Mr. J. E. Ellis, M.P., Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., Mr. Joshua Rowntree, the Rev. Thomas Evans, of Mussoorie, Dr. Huntly, of Rajputana, and the Rev. J. P. Gledstone dealt principally with the Opium Commission, showing the unreliability of the official evidence, the improper and unconstitutional methods resorted to in support of the Opium revenue, and the unfairness and inaccuracy of the Majority Report. Other speakers dealt with the need of a Poisons Act for India, the desirability of stringent measures for suppressing Opium-smoking in that Country, and the claims of the British Crown Colonies in the East, especially Ceylon, for similar protection against the spread of the Opium vice. At the closing meeting, held in the evening, Dr. Maxwell, the Rev. C. C. Fenn, and others, urged the paramount claims of China. The admirable report of this Conference, published by the Christian Union, ought to be studied by every Anti-Opium worker, and we have been glad to help in giving it a wide circulation.

We are glad to know that in **Scotland**, where Mr. Man Sukh Lal and his wife have spent nearly the whole year actively carrying on the crusade, they have had a large measure of success.

THE PRESS.

The public press has been made use of during the year, as opportunities have been afforded, for setting forth the Society's views. Our President, Sir Joseph Pease, lately addressed to the *Daily News* a valuable letter stating our position as regards the Indian Government's recent despatch, and Mr. Southall did the same in the *Leeds Mercury*. The Hon. Secretary had a lengthy controversy with Mr. H. N. Lay in the columns of the *Times* last year, with regard to the circumstances under which China was eventually induced to concede the legalisation of the traffic at the close of the second China war. Articles and letters from Mr. Alexander's pen have recently appeared in the *Missionary Review of the World* (reviewing the present position of the Anti-Opium movement), the *Insurance Observer* (dealing with the effect of the Opium habit on longevity), the *Standard* (on the Indian Government's despatch), and the *Times* (on the recent action of the Japanese in Formosa). We would urge upon our friends throughout the country the importance of embracing all suitable opportunities for letters on the subject to their local press, as these are read by many who do not attend our meetings.

The *Indian Medical Record* published last year a series of valuable articles criticising the conclusions of the Majority of the Commission, and especially those of Sir William Roberts, M.D., on the medical aspects of the Opium question. These articles have clearly shown that the facts, figures, and theories adopted by the Medical Commissioner are unreliable, and his conclusions at variance with the observations of unprejudiced medical observers in India.

FRESH LITERATURE.

The most important publication of the past year has been the second edition of Mr. Rowntree's "Opium Habit in the East," containing an able critique of the Majority Report, in addition to the analysis of the evidence contained in the first edition. This critique has been issued separately by the Society, with an introduction signed by its President and Officers, and a supplementary section exposing the untruthfulness of the statement contained in the Report, that "in regard to the admission of Indian Opium, China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent."

The last three issues of the *Friend of China* have contained a valuable series of articles by the Rev. F. Storrs Turner, commenting on the conclusions of the Majority Report as to the effects of Opium in China, and the political aspect of the question, and those of Sir James Lyall as to the history of the Opium trade. Mr. Turner shows, as the result of careful study of the facts adduced by the Commissioners, in support of the Opium trade with China, that, so far from in any way invalidating the grounds upon which the society has based its agitation during the past twenty years, they abundantly justify its protests.

CHANGES IN COMMITTEE AND COUNCIL.

During the year we have lost the services, on the Executive Committee, of five valued colleagues, Surgeon Lieut.-Col. R. Pringle, M.D., Dr. C. F. Harford Battersby, and Mr. Henry Gurney, obliged by the pressure of other duties to resign their post, and Archdeacon Moule and Mr. John Molineux, C.B., who found their health unequal to regular attendance. All these gentlemen have consented to join the General Council, in token of undiminished interest in the cause. On the other hand, the Rev. Christopher C. Fenn, formerly Senior Secretary of the Church Missionary

Society, Mr. G. W. Munt, representing the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Rev. James Hunter, Convener of the Temperance Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, and the Rev. T. G. Selby, formerly a missionary in China of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, have accepted seats on the Committee. Sir Matthew Dodsworth, Bart., has, we are glad to say, accepted the position of Treasurer.

OBITUARY.

Amongst friends of the cause whose death we have had to mourn are the Rev. Dr. Happer, a veteran American Missionary to China, who was one of the earliest workers in the cause; Mr. Robert Brown, of Glasgow; Mr. Joseph Thomson, F.R.G.S., the distinguished African traveller; Judge Hughes, Q.C.; the Rev. Gethin Davies, D.D., Principal of Bangor College; and Dr. William Lockhart, the first English medical missionary to China, a member of our General Council; also the Rev. David Hill, of Hankow, a truly apostolic missionary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, to whom we are mainly indebted for the publication of Mr. Selby's powerful treatise, "The Poppy Harvest," he having supplied the Chinese illustrations and contributed liberally to the cost of printing. The deaths of Sir Thomas Wade, whose strong testimony as to the evils of Opium in China we have so frequently cited, though unable to accept his defence of his own action as representative of the British Government, with regard to the ratification of the Chefoo Convention; Mr. Haridas Veharidas, one of the Indian members of the Opium Commission, who supported Mr. H. J. Wilson on many important points; and Sir Charles U. Aitchison, whose important Memorandum on Opium in Burma has been above referred to, also deserve notice here.

FINANCE.

As already mentioned, we are able to report a gratifying increase of annual subscriptions, thanks mainly to the efforts of the Organizing Secretary. The Special Fund of £2,000 asked for last year has now attained a total of £1,179 3s. 10d., our President having kindly repeated his last year's donation of £100, and several other donors having given a second time. The accounts presented herewith show a considerable diminution of expenditure as compared with former years; but our regular income is still much

below what we need to meet our regular charges, without the special appeals on which the Society has so largely depended throughout its existence. At the present time there is a deficit of £100, which the Committee much hope to see wiped out shortly, especially in view of the urgent need for further literature of a popular character dealing with the question as affected by the Report of the Royal Commission.

CONCLUSION.

The Committee feel that the many encouraging tokens of God's blessing already referred to, should encourage them to renewed prayerful effort to suppress a traffic which injures China, threatens India, degrades the British Crown Colonies and British settlements in the far East, and disgraces the Governments of India and the mother country. They believe that a strong reaction is growing up against the misrepresentations of the Majority Report, and its evasion of the great moral issue involved in the preparation of Opium for smoking in China by a Government which recognises its duty to discourage Opium-smoking in India. They confidently appeal to all lovers of righteousness and justice, and to all friends of missions, to support them in this struggle with a giant wrong.

OUR ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Aldersgate Street, London, E.C., on Wednesday, 20th May, 1896, when the President, Sir JOSEPH W. PEASE, Bart, M.P., occupied the chair. The Rev. T. G. Selby opened the Meeting with a prayer to Almighty God to bless the Meeting and the Cause. The Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. G. Alexander, stated that Sir Mark J. Stewart, Bart, M.P., Mr. T. P. Whittaker, M.P., and Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., had written expressing regret at not being able to attend; Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., sent a telegram to the same effect; Mr. W. S. Caine, like Mr. Whittaker, was detained at the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws. The Rev. Professor Legge, D.D., wrote:—

“My views of the Opium Trade as exceedingly injurious to China and dishonourable to our own country are what they have long been, or intensified. I cannot have the satisfaction, I do not say pleasure, of being with you on Wednesday, however. My state of health will not allow me to be so, to say nothing of engagements here.”

The Hon. Secretary next read the Report of the Executive Committee (see p. 73*).

* The Financial Statement and List of Contributions are sent herewith to all Subscribers.

Sir Joseph Pease, in moving the adoption of the Report, said it was a much brighter report than that of last year. There was a great contrast in their feelings now and the feelings some of them had when they opened the Report of the Opium Commission. From the first he had believed that the Majority Report would aid the Society very materially. It must have struck everyone who had read Lord Cross's Blue Book that every officer consulted took credit to himself for doing all he could to put down the Opium trade. He pointed out the contrast between the Reports of the two Indian gentlemen on the Commission, who stated that Opium-smoking was a disgrace to their country and so injurious that it ought to be put down by penal enactment, and the hesitating admissions of the representatives of Christian England. The Society had to thank the majority for their Report, although it had not been intended for the Society's benefit, because it brought the state of things in India before the public, and led them to wonder how English Christian gentlemen could put their names to such a document. The Opium question as affecting China had been treated in the most perfunctory manner by the Commission. No papers had been intended to be distributed amongst the missionaries, and yet many of the Consuls who had sent their reports referred to the missionaries as being better able to answer the questions than themselves. The Commission thought the missionaries a deluded people who, because they did not take stimulants themselves, knew nothing about the question. The late Rev. David Hill had said that in the late war with the Japanese the Chinese soldiers fell before the Japanese soldiers because of the Chinese being saturated with Opium.

Mr. David McLaren, J.P., seconded the motion, and remarked that the action of the Japanese Government in Formosa was an object lesson to our own Government. The Report was most hopeful, and would, he hoped, prove the beginning of a steadier movement against the Opium trade than they had ever had before. The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., in moving the re-election of the Executive Committee and Officers, observed that knowing the energy and zeal of the gentlemen connected with the Executive Committee and the Officers he did not think it necessary to spend much time in dealing with the actual work of the Society. Having examined the contents of the recent Blue Book containing the views of the Indian Government with regard to the Commission, he wished to say of it what he had said before at a public meeting with regard to the Majority Report, that there was scarcely a page or paragraph which if carefully analysed would not be found to contain grave errors or misleading conclusions. It was striking how the Royal Commission had been treated with comparative contempt. Everything was done that could be done to minimise the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and especially those of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Mr. Haridas Viharidas, and himself. Certain points were dealt with and dismissed very promptly. He had made serious complaint as to the treatment of the cultivators by the Opium Officials, and in a passage referring to this complaint (page 10, par. 20) it was said in reference to this that the increase in the area of cultivation afforded a conclusive answer. But the fact was that the increase of area was due to the pressure brought to bear on the cultivators by the officers of the Opium Department. Although they had witness after witness in Calcutta who declared the poppy crop the most profitable grown, yet within two months of the Commission's leaving India the price was raised 20 per cent., although the Indian finances were in a most serious condition. That proved the falsity of the evidence given as to the value of that crop. Why were steps not

taken to deal with officials proved guilty of malpractices, as for instance in the Barni case, where a man was compelled to plough up potatoes and grow Opium? Not a word was said about it; it was all passed over without the slightest comment. With regard to the very serious charge made against Lord Lansdowne, who sent a letter to the Opium Commission which ought never to have been sent, if that letter was an innocent letter it ought to have been produced; and as it had not been produced it was clear that it could not be justified.

As to the effect of Opium on the Chinese, it was first said that not much harm was done to them by Opium, but further on it was recognised that the effect of Opium on the Chinese was a "difficult and doubtful question."

The evidence of the witnesses in China was referred to by the Indian Government as showing that smoking Opium was not quite so bad as some of those opposed to the traffic made out, and it was said that in China it was considered less injurious than eating the Opium, while in India the other view was taken, and extracts were given from 28 answers to this effect from China, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong. This was put forward in such a way as to suggest that this was the bulk of the evidence from China; but in reality they got 207 replies, and numbers of the witnesses either said nothing at all on this question or declared that they knew nothing about it. In fact, every bit of evidence had been availed of to help the argument of the Indian Government, ignoring all that went the other way. Again, the Government of India said they attached special importance to the evidence of the Consuls with regard to the effect of Opium on the Chinese, and on page 47 there was a tabulated statement, showing that three Consuls had not replied on this point. But the despatch did not give the reasons assigned by them for not replying. One of them, Consul Scott, said his information and opinions for the most part were secondhand, as he had never turned his attention to the subject, although he had been 28 years in China: and another, Mr. Allen, Acting Consul at Wuhu, said he was unable to add anything from his own knowledge to the opinions of four witnesses whose evidence he enclosed, three of them being Missionaries. Consul Bullock answered a number of questions, but added that the Missionaries in China, who were constantly moving about and always in close contact with the people, were more able to give trustworthy opinions than any other class of men. Consul Allen, of Chefoo, said the Consuls had little private intercourse with the natives outside their homes and offices. These statements went a long way to diminish the value of the opinions of other Consuls. And if, as some Consuls said, the Missionaries could give more trustworthy opinions, why were the opinions of the Missionaries so much thrown in the background, and the opinions of Consuls and others put so prominently forward? [Mr. Wilson proceeded to comment on the evidence of the other Consuls classified in list A, more fully dealt with by the Rev. F. Storrs Turner at p. 89.]

Then as to the table of "private medical practitioners and merchants,"—the Indian Government represents that twenty of these had given evidence more or less favourable to the use of Opium, but of these twenty, four were dealers in Opium themselves, and two of these four shared the bulk of the Opium business. Yet these were the men paraded before the public as saying it did not do much harm. Dr. Rennie, of Canton, was classed in this list as "favourable," although he had said that 40 per cent. of those who used Opium were injured thereby—30 per cent. "with slight injury," and "10 per cent. consume it with great injury." A merchant, who was also

classified in the list as "favourable," said "20 per cent. use it to excess," and so they went on. Dr. Young was classed "doubtful,"—yet he said the "larger proportion go on to disintegration and premature death." The summing up by the Indian Government of what these men said showed that of 32 witnesses they classed 20 as "favourable," 3 as "doubtful," and 9 "unfavourable." A more reasonable and fair classification would show 10 to be more or less "favourable" to the use of Opium, 11 "doubtful," and 11 "unfavourable." These facts are a complete reversal of the statements made by the Indian Government, and practically upset the tables they have given.

With regard to the smoking of Opium in India, the Government of India, referring to the prohibition of smoking Opium on licensed premises, ordered in 1891, said that the officers best in a position to form an opinion were "by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of the steps which have been already taken." But the truth is that, with the exception of Mr. Gupta, they were all against the practice, and more or less strongly expressed themselves as glad that the Government had taken steps to deal with it. Mr. Gupta was an out-and-out defender of Opium. That gentleman unblushingly admitted that people went to the Opium-smoking dens for the purpose of being "intoxicated," and he objected to the measures taken by the Indian Government because they were "extremely inconvenient to consumers." Mr. Stoker, Excise Commissioner for the N. W. Provinces, declared that prohibition of the licensing of shops for the sale of smoking preparations and also prohibition of smoking in licensed premises was eminently right and a beneficial measure, and he was supported by the Government of the N. W. Provinces. To the same effect was the testimony of Mr. Drake-Brockman, Excise Commissioner for the Central Provinces, who was a witness before the Commission, and had the courage to complain that his abstract of evidence, as presented to the Commission, had been doctored, so as to be quite different from what he had written. With the exception of Mr. Gupta in Bengal, the evidence from the different districts went to shew that the effects of the measure proposed will be to discourage young men from the habit. He (Mr. Wilson) was justified in saying in reference to the despatch of the Indian Government and the appendices accompanying it that the Indian Government had miserably failed to make any satisfactory reply to the Anti-Opium case. In many of the most important matters they had shirked the clearest possible evidence. He agreed with Sir Joseph Pease that the measures that had been taken in reference to the smoking of Opium in India were a move in the direction of what the two native Commissioners and himself recommended, and he thought that care should be taken by the Society to keep the Indian Government up to the mark, and keep them moving forward as far as they could. (Applause.)

Mr. Bullen, of Ringwood, seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. George Piercy moved :—

"This meeting notes with satisfaction that the Indian Government has been constrained, as a result of the enquiry of the late Royal Commission, to recognize the general condemnation of Opium-smoking in India as a disreputable habit, and has resolved to discontinue the preparation and sale of Opium-smoking compounds in the country. This meeting, however, regrets the Indian Government's refusal to carry out the recommendation of the two Native Commissioners and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., in favour of yet stronger measures for suppressing the vice of Opium-smoking in India."

Mr. G. W. Munt seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. H. Williams, of the Friends' Mission, Sohagpur, Central Provinces, was introduced by Mr. H. J. Wilson as the missionary who, with Mr. Alexander and himself, had been "shadowed" by the police in India. He moved:—

"This Meeting protests against the action of the Indian Government during the past two years in largely increasing the area of poppy cultivation in British India, in defiance of the official declarations of Sir James Fergusson and the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith in the House of Commons in 1891, and of the resolution adopted by that House in 1893, which 'pressed on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the preparation and sale of Opium.'"

As a missionary of 18 years in India, and having seen the evils arising from the trade in Opium, he felt grieved at the action of our so-called Christian Government—he wished he could feel it was really a Christian Government. What, he asked, could be said of a Government which made it so easy for the countless millions of India to get that which so injured them.

He had had the pleasure of accompanying Mr. Wilson and Mr. Alexander to Gya, and he did not think they would ever forget the scenes they witnessed in the Opium dens there. They saw people thoroughly soaked in Opium, women as well as men, in a shocking state of degradation—one of these women was so thoroughly ashamed on seeing them enter the den she was in that she rushed past them into the street and fled away. But there were other women there who had reached a stage where they had no shame. He had been told that there were a few Missionaries in India who looked on the Opium trade with favour, but he was very loth to believe so. He knew from personal observation that it injured the work of the Church, and they had made a dead stand against admitting men or women to their Church who were in the habit of smoking Opium or using Opium drinks. He had seen some of the pamphlets printed in Calcutta, showing the Questions and Answers given before the Opium Commission, and after reading the first, second and third, and comparing them together, he remarked: "It looks to me that it is to be a cooked business." The answers given to certain questions were given in almost the same words—it was so striking that he could not help saying that pressure was being brought to bear on the witnesses, or otherwise these men could not have stood up and given such similar replies to the questions put to them. By-and-by it came out that the whole thing was filtered through officialdom. When a Missionary went to preach to these people it was painful, sad, and humiliating to try and explain away from the natives' minds the difficulties caused by the Government's connection with this traffic. He hoped the Society would continue its good work and steadily increase. He had listened with great pleasure to the Report and to the able statement made by Mr. H. J. Wilson, and was glad to see that he, like Daniel of old, dared to stand alone. (Applause.)

Mr. P. N. Chakraborty seconded the resolution, and as the only Indian who was to take part in the meeting censured the English majority of the Opium Commission for their apparent hypocrisy in pretending to be ignorant of the evils of the Opium trade, a hypocrisy the object of which was to enrich the Government at the expense of the moral degradation of the people of India. He entered a strong protest on behalf of the Indian people, and concluded by observing that it was a crying shame that at the close of the nineteenth century they should have to appeal to a Christian Government not to demoralise their country for the sake of pounds, shillings, and pence. (Applause.)

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. G. Alexander moved :—

“That this meeting rejoices at the great diminution of the consumption of Opium in Burma since the adoption of the prohibitory measure now in force in that country, and urges that this beneficent measure of protection should be extended to all the races inhabiting Burma, and especially to the Chinese community, which has manifested an earnest desire for this protection. It also cordially supports the special claim of Ceylon to similar legislation.”

Unfortunately the prohibitory legislation now in force in Burma did not apply to Indians crossing from the mainland of Southern India, or to the Shans and other races in the north of Upper Burma. A petition had been presented to the Commission by over 300 of the leading Chinese of Rangoon, every class of the community being represented, praying to have the prohibitory law extended to them. This petition was presented by a numerous deputation, who were disgracefully and scurvily treated by the Commissioners. In Ceylon a petition signed by a number of leading men, and by representatives of every class of the community, had been presented to the Governor, asking for measures to be taken for restricting the sale of Opium, similar to those adopted in Burma.

Mr. Niven seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. T. G. Selby moved that :—

“This meeting congratulates the Japanese Government on its enlightened and humane action in extending to the island of Formosa the prohibition of the Opium traffic, which has so happily prevailed in Japan itself ever since the opening of that country to foreign commerce, affording an example which may well be followed by our own country.”

They could not over-estimate the importance of the step taken by the Japanese Government. Being an Oriental nation themselves, the Japanese knew all the arts of governing an Eastern people, and had proved this by putting down a traffic which our Indian Officials had declared it impossible to put down. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Denton seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE BRITISH CONSULS IN CHINA.

The Majority Report of the Royal Commission claimed that its opinion as to the effects of the Opium habit was supported by a majority of the British Consular officials in China. Mr H. J. Wilson, M.P., asserted, on the contrary, that the Consular majority condemned the Opium habit. Mr. Joshua Rowntree and others have declared that Mr. Wilson's account of the evidence is true. The Indian Government has intervened to defend the Report.

The Viceroy and five members of his Council unite in saying* :—

“ We attach particular importance to the evidence of the Consuls in this matter, and have therefore made a careful analysis of the replies submitted by the members of the Consular service in China and Corea to the following questions :—

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

The replies, for facility of reference, are attached as Appendix D to this despatch. We find that of the 26 members of the Consular service to whom the interrogatories issued by the Commission were sent, three have expressed no opinions on the subject ; five regard Opium-smoking as a serious evil, though of these three admit that moderation is possible ; five give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit, but not strongly so ; and thirteen, while holding that the immoderate use of the drug is deleterious, consider that moderation among Chinese Opium-smokers is the rule, that the percentage of men who smoke to excess and suffer great injury in consequence is small, and that moderate Opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit.”

If we accept this finding, it fails to show a Consular majority in favour of Opium. Out of 26 witnesses, Lord Elgin and his Council find only 13 who can be put into their pro-Opium class. The Report claimed a majority. The Indian Government counts the names, discovers that there is not a majority, and yet its reference to the subject is so worded as to produce the impression that the Report was right ! This style of writing is painfully like that of the Report itself : one might almost think that the same hand had drafted both documents, and that there was no essential difference between them, except that they are signed by different men.†

Appendix D, upon which the Indian Government rely for the correctness of their judgment, consists of quotations from the Consular evidence printed in Volume V. of the Proceedings of the

* Correspondence regarding the Report by the Royal Commission on Opium. [C. 7991.] Price 6d. Page 10.

† Mr. Turner's suggestion may not improbably have a basis of fact stronger than he supposes. Mr. Dane, who acted on behalf of the Indian Government in getting up evidence in support of the Opium revenue before the Commission in India, is known to have remained at the India Office, assisting Mr. Baines (who had not accompanied the Commission in its Indian tour), during the preparation of the Majority Report. Before the preparation of the Indian Government's despatch he returned to India, and was rewarded by an important post at Calcutta. It may well be that to him we owe both the garbled and misleading representation of the evidence from China contained in the Report, and the similarly misleading account of it in the Indian Government's despatch.—Ed. *F. of C.*

Commission. This is followed by a classified list, which we must reprint:—

A.—List classifying the EVIDENCE of MEMBERS of the Consular Service in CHINA, to whom the interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM were sent.

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

Name and Designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.
1. Mr. B. Brennan, Consul, Canton	216
2. Mr. E. L. B. Allen, Acting Consul, Wuhu	332
3. Mr. B. C. G. Scott, Consul, Swatow	212

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

1. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chungking	338
2. Mr. W. R. Carles, Consul, Chinkiang	262
3. Mr. T. L. Bullock, Consul, Newchang	266
4. Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Vice-Consul, Canton	216
5. Mr. P. F. Hausser, Acting Consul, Ningpo... ..	308

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

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

1. Mr. T. Watters, Consul, Foochow	276
2. Mr. R. W. Hurst, Consul Tainan	322
3. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Acting Consul, Tamsui	320
4. Mr. W. H. Wilkinson, Acting Vice-Consul, Chemulpo (Korea)	318
5. Mr. C. F. R. Allen, Consul, Chefoo	277

IV.—Those who, while holding that the immoderate use of the drug is deleterious, consider that moderation among Chinese Opium-smokers is the rule, that the percentage of men who smoke to excess and suffer great injury in consequence is small, and that moderate Opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit.

1. Mr. N. J. Hannen, Consul-General, Shanghai	250
2. Mr. Jamieson, Consul, Shanghai	250
3. Mr. H. B. Joly, Vice-Consul, Macao	263
4. Mr. M. F. Fraser, Consul, Pakhoi	288
5. Mr. P. Warren, Consul, Hankow	290
6. Mr. G. Brown, Consul, Kinkiang	298
7. Mr. C. M. Ford, Officiating Consul, Amoy	309
8. Mr. O. Johnson, Vice-Consul, Pagoda Island	314
9. Mr. E. H. Parker, Consul, Hoihow	316
10. Mr. R. W. Mansfield, Consul, Wenchow	335
11. Mr. C. T. Gardiner, Consul, Söul (Korea)	336
12. Mr. H. Cockburn, Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Majesty's Legation, Peking	232
13. Mr. B. M. Perkins, Consular Service, Tainan	323

The terms in which the fourth class is described call for remark. The Report claimed the majority of the Consuls as holding the opinion "that Opium-smoking in moderation is not

harmful, and that moderation is the rule." The heading of Class IV. does not tally with the Report. The Report says, moderation is the rule; moderation is not harmful. The Indian Government's fourth class says, moderation is the rule, and moderation leads to no apparent injury. The difference is at first sight hardly discernible, and one may wonder why the Indian Government did not adopt the shorter and clearer phrase of the Report, instead of using so many words to describe Class IV. But closer scrutiny reveals a not unimportant difference. According to the Report the majority positively pronounced moderate Opium-smoking innocuous. According to the Indian Government they only say, "moderate Opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury," a statement which leaves room for real injury which may not be visible to an ordinary observer. Class IV. thus is more elastic than the assertion of the Report, and may include some who could not be included if the words of the Report had been used. The discrepancy will call for further remark presently.

Class I. contains three names. Of these three, Consul Brennan, in his letter, gave no clue to his own opinion. Mr. Allen forwarded four sets of answers strongly condemning the Opium habit. For himself, he modestly wrote :—

I am unable to add of my own knowledge to the information thus collected.

Mr. Scott sent four papers. His witnesses are clearly on the Anti-Opium side. He concludes his letter thus :—

It was my intention to have answered the questions myself, but on consideration I find that my information and opinions are for the most part secondhand. I have never turned my attention directly to the subject of the effects of Opium on Chinese. I can only say that during my 28 years' service in China its disastrous effects on the country have not thrust themselves prominently on my notice.

Consul Brennan also sent in strongly Anti-Opium replies. The Consuls were responsible for selecting the persons to whom they made application for information on behalf of Her Majesty's Commission. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it is certain that the three gentlemen in this class were unable or unwilling to support what may be called the Government view.

In regard to Classes II. and III. let us accept them as they stand. Reasons might be given for transferring some names from Class III. to Class II. were it worth while. The opinions given certainly vary in strength; but it is not easy to divide them.

into classes, and for the present purpose it is unnecessary. The question before us is this: Is the assertion of the Report that the majority of the Consuls pronounced in favour of Opium-smoking true or untrue? The analysis of the Indian Government shows it is untrue. The first three classes together number one-half of the whole, so that whatever is the result of further examination the Report is proved to have made a grave misrepresentation.

Class IV., however, must be examined, man by man, with keen and patient study, by anyone who wants to arrive at a true result. In order to test the accuracy of the list it will not be enough to read the extracts from their evidence given in the latest Blue-book. We must go to the evidence given in full in Vol. V. of the Report.

Let us take the names in order:—

1. **Consul-General Hannen**, Shanghai. Decidedly pro-Opium.
2. **Mr. Jamieson**, Consul, Shanghai. Decidedly pro-Opium.
3. **Mr. Joly**, Vice-Consul, Macao. Pro-opium.
4. **Mr. Fraser**, Consul, Pakhoi.

This gentleman, I hold, should be put in Class III. He says:—

There can be no doubt . . . the habit is very hard to break off when once acquired, and that a moderate use to begin with often ends in excess.

He does not say, "Moderation is the rule." Consider also his—

Answer 9. "I have no doubt that the habit of consuming Opium is condemned as degrading and injurious, or at least as a lazy, extravagant habit, by the general opinion of the Chinese, and has been so since the habit showed symptoms of becoming widely diffused, which is now probably nearly 200 years ago."

See also answers 10 and 15.

Mr. Fraser is not a strong witness against the Opium habit, but the answers I have quoted forbid his being regarded as a pro-Opium witness.

5. **Mr. P. Warren**, Consul, Hankow.

In this case we encounter a difficulty. The Indian Government's analysis divides the witnesses into four classes. Setting aside Class I., we have II. and III., which condemn the Opium habit, and IV., which is meant to include those who defend, or do not condemn it. All the witnesses are forced into one or other of these pigeon-holes. But Mr. Warren does not exactly fit either of them. The only reasonable and practicable classification is into three classes: (1) The condemners; (2) the defenders; (3) the doubtfuls—those, like Mr. Warren, in whose evidence both con-

demnation and defence are found, neither decisively preponderating. If we are forced to squeeze him into one of the four classes, I submit he should be put into Class III., for the following reasons:—

(a) The quotations of his evidence given by the Indian Government, do not uphold the assertion that “moderation is the rule.” This excludes him from Class IV.

(b) He says:—

20. There is no doubt that excess in Opium-smoking leads to very grievous results. At the same time it is a question whether the moderate smoker does not derive a certain amount of good from his pipe. I am inclined to think he does.

This is a hesitating judgment; and its author cannot fairly be classed as a defender of the Opium habit.

6. **Mr. G. Brown**, Consul, Kiukiang.

This witness means to be on the pro-Opium side. But whether his *evidence* really makes for that side is questionable. A man who intends to support one view, and whose evidence in part supports the opposite view, may possibly be on the whole a witness against his chosen side. According to Mr. Brown, twenty per cent. of the Opium-smokers are the worse for the habit, sixteen per cent. slightly, and four per cent. seriously. This is a grave proportion. He also says:

9. The Opium habit is, no doubt, condemned as degrading and injurious by literate Chinese when they express an opinion upon the subject, especially in conversation with Europeans.

I mark him “doubtful.”

7. **Mr. C. M. Ford**, Officiating Consul, Amoy.

This is a glaring case of mis-appropriation of a witness. Mr. Ford belongs to Class II. We do not need to go beyond the Indian Government's quotations to prove that.

Mr. Ford judges that, of the Opium consumers:—

- (i.) Perhaps thirty per cent. use it without injury;
- (ii.) Forty per cent. with but slight injury; and
- (iii.) Thirty per cent. with great injury.

How can we, how do we, determine whether any habit, such as tea-drinking, or consumption of alcoholic liquors is, generally speaking, harmless or injurious, moral or immoral? It is by the ascertained, or conjectured, percentage of cases in which evil results follow. If out of every five consumers one is injured, more or less, the question whether that habit is to be defended is a grave one. On this account Mr. Brown cannot confidently be assigned

to the class of defenders of the Opium habit. But a gentleman who estimates that, out of ten Opium-smokers, only three escape without injury, can hardly be surpassed as an anti-Opium witness. True, there are some who say that nine out of ten, others that *all* are injured, but they are open to the suspicion of being extremists.

Mr. Ford's answers, 3, 4, 7, 9, and 15, contain noticeable matter on the Anti-Opium side.

8. **Mr. O. Johnson**, Vice-Consul, Pagoda Island.

This witness is either doubtful, or belongs to Class III.

(a) He adopts the answers of his medical adviser, Dr. Underwood, whose evidence condemns the Opium habit, although he allows that "many Chinamen use Opium in moderation without harm to themselves." But he says:—

9. "The Chinese in conversation condemn generally the habit of Opium-smoking, and they are always more or less ashamed to confess that they indulge in it. They also nearly always understate the quantity they consume. A man's family will object to his smoking, because it was his substance, which they rightly consider should be spent in other ways. Besides, it may lead to his neglecting his work, losing his situation, and thus land them in poverty and want."

See also answers 14 and 15.

(b) It is, however, the percentage which settles the matter. Dr. Underwood writes:—

5. It is difficult to say how many use Opium without injury, but I consider that more than half the consumers do so.

This is equivalent to estimating the injured as not quite, but not far from, 50 per cent. Mr. Johnson qualifies this by confining the doctor's estimate to those who have the "yin" or craving. He himself estimates the regular and occasional smokers as nearly 50 per cent. of the adult males, and thus reduces the proportion of the injured to a comparatively small percentage. On this account I would class Mr. Johnson "doubtful."

9. **Mr. E. H. Parker**, Consul, Hoihow.

He belongs to Class II. or III. In reply to the question: 5. "What are the proportions of those who use Opium (i.) without injury; (ii.) with slight injury; (iii.) with great injury (Opium sots)?" he writes: "50 per cent.; 49 per cent.; (conjecture)." His answers are mostly written in the style of a telegram, and this one needs interpretation. I think he meant to say that 50 per cent. suffer no injury; 49 per cent. slight injury; and one per

cent. he conjectures to be Opium sots. Any way, it is clear that in his opinion half the consumers are more or less injured, and this places him among those who condemn the habit. Add to this his evidence that the physical effect of Opium is "deterioration in staying powers"; and his answer to the question whether Europeans contract the habit: "never heard of any but French in Tonquin; it is so serious there that officials have just been officially warned." See also 15.

10. **Mr. R. W. Mansfield**, Consul, Wenchow.

This gentleman's evidence, on a first glance, seems of a neutral character. He believes in "moderation," and certainly is not a strong Anti-Opium witness. But careful inspection shows that he is not pro-Opium. He makes no statement equivalent to "moderation is the rule." He ventures on no conjecture of percentage himself, but quotes one given to him: "my writer estimates about 10 per cent. of smokers as 'Opium sots.'" He "would not employ a notorious smoker as a household servant." Finally, in reply to the concluding question, 20. "Have you any other remark to make?" he answers:—

It is to be deplored that the populations of the towns in this district are so much addicted to Opium-smoking. The people are too poor to be able to afford the luxury except at the expense of proper nourishment, and the effects on the race generally of under-feeding and diminished reproduction should be ultimately disastrous.

That answer classifies Mr. Mansfield as an Anti-Opium witness.

11. **Mr. C. T. Gardiner**, Consul, Soul, Korea.

His evidence contains statements which seriously impugn the Opium habit, but on the ground of percentage, "90 per cent. without injury," let him remain in Class IV., though his position might be challenged, if space permitted.

12. **Mr. H. Cockburn**, Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Majesty's Legation, Peking.

This gentleman is grievously misused by being located in Class IV. We are now counting heads, and I have refrained hitherto from remarks on the comparative value of the heads: but of course there are differences plainly discernible to those who read the evidence. If we estimated by weight, as well as by number, it would be easy to indicate three or four of the witnesses, the values of whose evidence added together would not outweigh Mr. Cockburn's. If his evidence in full is read and studied, he will certainly be classed, not as an extreme Anti-Opium partisan

but as without doubt a condemner of Opium consumption. He does not hazard conjectures of percentage of injury, and his thoughtful observations do not lend themselves easily to abbreviation. One sentence, however, suffices to prove that he is misplaced in Class IV.

But though I am convinced that there is such a thing as moderation in the use of Opium, I think there is a strong tendency to its use in more than moderation, to which many consumers yield. They do not become "Opium sots," but they smoke much more than can possibly be good for them."

Mr. Cockburn does not say, "Moderation is the rule."

It is from Mr. Cockburn, probably, that the analyser and classifier has borrowed the phrase "without apparent injury," which occurs in the heading of Class IV., and it would seem that the phrase was adopted on account of its elasticity, and perhaps, purposely to enable the classifier to include Mr. Cockburn. But the analyser failed to grasp Mr. Cockburn's meaning, which plainly is that "without apparent injury," does not necessarily imply "without injury." He writes :—

If for "without injury" be substituted "without apparent injury," I should say that the great majority of those who smoke Opium do so without apparent injury. Where, without excessive indulgence in the habit, injury to the constitution is nevertheless apparent, it is, I think, commonly due to inability to afford both Opium and sufficient nourishing food; just as an Englishman out of work and hard up will commonly spend on tobacco and alcohol an undue proportion of what money he has. My impression is that the proportion to the whole body of Opium-smokers of those who habitually smoke to great excess is smaller than the proportion of habitual drunkards to moderate drinkers in Great Britain. But I also believe that the number of those who smoke much more Opium than is good for them is much larger in proportion than that of the corresponding class amongst consumers of alcohol at home.

Consul Hopkins also points out that injury may exist, and declares his experience and belief that it does exist in the majority of regular Opium-smokers, although such injury may easily escape the detection of any observer; and in illustration he reports the confession of one such Chinese to himself. Dr. Dudgeon and other medical men have drawn attention to this not externally observable injury.

Mr. Cockburn tells us the Chinese "have, speaking generally, no disapproval for the use of alcohol in moderation; whereas very many of them do disapprove of the habit of Opium-smoking, even in moderation." He believes "the habit to be very difficult to break off, even when a man does not smoke to excess." On

the whole, the evidence entitles its author to be placed in Class II. or Class III.

13. **Mr. B. M. Perkins**, Consular Service, Tainan. Properly placed in Class IV.

Summary.—Of these thirteen names in Class IV. we have passed five without challenge, though perhaps Mr. Gardiner's position might be questioned.

Five others, Messrs, Fraser, Ford, Parker, Mansfield, and Cockburn should certainly be transferred to Classes II. and III.

In the case of three, Messrs. Warren, Brown, and Johnson, reasons have been given for not including them in Class IV., though I have hesitated to put them on the opposite side. They seem neutrals, and might therefore be placed in Class I., if that were headed, "Those from whom no decided opinion has been extracted."

Our examination of the evidence thus leads to this result. Out of the 26 Consular officials 6 give no decided opinion, 4 or 5 do not condemn the Opium habit, 15 condemn it more or less strongly.

F. STORRS TURNER.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

June 23rd.

House of Commons.

POPPY CULTIVATION IN INDIA.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson, on behalf of Mr. Henry J. Wilson, asked the Secretary of State for India if he could state what was the quantity of land which had been under poppy cultivation this year in the Behar and Benares Agencies respectively, as compared with the years 1893-4 and 1894-5.

Lord George Hamilton: The total acreage under Opium cultivation in the Behar and Benares Agencies during the last three seasons, deducting that in which the crop was a failure, was as follows: 1893-94, 458,181; 1894-95, 513,804; 1895-96,

519,072. I am unable, for purposes of comparison, to give the quantities in the Behar and Benares Agencies separately.

[Mr. Wilson, we understand, intends moving for a return showing the acreage under poppy in both agencies for the last ten years. The exclusion of the area "in which the crop was a failure," refers, we presume, to that in which the sowings altogether failed, and which are habitually excluded in the returns.—*Ed. F. of C.*]

PRÉCIS OF THE CASE OF CEYLON

For the Application of the same Regulations as in England to the Sale of Opium, Bhang, and other Drugs, within the Island; or at least for the same Protection to its People as has been afforded, in this matter, to the Burmese

(1.) The people of Ceylon (two-thirds of whom are Budhists) have never been known to grow the poppy or prepare Opium, Bhang, or Gunja for sale or local use.

(2.) Until of late years the use of these drugs (as imported from India to a limited extent) was almost entirely confined to a certain number of Malays and their descendants, originally from the Eastern Archipelago, and a few immigrants from Central or Northern India; but latterly (in Colombo especially), through the facilities offered by Opium shops, licensed by order of Government and Municipalities, and kept open by native owners in the most crowded parts of the town, Sinhalese (Budhists), Tamils, and even some Eurasians have been tempted and are found among the regular customers and users of these drugs, and more particularly as smokers of Opium.

(3.) Reliable inspection of the Colombo Opium shops and conversations with the owners have shown that Opium is sold, not only to be smoked on the premises, but indiscriminately to men, women, and children, to take away to their homes, the rule being, in one licensed dealer's words, that "children under 10 years of age are not allowed to smoke the Opium on the premises, but children of any age may buy and take away."

(4.) The licensed sellers naturally use their best endeavours to keep their customers and to get fresh ones, and it is quite certain that, under the present system, the number of habitual victims

must increase, to the serious injury, moral and physical, of a naturally effeminate people like the Sinhalese—who have been described as the “women of the human race,” and who, as occupying what may be called the sacred land of Southern Buddhism, are deserving of even more care than their fellow-Budhists in Burma.

(5.) In 1893, after inquiry and inspection of the Colombo Opium shops and the publication of the results, a very remarkable Public Meeting was held in the Public Hall (Dec. 9th) to petition the Legislative Council, and to urge the Government to apply restrictions on the sale of Opium and similar drugs. This meeting (of which the writer was chairman) was attended by leading representatives of all the races and classes in the community—Sinhalese, Tamil, Mohomedan, Eurasian and European, the Budhist High Priest Sumanagala and fellow priests, equally noted Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Christians, supporting resolutions to the effect that the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Mahomedan population of Ceylon “strongly desire the restriction of the sale “of Opium and Bhang and the suppression of the existing native “licensed shops in Colombo and throughout the island.”

(6.) The Memorial to the Legislative Council was one of the most widely and influentially signed of any ever drawn up in Ceylon—bearing the names of 13,953 Sinhalese, 11,878 Tamils, 1,250 Eurasians, 265 Europeans and 453 other residents of the island—the signatories being confined to those who could write for themselves. It stated that “in the opinion of the petitioners “there was nothing in the case of Ceylon or its people to prevent “the application of the same regulations for the sale of the drugs “as have been granted in the United Kingdom, or, at the very “least, as have been allowed for the protection of the Burmese.”

It prayed that the importation of Opium and Bhang should be prohibited save through the agency of the Civil Medical Department of Government, and that the sale be restricted to the regularly licensed apothecaries and dispensers under medical prescriptions; while, if thought necessary, to meet the cases of confirmed victims to the use of such drugs in quantity, a register could be opened for such at the Government dispensaries after the manner adopted in Burma. (It may be mentioned that, during the inquiry at the licensed shops, many of the regular

customers readily made known their approval of restrictions, as saving their relatives and children from following their bad—ruinous—example, as they confessed it to be.)

(7.) As justifying a more advanced system of regulation in Ceylon, it must be remembered that education is far more advanced in the island, in proportion to population, than in either India or Burma; and the people are quite ready to welcome administrative and social improvements. In any case, it can be averred with absolute confidence, that the whole of the intelligent Sinhalese, Tamil, and Mahomedan community are in favour of restriction,—their leaders, priests, and teachers being as earnest as Christian ministers and missionaries to see English or Burmese regulations applied to Opium and Bhang in Ceylon.

(8.) Sir Arthur Havelock and his Government, however, did nothing towards granting the prayers of the memorialists. It is possible that they deemed the occasion unsuitable—in view of the agitation on Opium in India and the position taken up by officials there; though nothing can be clearer than the fact that there is no comparison between the cases of the two countries—the Sinhalese never growing Opium, nor having been accustomed under their native rulers to import or use Opium.

(9.) At the same time an official attempt was made to minimise the evil wrought by the unchecked import and sale of Opium, by shewing that the consumption was not increasing, in the following official statement:

“The average importation of Opium for each year of the decade 1871—80 amounted to 9,622 lbs., while for each year of the decade 1881—90 it amounted to 9,957 lbs., an increase of 385 lbs., or 3·5 per cent. on the annual importation; but taking into account the increase of population, there was an actual decrease per head. In the first period 1 lb. of Opium was consumed by, or at least imported for, every 208 persons; in the second period 1 lb. was consumed by, or imported for 302 persons; in other words it now takes 302 persons to consume what was formerly used by 208.”

(10.) In answer, it may be pointed out that the consumption is mainly confined to Colombo and some other towns; that the concrete evidence of the actual evil wrought among the natives is not officially denied; nor the wish of such customers, as of the vast body of the people, to have restrictions applied.

Further, it is not improbable that an increase of smuggling in Opium from India on the persons of immigrants, may account for the Customs not showing larger imports in the second decade.

(11.) But if, in place of comparing the decades closing with 1890, we take the figures showing Opium entered for home consumption, at the Ceylon Customs from 1883 to 1894 (the latest available) we get no mean increase, as follows :

1883	...	9,579.	...	...	...	1889	...	10,988.
1884	...	10,502.	...	...	...	1890	...	12,806.
1885	...	9,977.	...	...	...	1891	...	12,314.
1886	...	9,568.	...	...	...	1892	...	12,457.
1887	...	9,976.	...	...	...	1893	...	12,989.
1888	...	9,147.	...	...	...	1894	...	12,714.

It is quite evident, even on these figures, that in the past five years, the consumption of Opium in Ceylon has increased about 30 per cent. over the average for the decade ending with 1890.

(12.) Then it is important to know that the total of revenue at stake at present, from Customs' duty and municipal or other licences in Ceylon, is very trifling, not exceeding in all 50 to 60 thousand rupees, or £3,000 to £4,000; although the present native consumers of Opium probably pay four or five times as much for what they buy. Nor can it be said that the above revenue would be sacrificed, even if the English Drug Regulations came into force, much less the Burmese, for there would still be a certain import paying the Customs duty—or what might well be an increased duty—the present levy being only one rupee (1s. 3d.) per lb., and there would also be the price charged to the registered consumers, if such were kept officially supplied.

(13.) In any case, it is absolutely indispensable to the welfare of the Sinhalese and other natives that the four shops licensed in Colombo, both for the sale of Opium and for smoking on the premises, and the 39 other Opium shops throughout the island, should be suppressed; and the sale of Opium, as of all other drugs, allowed only on medical prescription, except so far as the Ceylon Government may consider it wise, through its own medical department, to meet the case of existing victims to Opium—regular customers at the licensed shops—by forming a register and arranging for a supply at the nearest Government dispensaries.

J. FERGUSON,

(35 years' resident in Colombo, Ceylon).

18, Emperor's Gate, London, S.W.,

9th July, 1896.

ANTI-OPIUM MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.

We have received from a correspondent in Japan, Mr. Tokuzo Fukuda, an account of the agitation now going on in that country with regard to the sale of Opium. The Japanese are seriously alarmed lest the habit of Opium-smoking should reach their own shores from the newly-acquired island of Formosa, where it has long been widely practised. As mentioned in our Annual Report (see page 78), the Japanese Governor of Formosa issued, in February last, a proclamation bringing into force the Japanese law, which strictly prohibits the sale of Opium, except for medicinal use; but making an exemption in favour of Formosans, who, having already acquired the habit, should obtain certificates enabling them to obtain their accustomed supply. At the same time the Government took into its own hands the monopoly of the drug, and established official depôts for its sale. These measures appeared highly satisfactory, when the news of their adoption first reached this country; but it was somewhat startling to find that, notwithstanding their apparent determination to stamp out the Opium vice in Formosa, the Japanese Government had presented to Parliament a budget for the new possession, which contained an estimate of three and a half millions of yen (nearly £400,000 sterling) as the gross revenue to be derived from the new Opium monopoly. The presentation of this estimate, though it passed through the Japanese Parliament with little opposition, has given rise to a stormy agitation outside. A public meeting was held at Tokyo on the 10th May, attended by about 1,000 persons, at which Mr. Saburo Shimada, Vice-President of the Japanese House of Commons, was the chief speaker. "He enumerated," says our correspondent, "the evils of Opium; told how it was as unstatesmanlike as inhumane to shut our eyes against this grave evil simply because it concerned the Chinese in Formosa, and not ourselves; and gave convincing evidences of the possibility of the noxious substance finding its way into the main island, and among our brethren." Another speaker, Mr. Nagano, dwelt on the history of Opium, and said:—"It was by Opium that China lost her Hong Kong." He concluded by fervidly declaring that he would never rest until the evil were utterly extirpated from Formosa. A "Society for the Enquiry into the Abolition of Opium in Formosa" has been formed, of which Mr. Nagano and Mr. Fukuda are active members. We cordially welcome this fresh coadjutor.

Notes and Extracts.

CONFERENCE AT TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—An influential Conference on the Opium question was held at Tunbridge Wells on the 30th April. A prayer meeting was held at the Y.M.C.A. at noon. At an afternoon meeting in the

Pump Room, the chair was taken by Rev. David J. Stather Hunt, vicar of Holy Trinity (successor of the late Canon Hoare, who was warmly interested in the Anti-Opium movement, and whose son, Rev. J. C. Hoare, of Ningpo, is a well-known and devoted C.M.S. missionary.) After prayer by the Rev. G. S. Whitlocke, of Groombridge (who has since entered into rest), and a sympathetic speech by the chairman, the Rev. J. H. Townsend, D.D., vicar of St. Mark's, proposed a resolution appealing to Her Majesty's Government to give directions for the discontinuance of the growth of the poppy and manufacture of Opium in British India for export to China. Dr. Townsend said that his father, who for some years held high office under the Indian Government, first in Bombay, and afterwards at home, had always regarded the Opium traffic as injurious, not only to China, but to the name of Great Britain. The resolution was seconded by Mr. William Brackett, a Director of the London Missionary Society, and supported by Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., and Rev. C. C. Feun, M.A., and unanimously adopted; as was a subsequent one, proposed by Mr. J. G. Alexander, and seconded by Rev. Edward Storrow, Brighton, that copies be sent to the Ministers concerned and to the M.P.'s for Kent and Sussex. [The substance of Mr. Alexander's speech has since been reprinted by the Society, under the title of "Anti-Opium Victories." See notice on back of wrapper.] An informal Conference took place afterwards, in which several local friends took part, questions being asked and answered. In the evening another meeting was held, under the presidency of Rev. W. Cowper Smith, which was addressed by Rev. F. Storrs Turner, B.A., Mr. F. Neild, M.D., Miss Irene M. Ashby, of Southampton, Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., Mr. Henry Edmonds, and Councillor T. A. Wood. The resolution adopted at this meeting was as follows:—

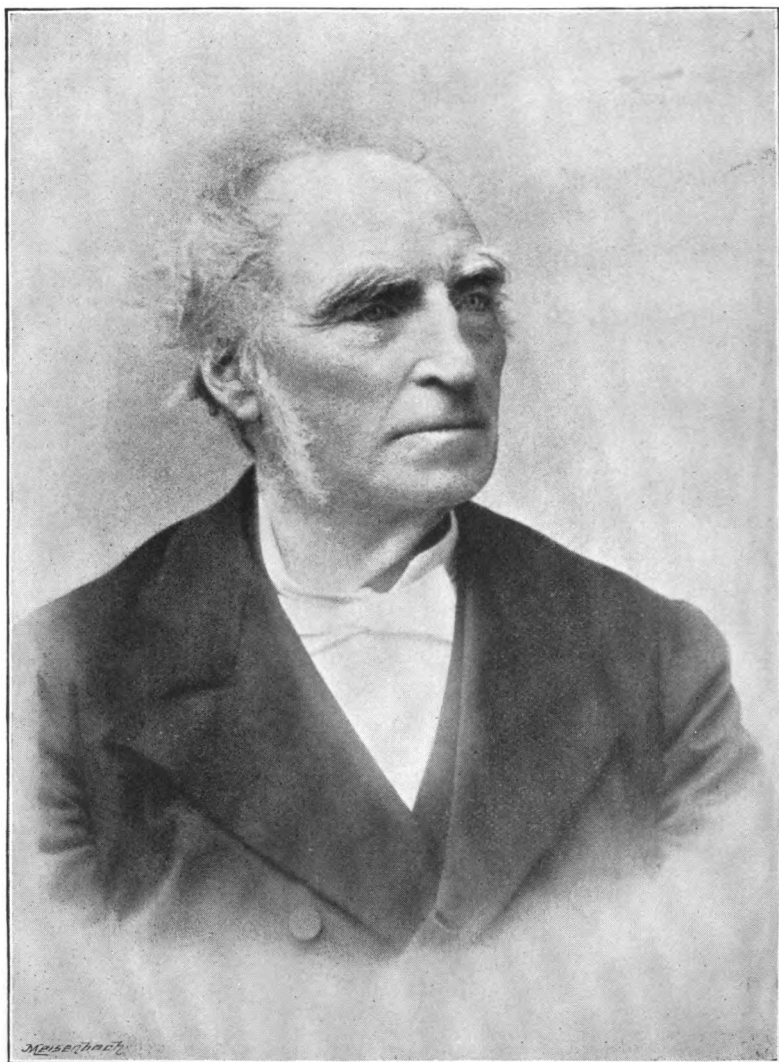
"This Meeting, in view of the history and present circumstances of the Opium Trade, is of opinion that China has suffered great wrong and grievous injury from the support given by the British Government to the trade, for which all possible reparation ought to be made; and two steps ought to be taken at once: the British Government should formally release China from the treaty obligation to admit Opium and to limit taxation on it; at the same time the Government provision of Opium for export should be stopped, and the supply be confined to medical use.

"Also, that, in view of the seductive and dangerous character of the Opium habit, the Governments of British India and the Crown Colonies should prohibit the opening of Opium-smoking shops, and adopt measures of the nature of the British Poisons Act."

DEATH OF DR. E. P. TURNER.—The many friends of Rev. F. Storrs Turner will deeply sympathise with him and his wife and family in the sore bereavement that has befallen them, by the death from fever, at Hankow, of their son, Dr. E. P. Turner, who went out to China as a medical missionary of the L.M.S. in December last. He was warmly welcomed by the missionaries at Hankow, who hoped that this promising young recruit to their ranks had a long period of service before him; but in the mysterious, yet all-wise, providence of God, this was not to be. His early sacrifice has been accepted; he has entered into that better land of which it is written: "His servants shall serve Him."

NEW PUBLICATIONS.—We have received from the office of the *Indian Medical Record* a reprint, carefully revised, of the valuable articles criticising Sir William Roberts' paper on the Medical Aspects of the Opium Question, referred to in the Annual Report (see p. 82). They are accompanied by a prefatory note of commendation by Deputy-Surgeon General Partridge, and sufficed is the valuable evidence given before the Commission by Rai LAL MADHUB MUKERJI, Bahadur, L.M.S., of Calcutta, which has already appeared in these columns (*F. of C.*, vol. xiv., p. 186, Jan., 1894).

We have also just received a reprint from the *China Medical Missionary Journal* of an article by the Rev. Arnold Foster, of Hankow, exposing the gross misstatements of the Majority Report as to the effect of the medical evidence from China received by the Commission. We hope to give some extracts from this valuable and incisive article in our next issue.



REV. JAMES LEGGE.

PROFESSOR OF CHINESE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE OPIUM TRADE.

THE
FRIEND OF CHINA.

The Organ of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

VOL. XVI.

OCTOBER, 1896.

No. 4.

S U M M A R Y.

“He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till He have set judgment in the earth.”

Opium in Formosa. AN interesting debate on the Opium question is likely to take place in the next session of the Japanese Parliament. Our readers may remember that the Japanese Government has established, in Formosa, a Government monopoly of the sale of Opium, with the object of restricting the use of the drug, except medicinally, to confirmed smokers, of whom there are great numbers. The Japanese Anti-Opiumists are not satisfied with this restriction, which is similar to that in force in Burma as regards the Burmans and Karens. They urge total prohibition of the drug, as in Japan itself, and would make Government provision for the cure of smokers. This would undoubtedly be a great step in advance of the Burman legislation. Mr. Shimada, Vice-President of the Lower House, has undertaken to present the Anti-Opiumists' case. We need hardly say that the sympathies of British Anti-Opiumists will heartily support him and his co-workers.

Li Hung-Chang's Visit. THE friends of China and enemies of the Opium trade did their best to obtain an interview with China's foremost statesman, Li Hung-Chang, during his recent visit to England, with the result recorded elsewhere in our columns. Sir Halliday Macartney's letter leaves no doubt that the Chinese Envoy's views are what they were in 1881, when he

wrote his famous answer to Mr. Turner, and in 1894, when he made a verbal statement to the same effect to Mr. Alexander, both of which we reproduce in this issue. The letter plainly implies that Li Hung-Chang could only have said that which would be very unpleasant to the British Government,—he must have said that the Majority of the Royal Commission made an untruthful statement when they declared that China is now free as regards the admission of Indian Opium,—therefore he would say nothing at all.

Li Hung-Chang's Reply to the American Missionary Societies. LI HUNG-CHANG took the first opportunity, after leaving our shores, of expressing his feelings with regard to the Opium traffic. He was presented, while in the United States, with an address from the Missionary Societies labouring in China, in which was a passage referring to the efforts made by their missionaries to discourage the use of Opium. A reply had been previously prepared, to be read on behalf of His Excellency by the interpreter. But Li Hung-Chang, on having the address read to him in Chinese, specially noted the passage referring to Opium, and added to his written reply an extempore sentence, expressing his warm thanks to the American and European missionaries for their efforts to put down the Opium habit.

A Revenue of 2½ millions. THE Indian Budget, presented by Lord George Hamilton at the close of last session, contains the following figures of Opium Revenue, as set out in the Under-Secretary's Memorandum :—

	Accounts 1893-94.	Accounts 1894-95.	Revised Estimate 1895-96.	Budget Estimate 1896-97.
Gross Revenue	Rx. 6,627,571	7,323,757	7,057,100	6,895,300
„ Expenditure	„ 1,876,607	1,616,105	2,078,300	2,595,300
Net Revenue	„ 4,750,964	5,707,652	4,978,800	4,300,000

The Budget Estimate may, of course, be exceeded, either through another deficient crop lessening the amount to be paid to cultivators, or through the selling price of Opium rising

in the Calcutta market. But this is the Indian Government's own estimate of the probable yield of its Opium business. It works out, with the rupee at the estimated rate of 13'75 pence, at £2,463,541 sterling.

The Diminishing Import of Opium into China. SEVERAL of the British Consuls in China, in their annual reports, refer to the diminished import of Indian Opium into their ports during the past year, attributing the diminution to the increased growth of the poppy in China. They say that Native Opium is pushing out the imported drug, and some of them go on to prophesy the approaching extinction of the trade in Indian Opium as a consequence. Their prognostications, which have found their way into the press all over the country, are based on an apparently complete ignorance of the true cause of the diminution, namely, the succession of bad crops of Opium in India, which have compelled the Indian Government greatly to lessen its monthly sales of Opium at Calcutta, and have thus left a gap to be filled up by Chinese Opium. The Indian Government has never yet failed to sell all the Opium it had to dispose of at prices which yielded it a considerable profit; and it has found partial compensation for the shortened supply of the past two or three years by a material rise of price. Many a long day must elapse before the Indian Government's profit from the export of Opium falls to nothing, by reason merely of the competition of Chinese Opium. We sincerely hope and pray that, long before that day can arrive, the conscience of British Christians may have been sufficiently aroused to secure that British India shall no longer derive a revenue from China's degradation and ruin.

The Case for Ceylon. THE précis of the case for Ceylon, printed in our last, was presented to Mr. Chamberlain at the House of Commons the day before the session of Parliament closed, by a deputation composed of Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., Mr. John Ferguson, of the *Ceylon Observer* (the writer of the

précis), and Mr. Alexander, as an appendix to the following memorial :—

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.,

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

SIR,—We desire to call your attention to the annexed statement of Mr. John Ferguson, Editor of the *Ceylon Observer*, who has resided for 35 years at Colombo, with regard to the sale of Opium and Hemp drugs in Ceylon.

We earnestly hope that you will grant the request urged by the people of Ceylon, as represented by Mr. Ferguson, for a measure of protection against the common sale of these narcotic drugs, not less stringent than those in force in Burma and in the United Kingdom.

On behalf of the Representative Board of the Anti-Opium Societies of the United Kingdom,—

JOSEPH W. PEASE, *President.*

JOSHUA ROWNTREE, *Chairman.*

12th August, 1896.

The interview was necessarily of a private character, as no reporters were present. We have since received from Mr. Ferguson a letter, in which he states that he has obtained the statistics for 1895 as to the imports of Opium and Hemp drugs into the island. The imports of Ganja have increased to a startling extent, having now exceeded those of Opium. The figures are as under :—

Import of Opium into Ceylon in 1895	12,827 lbs.
" Bhang " " 	28 lbs.
" Ganja " " 	15,131 lbs.

The Cause of Running Amuck. IN Ceylon Ganja is very seldom, if at all, used separately, as it is in those districts of India where the habit prevails, but is mixed with Opium, producing a dangerous excitement which Opium alone could not produce. This is the ancient Malay custom, which has existed for some two centuries in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, and still gives rise to the practice of "running amok" or "amuck." Men maddened by this combination of drugs rush forth, knife in hand, cutting and killing all whom they meet. Opium has been credited with giving occasion to this practice; but it is clear that Ganja must be the main ingredient in producing effects so entirely opposite to the ordinary soporific effect of Opium. It was the fact of a man

having "run amuck" and murdered an English official which led to the entire suppression of the sale of hemp drugs in Burma many years ago. We trust that the authorities in Ceylon will not wait to be aroused by some such terrible occurrence before they awake to the necessity of putting down this traffic.

The Late Lord Lytton an Opium-smoker. It is well known that the great Lord Clive formed the Opium habit in India, and died a confirmed Opium consumer. It is not so well known that the same was the case with the late Lord Lytton. We have the fact on the testimony of a well-known Frenchman, who was an eye-witness of the ex-Viceroy's indulgence in the Opium pipe whilst British Ambassador in Paris, and who affirms that the habit shortened Lord Lytton's life. There are, we have reason to think, not a very few such cases of Englishmen in both India and China falling victims to the habit which they have taken part in spreading amongst the native populations of those countries. Amongst the French officials in Tong-King, who also derive a considerable revenue from the Opium monopoly, the vice is said to be well-nigh universal. This is what the heathens called Nemesis; Christians call it retribution.

LI HUNG-CHANG AND THE OPIUM TRADE.

The following correspondence took place in connection with the visit of the eminent Chinese statesman Li Hung-Chang to this country:—

Finsbury House, Blomfield Street,
London, E.C.,

1st July, 1896.

To HIS EXCELLENCY EARL LI, Viceroy of Chih-li and Principal Grand Secretary, Envoy Extraordinary of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China.

EXCELLENCY,—

On behalf of the British Anti-Opium Societies, I am desired to ask you to favour them with an interview during your

contemplated visit to London. As Your Excellency is well aware, the Societies have been working for many years with the view of obtaining for China release from her treaty obligation to admit Opium from India.

They have been glad to know, from your letter to the Rev. Storrs Turner in 1881, your statement to myself at Tientsin in 1894, and other sources, that in these efforts they have your sympathy and support. They believe that a public statement from Your Excellency as to the position and views of the Chinese Government and people on the subject at the present time would decidedly help to bring home to our fellow-countrymen the true bearings of the case, and to correct the following statement contained in the Report presented by the Majority of the late Royal Commission on Opium: "In regard to the admission of Indian Opium China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent."

Your Excellency will see from the enclosed papers in support of this request, signed by Members of the two Houses of Parliament, that the deputation that would wait on you is likely to be an important and influential one. It would be headed by Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P., the President, and Mr. Joshua Rowntree, the Chairman, of the Representative Board of the Anti-Opium Societies of the United Kingdom.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER,

Hon. Sec., Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

P.S.—The enclosed papers are signed by the following Members of the two Houses of Parliament, belonging to different political parties:—

House of Lords.

THE LORD POLWARTH.
 THE LORD OVERTOUN.
 THE LORD PLUNKET
 (Archbishop of Dublin).
 THE BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL.
 THE LORD KINNAIRD.

House of Commons.

SIR JOSEPH W. PEASE, Bart. (Liberal).
 MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Liberal).
 SIR MARK J. STEWART, Bart.
 (Conservative).
 SIR WILFRID LAWSON, Bart. (Liberal).
 MR. JOSEPH HOWARD (Conservative).
 SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart.
 (Liberal).
 MR. JOHN E. ELLIS (Liberal).
 MR. HENRY J. WILSON (Liberal).
 MR. LEWIS FRY (Liberal Unionist).
 MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (Nationalist).

Chinese Legation,

SIR,—

August 11, 1896.

The Chinese Minister duly received your letter of the 2nd ultimo, requesting him to forward to His Excellency the Grand Secretary Li a letter signed by yourself as Honorary Secretary to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Traffic, as well as two papers signed by several Members of both Houses of Parliament, asking him to receive a deputation from the British Anti-Opium Societies; the object of the deputation being to obtain from the Grand Secretary a contradiction of the following statement contained in the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium, viz., that "in regard to the admission of Indian Opium, "China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent."

In reply, I am to state that, having taken the instructions of the Grand Secretary as to whether he would be prepared to receive the deputation, the Minister has been desired by him to express to you his regret that, having had to greatly curtail the stay he intended making in this country, his engagements will not permit of his receiving the deputation, and that, even had it been otherwise, his position as a guest of the State would have made it impossible, if not indecorous, for him to make any declaration in opposition to the Report of the Royal Commission.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER, ESQ.,

*Hon. Sec., Society for the Suppression of the Opium Traffic,
Finsbury House, E.C.*

The following are the previous statements made by Li Hung-Chang, referred to in the first of the above letters :—

LI HUNG-CHANG'S LETTER to the REV. F. STORRS TURNER,
then Secretary of the Society.

Viceroy's Yamên, Tientsin, China,

May 24, 1881.

SIR,—

It gave me great pleasure to receive your letter dated February 25, with its several enclosures, sent on behalf of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

Your Society has long been known to me and many of my countrymen, and I am sure that all—save victims to the Opium habit and those who have not a spark of right feeling—would unite with me in expressing a sense of gratitude for the philanthropic motives and efforts of the Society in behalf of China.

To know that so many of your countrymen have united to continually protest against the evils of the Opium traffic, and thus second the efforts China has long been making to free herself from this curse, is a source of great satisfaction to my Government, to whom I have communicated a copy of your letter. The sense of injury which China has so long borne with reference to Opium finds some relief in the sympathy which a society like yours existing in England bespeaks.

Opium is a subject in the discussion of which England and China can never meet on common ground. China views the whole question from a moral standpoint; England from a fiscal. England would sustain a source of revenue in India, while China contends for the lives and prosperity of her people. 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.

With motives and principles so radically opposite, it is not surprising that the discussion commenced at Cheefoo in 1876 has up to the present time been fruitless of good results. The whole record of this discussion shows that inducement and persuasion have been used in behalf of England to prevent any additional taxation of Opium in China, and objections made to China exercising her undoubted right to regulate her own taxes—at least, with regard to Opium.

I may take the opportunity to assert here, once for all, that the single aim of my Government in taxing Opium will be in the future, as it has always been in the past, to repress the traffic—never the desire to gain revenue from such a source. Having failed to kill a serpent, who would be so rash as to nurse it in his bosom? If it be thought that China countenances the import for the revenue it brings, it should be known that my Government will gladly cut off all such revenue in order to stop the import of Opium. My Sovereign has never desired his Empire to thrive upon the lives or infirmities of his subjects.

In discussing Opium taxation, a strange concern, approaching to alarm, has been shown in behalf of China, lest she should sacrifice her revenue; and yet objection and protest are made against rates which could be fixed for collection at the ports and in the interior. The Indian Government is in the background at every official discussion of the Opium traffic, and every proposed arrangement must be forced into a shape acceptable to that Government and harmless to its revenues. This is not as it should be. Each Government should be left free to deal with Opium according to its own lights. If China, out of compassion for her people, wishes to impose heavy taxes to discountenance and repress the use of Opium, the Indian Government should be equally free, if it see fit, to preserve its revenue by increasing the price of its Opium as the demand for it diminishes in China.

The poppy is certainly surreptitiously grown in some parts of China, notwithstanding the laws and frequent Imperial edicts prohibiting its cultivation. Yet this unlawful cultivation no more shows that the Government approves of it than other crimes committed in the Empire by lawless subjects indicate approval by the Government of such crimes. In like manner the present import duty on Opium was established, not from choice, but because China submitted to the adverse decision of arms. The war must be considered as China's standing protest against legalising such a revenue.

My Government is impressed with the necessity of making strenuous efforts to control this flood of Opium before it overwhelms the whole country. The new treaty with the United States containing the prohibitory clause against Opium encourages the belief that the broad principles of justice and feelings of humanity will prevail in future relations between China and Western nations. My Government will take effective measures to enforce the laws against the cultivation of the poppy in China, and otherwise check the use of Opium; and I earnestly hope that your Society and all right-minded men of your country will support the efforts China is now making to escape from the thralldom of Opium.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

LI HUNG-CHANG.

MR. ALEXANDER'S INTERVIEW WITH LI HUNG-CHANG,
*at Tientsin, on the 11th June, 1894; Mr. Lo Fêng-Luh acting
 as interpreter.*

“On being told that the British Government had appointed a Commission on the Opium question, His Excellency remarked sarcastically that it was absurd to appoint a Commission to enquire whether or not Opium is injurious; the word translated ‘absurd’ (*hu-tu*) being a scathing expression, indicative of the utmost contempt and scorn. ‘Everybody knows,’ he added, ‘that Opium is most injurious.’ The Viceroy said that China could not take any action to put down the growth of the poppy in China until the last chest of Indian Opium had come to China; then they would be free to act. At present they were bound by the Treaty to admit the drug, and were therefore powerless to stop the native growth. He added, ‘You may be quite sure that when you cease to send our people poison, we shall not allow them to produce it for themselves.’ When told that British statesmen had affirmed that China is already free to forbid the import of Indian Opium, he replied: ‘But it is in the Treaty tariff; we are bound to receive it.’ He observed that it was very desirable that the tariff should be revised; according to the terms of the Treaty itself, the tariff was to be revised every ten years, and it was now more than ten years since the last revision, but he thought the British Government would be unwilling to hear of revision. At the close of the interview, His Excellency expressed, in very cordial terms, his high sense of the philanthropy of those who are working for the suppression of the Opium trade.”

SIR JAMES LYALL'S MEMORANDUM.

II.—THE OPIUM WAR.

Is this a fitting season to discuss the Opium war? As I sit down to write, the echoes of Gladstone's great speech at Liverpool are sounding far and wide through our country, and at this very moment public meetings are being held north and south, east and west, to denounce the atrocities in Armenia and

Constantinople. The storm-blast sweeping over land and sea seems laden with the wrathful sorrow of our nation, which cries out for vengeance, or at least restraint, on the blood-stained despot of Turkey. Who at such a time will consent to turn his thoughts away from the grave crisis hanging over Britain and Europe? It may be that in spite of cautious counsels, and earnest desire for the maintenance of peace, the result of this national protest will be a mighty conflict, involving in peril the existence of the British Empire. Is it strange that the writer feels reluctant to revive at this moment the memory of China's ancient wrongs and England's past iniquity? But the passion of the present hour cannot undo the faults of the past. Whatever be the issue of our protest against the Turk, past events in the Far East are still working out their inevitable development. Defence of persecuted Armenians will not atone for injustice to China. So the Editor's summons must be obeyed, and whether men will read or not, I must continue my review of the misrepresentation of history in the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium.

The very phrase, "the Opium war," we are told, is a misnomer. Mr. Lay denied that the Opium trade was in any degree the cause of the war. According to him, the conflict was "due entirely to the haughty arrogance and exclusiveness" of the Chinese. More moderately, Sir James Lyall admits that the trade was "a principal cause," but contends "that it was not the sole or even the main cause of the war." So under the influence of partisan feelings men try to rewrite history, and to whitewash the devil. But the Opium war is indelibly stamped with its true title. Even Sir Thomas Wade, who at a later time strove to erase the obnoxious designation, wrote in a despatch addressed to his own Government of "the Opium war." The Government of India in their despatch to Lord Hartington said:—"On two separate occasions, namely, in 1839 and again in 1857, Opium-smuggling has led to war with China."* But we need not adduce authorities. Until quite recently nobody ever dreamt of disputing the correctness of the designation. This contention that the first war with China was not an Opium war originated at the same time, and

* Opium (Negotiations with China) 1882. Indian Government's Letter, paragraph 50.

under the same influences, as the contention that Opium-smoking is harmless.

No doubt there were other contributory causes. This has never been disputed. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the present national protest on behalf of the Armenians may occasion war with Turkey and Russia. Let us suppose the possibility becomes a fact. Fifty years hence Russian historians may be writing books to prove that the war of 1896-97 was in no degree a war waged by Britain on behalf of Armenia, that the massacres had no part, or at most a very small part, in causing the conflict. The main cause, they may contend, was British jealousy of Russia, British determination that the Czar should not reign in Constantinople, British fear of peril to its Indian Empire. Nor would such a contention have any difficulty in finding plausible arguments to back it. But we, at this moment, know that the supposed contention, if made, would be false to fact. Not that those contributory causes are non-existent. We know that they have had more or less influence on the British mind both before and since the Crimean war. But whatever the amount of that influence, from the close of the Crimean war to this year it has not produced a war with Russia. Forty years have passed, during which these jealousies and fears have not prevailed so as to produce a war. And in spite of them another forty years may pass in peace, and, indeed, to the end of time there may never be a war with Russia on these grounds. If now, at this time, war occurs, the massacres will be its immediate and its principal, if not absolutely the sole, cause.

Just so in the quarrel with China in 1839, there were other causes of ill-feeling between the two disputants; but those other causes had been in existence for a hundred years previously without driving either party to the stern arbitrament of arms. Equally, we may with justice argue, another century might have passed without a conflict on these grounds. The argument from "might have been" is as open to us as to our opponents. They freely assert that, Opium or no Opium, in any case there must have happened, sooner or later, a war between Great Britain and China. The assertion is worthless. Nobody knows what would have happened, if something else had not occurred. What we do know is that notwithstanding all those other grievances, commercial

intercourse between Britain and China was carried on peacefully for a century, and the war which at length broke out was caused, not by those other grievances, but by Lin's attempt, under Imperial order, to stamp out the iniquitous and injurious Opium trade. We know also that one result of the war was the extortion from China of the value of the smuggled Opium which Lin destroyed, and another was the continuance of the illegal traffic without any further attempt on China's part to interfere with it. In the face of these facts it is vain to cavil at the righteously-deserved name—the Opium War.

The proof of our assertion is the history itself. The facts are plain enough, and do not easily lend themselves to misinterpretation. It must suffice us here to assume acquaintance with the history on the reader's part, and to confine our criticism to the attempted defence of the war by Mr. Dane, Sir James Lyall, and Mr. Lay. This defence offers two distinct arguments. One is that other causes, and not the Opium trade, produced the war; the other, that even supposing the Opium trade responsible for the earlier local hostilities, Great Britain did not declare war on account of the Opium trade, but on account of other considerations quite independent of that trade. In the words of Sir James Lyall:—

“ We did not treat the violence to our representative and the whole British community at Canton by which China got possession of the Opium as a cause of the war; nor did we then advance a claim for compensation. It was not till a year later, when the Chinese had rejected all our overtures, declared all trade at an end, and fired on our ships, that we declared war. We went to war then, not to uphold the contraband Opium trade, but to dispute the right and power of China to expel us with insult and stop all trade.”

This defence endeavours to dissociate the war from the preceding events. It suggests that, even if we condemn the Opium trade, the Opium had been surrendered; the merchants and Her Majesty's representative had incurred hardships and danger. Great Britain, as though conscious of demerit, had borne all this unresistingly. The offence of the Opium trade had been purged by imprisonment and confiscation. Great Britain then stood up, clear from that past offence, to demand her just rights, and exact compensation for oppression and injuries done to her, subsequently to her atonement for the past and abandoned contraband trade.

This is an ingenious and interesting theory; but it is a fiction. Captain Elliot's despatches, which Mr. Dane has condensed into his narrative published in Vol. VII. of the Report, prove that it is pure fiction. It will suffice to extract the more important incidents.

EVENTS FROM MARCH 27TH TO DECEMBER 6TH, 1839.

On March 28th Captain Elliot informed Commissioner Lin that he held himself responsible to deliver up 20,283 chests of Opium.

On December 6th, he wrote the last of his long series of despatches to Lord Palmerston, which arrived before the British Government resolved on war. This then is the period we have to explore.

The delivery of the Opium, much of which had been sent for sale along the coast, occupied about seven weeks. On April 4th the two senior Hong merchants were sent to Captain Elliot to require that he and the merchants should sign a bond, which acknowledged the guilt of the Opium trade, implored the Imperial clemency, and proceeded thus:—

“And Elliot, &c., will plainly address the Sovereign of his nation, that she may strictly proclaim to all the merchants, that they are to pay implicit obedience to the prohibitory laws of the Celestial Court; that they must not again introduce any Opium into this inner land; that they cannot be allowed any longer to manufacture Opium.

“From the commencement of Autumn in this present year any merchant-vessel coming to Kwang-tung that may be found to bring Opium, shall be immediately and entirely confiscated, both vessel and cargo, to the use of Government; no trade shall be allowed to it; and the parties shall be left to suffer death at the hands of the Celestial Court; such punishment they will readily submit to.

“As regards such vessels as may arrive here, in the two quarters of Spring and Summer now current, they will have left their countries while yet ignorant of the existing investigations and severe enforcement of prohibitions; such of them as, in this state of ignorance, bring any Opium, shall surrender it as they arrive, not daring in the smallest degree to conceal or secrete it.

“They unite together in this plain declaration that this their full and earnest bond is true.”*

The stubborn rejection of this bond by Captain Elliot, which he denounced to Lord Palmerston as a “monstrous instrument,” was a chief, probably the chief, obstruction to a peaceful settlement of

* Correspondence, 1840, page 392.

affairs. On this account I have quoted it more fully than Mr. Dane, who sees in it a requirement that the signatories should "agree in their own behalf, and on behalf of their countrymen." I fail to see anything of the kind. Those who should sign would pledge themselves to three things:—(1) To memorialise the Queen—a proceeding which is open to the humblest of her subjects; (2) not to bring Opium to China; (3) to submit to the punishment decreed by Chinese law, in case they should be found guilty of the offence. Captain Elliot's reply to Commissioner Lin was as follows:—

"But the bonds have relation to the future; and would involve terrible responsibilities in any possible case of disobedience to the prohibitions. They would involve, too, not alone parties themselves but others also. Such bonds then, it is impossible even for his honoured Sovereign to require; and how much more must it be out of the power of Elliot himself to require them?"

"Nay, were he so far to forget his duty as to require them of the people of his country, they themselves too well know the laws of their country to venture on giving bonds that would render them highly criminal."

The irrational character of this reply is evidence that Captain Elliot could not discover any reasonable ground of objection. He ignores the fact that Lin asked for a "voluntary bond," and that signing the bond would entail no harm to any who did not knowingly infringe the law. He could not "require" British merchants to sign, but he might have recommended compliance. The American merchants, although their Consul at first objected, eventually yielded and complied with the requisition. Having signed the bond, they continued to trade at Canton unmolested. Later on, the captain and owner of a British ship signed the bond, and the ship was at once permitted to trade. Captain Elliot, however, used his influence to induce British merchants to refuse the bond, and soon after issued a public notice to Her Majesty's subjects to quit Canton.* On the 13th April he wrote to the Governor of Macao, placing himself and all British subjects, their ships, and their property, under the protection of the Portuguese Government. The Governor of Macao replied to the effect that he would protect, as far as he was able, the lives and property of British subjects in Macao, as long as they were not engaged in any contraband traffic.

* Correspondence, 1840, page 405.

On May 8th, the Chinese authorities demanded the expulsion of a British merchant, a Mr. Innes, who had been guilty of smuggling Opium since the surrender of the 20,000 chests. Elliot compelled him to leave China.

On May 24th, Captain Elliot left Canton for Macao on the plea of ill-health. The British merchants followed his advice and example, and withdrew in a body to Macao. The Opium which they had surrendered was effectually destroyed under the Imperial Commissioner's own supervision. The departure of the English to Macao appears to have increased the tension, which already existed, between Captain Elliot and the Imperial Commissioner. The Opium-smugglers who had been proscribed by name did not at once leave China, and the Opium-receiving ships were not removed from the outer seas; but the real cause (I am quoting Mr. Dane) of the rupture appears to have been Captain Elliot's refusal to agree to the bonds required. The Imperial Commissioner attempted to induce the British merchants, captains, and seamen, to disregard Captain Elliot's injunctions and proceed to Canton. The trade between Great Britain and China was not interrupted, but was carried on through the Americans, who had executed bonds and remained at Canton. The traffic in Opium was transferred to Fuh Kien and other parts of the coast.

At this juncture an affray took place on the 7th July at Hong Kong between a party of British and American seamen and the natives; in which a Chinese named Lin Weihe was killed. On July 18th Captain Elliot reported this lamentable occurrence to Lord Palmerston. At this date "everything remained quiet," but the state of affairs was in his view portentous of future trouble, as the following extracts show:—

"The High Commissioner still remains at Canton, and I learn, through a highly respectable native channel, that he dares not venture to leave the provinces till he can report to the throne the peaceful resumption of the regular British trade.

"His Excellency's perplexity, too, is said to be intensely increased by the impulse which it was natural to expect his late rash measures would give to this traffic at other points of the coast than this. In several parts of Fo Kien they have already produced a formidable organization of the native smugglers, and the officers of the Government do not venture to disturb them. The high prices in China will soon bring on the immense stocks in India; and indeed, while I am writing to your lordship, a most vigorous trade is carried on at places about 200 miles to the eastward of Canton.

* * * * *

"But, my lord, the difficulties in China are not confined to this matter of Opium. The true and far more difficult question to be solved is whether there shall be honourable and extending trade with this Empire, or whether the coasts shall be delivered over to a state of things which will pass rapidly from the worst character of a forced trade to plain buccaneering."*

On August 16th Captain Elliot informed the Macao magistrate that he had been unable to discover the person or persons who had caused the death of the Chinese. He intimated that in any case he would not surrender any British subject for trial by the Chinese. The Imperial Commissioner approached Macao with an armed force, stopped the supply of provisions to the English, and threatened to cut off the supplies of the Portuguese also. Captain Elliot thereupon left Macao on August 24th for Hong Kong. The English community was compelled to follow, leaving their sick only behind in the Portuguese hospital. At Hong Kong nearly 50 British merchant ships were assembled. A day or two later Her Majesty's ship "Volage," with Captain Smith in command, arrived with despatches. On September 2nd a notice was found posted at Hong Kong, saying that the water had been poisoned. At Kowlung four war junks were stationed, which prevented a regular supply of provisions. On September 4th Captain Elliot led a force of armed boats to buy provisions, and being hindered he opened fire upon the junks. During the night he repented of his rashness and decided to discontinue hostilities. The engagement, however, induced the Chinese to relax the vigour of their preventive measures; provisions were subsequently supplied, and the notices regarding the poisoning of the water were removed.

Subsequently, the supposed capture of a boat's crew of British sailors, and a proclamation by the Chinese authorities calling on the natives to arm themselves and prevent the English from landing, led to a formal notice by Captain Smith of his intention to blockade the river on September 10th. On the 12th a Spanish brig was attacked, plundered and burnt, by four war junks, the mandarins mistaking her for one of the Opium ships. On the 13th the missing boat's crew was found, and on the 16th notice was issued that the projected blockade would not be established. On

* Correspondence, 1840, page 431.

the 20th Commissioner Lin communicated three conditions upon which he would permit trade to be resumed.

"1. That all Opium in the ships at Hong Kong should be at once surrendered.

"2. That the murderer of Lin Weihe should be given up, or that the seamen who were known to have been engaged in the riot should be sent to the officers of the Celestial Empire for trial, on the understanding that one only should answer for the crime, and the others be sent back.

"3. That the Opium-receiving ships should be removed beyond the Great Ladrone, and that all the persons who had been banished from China, but had not yet complied with the order, should depart immediately."

If these conditions were not complied with before the end of the month, the Commissioner threatened the use of the naval and military forces of China. Captain Elliot sent a partially submissive reply. Further correspondence ensued, and Lin even consented to modify his orders about the bonds, under certain conditions which would safeguard China from the introduction of Opium. Negotiations were still proceeding when the British ship "Thomas Coutts" arrived from Singapore, consigned to Mr. Daniell, then a private merchant in China, who had formerly been one of the supracargoes of the East India Company. Mr. Daniell applied for a pilot and proceeded to the Bocca Tigris, and there signed a bond in the form required by Lin, and the ship was at once taken to Whampoa and permitted to trade. This defection was a severe blow to Captain Elliot. Lin was convinced thereby that Elliot's protestation of the impossibility and illegality of signing the bonds was false; and also that the real objection to signing was an intention to continue the prohibited traffic. He wrote—

"From what the foreign merchants now declare, it seems that hereafter also they will be equally unwilling to execute the obligation, that their idea is to continue selling Opium.

* * * * *

"It now appears that the said Superintendent's statement—that it is requisite to wait for letters from his Sovereign before complying—is not to be believed. For if it be necessary to wait for letters from his Sovereign before giving such bonds, how is it that the ship 'Thomas Coutts' has already given the bond? Are not the ship-master and the shippers on this vessel men of your English nation? We imagine that all the foreign merchants would have found no difficulty in paying obedience. But Elliot, obstinately adhering to his own views, has deceived and stirred up into contumacy and disobedience all the foreign merchants."*

Elliot sent a temporising reply, which called forth another com-

munication, the last, from Commissioner Lin, dated October 27th, 1839. In this long despatch Lin reiterates his argument: "The unwillingness to execute the bond is plain evidence of the desire to continue smuggling." And he fortifies his case by complaining that "the ships in Hong Kong have been sending their Opium away in schooners to the eastward and westward to be disposed of"; and gives instances of actual cases attended by violence and murder. His complaint was too true, and Elliot was obliged to indite the following abject reply:

"Macao, *October 29th*, 1839.

"Elliot has received the communication of their Excellencies, dated on the 27th instant, containing the statements of outrages committed upon the coast, which have filled him with sorrow and shame.

"He again and again declares that the British Government will give no protection to the men of his nation pursuing their guilty and sordid practices. But concerning those spoken of Elliot knows nothing. They have not taken place within the circle of his authority, and he can solemnly aver that he has used his best efforts to prevent them, wherever his power extends. It is utterly false to say that he has given these, or any other shameful deeds his countenance.

"Concerning all other matters touched on in their Excellencies' communication, Elliot has already replied fully.

"*(Signed)* CHARLES ELLIOT."

THE DECLARATION OF WAR.

It is of the last words of this last despatch sent by Lin (which bore also the name of the Viceroy, Tang), that Mr. Dane writes: "This was practically a declaration of war."* Mr. Lay before him had accused Lin of issuing a notification "which was tantamount to a declaration of war."

The absurdity of this charge against Lin is apparent from the character of Captain Elliot's reply, which is given above. Indeed the assertion that Lin declared war at all could only proceed from one ignorant of China and its history, or one blinded by passion. As a matter of fact, there was no formal declaration of war on either side, and certainly on China's side there was never any intention to provoke a war. Lin had no practical knowledge of England, and it would be hardly more absurd to say that China's Emperor or China's plenipotentiary threatened to wage war against the inhabitants of the Moon; than against an island in the extreme West of Europe. Lin conceived that he was in China, administer-

* Vol. VII., page 202.

ing Chinese law, and that he had to do with a little knot of merchants, and their fleet of ships, all on Chinese land or in Chinese waters, and so under his jurisdiction. He neither spoke nor thought of war with a foreign nation: he threatened only to send a naval force to Hong Kong to arrest murderers, Opium-smugglers, and traitorous Chinese. There is no question at all as to his right to do this: there may be question of the wisdom of the threat, seeing that he had no power to perform it.

THE CONTINUANCE OF THE OPIUM-SMUGGLING.

Lin was led to believe that the foreigners intended to continue the unlawful trade. And he was not mistaken. Captain Elliot's despatch to Lord Palmerston, of Nov. 28th, 1839, states that Lin's destruction of the 20,000 chests gave an immense impulse to the traffic. Some of the principal merchants adhered (for a time at least) to their voluntary pledge to relinquish "this unworthy and lawless traffic," but their abstention did not diminish the volume of the trade. During this period of negotiations the traffic was vigorously pushed up and down the coast; it continued during the succeeding war; it continued after the treaty of peace. The Indian Government never for a moment contemplated the abandonment of the trade; the British Government never entertained the idea; the merchants (with some exceptions) pursued it to the utmost of their power, and meant to pursue it as long as they could.

On the other hand it is incontrovertible that Commissioner Lin's main object from first to last was to extirpate the injurious traffic: as he himself wrote,—

"I, the Commissioner, am sworn on behalf of the Celestial Empire, to remove utterly this root of misery; nor will I let the foreign vessels have any offshoot left for the evil to bud forth again."*

THE NARRATIVE CONCLUDED.

It was Captain Elliot who longed for war, and he began the attack. With his concurrence the British ships of war opened fire on the Chinese war junks on Nov. 3rd. Four of the junks were sunk or destroyed and the Chinese fleet was driven back. This action put a full stop to negotiations. The Chinese landed some

* Vol. VII., page 202.

troops on Hong Kong which threatened the shipping there. Captain Elliot thereupon removed the anchorage to Tong Koo, from whence, on Dec. 6th, he wrote his last despatch to Lord Palmerston. The reader now has the story in brief before him—told mostly in Mr. Dane's own words—and he can judge for himself how far it supports Sir James Lyall's statement that we did not declare war until "the Chinese had rejected all our overtures, declared all trade at an end, and fired on our ships." The history, as told by Mr. Dane and the Blue Books, shows that Captain Elliot rejected the overtures of the Chinese. Captain Elliot would not permit the continuance of trade; Captain Elliott fired upon the Chinese ships before they fired a shot. One thing is quite certain, the war cannot be dissociated from the Opium trade. From first to last the Opium was the main, all but quite the only cause of the war. The murder of Lin Weihe on July 7th introduced a new cause of quarrel, but apart from that murder the original and persistent source of trouble, the Opium trade, would account for all that happened. Lin was bound by oath and by personal conviction, to the extinction of the Opium trade. His seizure of the drug was magnificent, if impolitic. His methods of coercion, well-poisoning, refusing provisions, inciting the people to attack the foreigners, were, from our point of view, barbarous. He lectured the foreigners like a schoolmaster lecturing naughty boys. He was ignorant and arrogant; but notwithstanding all these faults, which were those of the stage of development to which his race had reached, right and reason and law were on his side. Elliot unhappily was the champion of illegality and crime. In those last words just quoted he boldly asserted that "it was utterly false to say that he had given these or any other shameful deeds his countenance." No doubt he honestly deceived himself. To Lord Palmerston he expressed his abhorrence of the Opium trade—"no man entertains a deeper detestation of the disgrace and sin of this forced traffic,—I see little to choose between it and piracy." Yet this hater of the sin was in fact the champion of the sinners, from the time he took Mr. Dent by the arm to defend him from Lin, to the day he wrote these words. Not only did he by his authority and by arms defend the Opium merchants; he actually wrapped the folds of the British flag round the Opium itself. Instead of allowing Lin to seize it from

its owners, he claimed the drug in the Queen's name for her service. Lin's forcible seizure of the drug was a political blunder, but it paled into insignificance beside Elliot's monstrous proceeding, which involved the Crown and the honour of England in an illicit and injurious trade, in direct opposition to the instructions of his chief, Lord Palmerston, who had forewarned the Opium traders that they carried on the trade at their own risk, and would not receive the protection of their Government.

THE OTHER CAUSES OF THE WAR.

While the Opium trade was the immediate, the principal, all but the sole cause of the war, it is not to be denied that, taking a wider view, there were other causes in the background. In regard to these, the important question is, Were these other causes such as, so far as they went, justified the war? Sir James Lyall and his allies have taken this for granted. But a stricter scrutiny than they have chosen to give will show that this is questionable. Sir James Lyall sets out these other causes fairly enough.

"The main cause, in my opinion, was the persistent, radical, and irreconcilable difference of view between British representatives and merchants on the one side, and the Chinese governing class on the other, as to the following matters:—The facilities of trade and conditions of residence in China properly demandable, the subjection of British subjects to Chinese law courts, and the proper extent and form of official or diplomatic relations."*

This is a description of the case which we can very well accept. Previous to and apart from the illicit trade, there were opposite opinions, desires, and determinations on these three matters:—(1) Trade; (2) Ex-territoriality; (3) Diplomatic Intercourse. That there should be these differences was natural enough. Looking at the previous history of the two races, the English and the Chinese, considering the different stages of enlightenment and civilization which they had respectively attained, differing opinions and desires were an inevitable necessity. The question we have to propose is not—Which side had the right opinion? To ask that would be foolish; seeing that neither side could help having its opinion, and that each opinion was right from its own point of view. The question we have to ask is—Was England

* Memorandum, page 126.

justified in forcing her opinion upon China by war? After all, war is murder on a colossal scale. That first war with China is estimated to have cost China twenty thousand lives, besides immense material damage, and far greater indirect injury. The one question for us is—Was our nation justified in going to war with China, by these differences of opinion? Let us take them in the reverse order:—

(3) Diplomatic Relations.

Britain wanted equal diplomatic relations, based on the recognition that the British Empire was at least equal in rights and dignities to the Chinese.

China wanted, and would have, no diplomatic relations at all.

To the average Englishman it stands to reason that the Chinese view was absurd, grotesque, hardly sane. It does not occur to him to think that as a matter of fact his view was absurd, grotesque, quite insane in Chinese eyes. "There is only one sun in the sky; there is only one Emperor on earth." To the Chinese mind, 4,000 years of history made that truth an axiom. Nothing but our insular provincialism, ignorance of history, supercilious indifference to the necessary points of view of other races, could hide from our minds that the Chinese necessarily held their opinion, and that nothing but a gradual process of enlightenment and a slow and long-enduring penetration of Western ideas could displace that opinion.

The question here is—Was it just and right to kill twenty thousand Chinese, and inflict all the horrors of war upon China, in order to seat a British Minister in Peking and bring a Chinese Minister to London? No one for a moment will hesitate about the answer. To wage war merely to secure diplomatic intercourse would be downright insanity as well as wickedness. The forms, the extent of diplomatic intercourse are valueless in themselves; they are only important for what they subserve. It is said, had there been equal diplomatic intercourse there would have been no war. The argument shows that diplomatic intercourse, which prevents war, is valuable; and implies that war, for the sake of diplomatic intercourse only, would be useless and wrong.

(2) Ex-territoriality.

The British merchants wanted to live and trade in China without becoming subject to Chinese law. This was a very natural

desire. China permits torture to elicit confession. China's prisons are horrible. Chinese law does not distinguish homicide from murder.

On the other hand, the Chinese Emperor and his officers could not conceive that any system of law, any administration of justice existing in the world, was or could be superior to theirs. Nor could they see anything but utter unreason in the proposition that strangers should enter the Middle Kingdom and not acknowledge the excellence of its laws. At any rate, they said plainly: "If you foreigners do not like to submit to our laws, you have your remedy. Go away and do not come back."

In this case also, the injustice and even the absurdity of waging war for the mere sake of ex-territorial privileges is self-evident. British citizens are not obliged to go to China. They certainly do not, and never would, go there simply for the pleasure of being there and being able to say to the Chinese mandarin, "You dare not lay a finger on me"!

Ex-territoriality is sought not for itself but for something else. This leads on to:—

(1) Commerce.

The British merchants wanted free trade in all parts of China. If they did not ask for that all at once, they wanted freer opportunities than they actually enjoyed. It was for the sake of trade they desired ex-territoriality and equal diplomatic intercourse.

China did not want unrestricted trade. The Government was afraid, not without good reason, of a large influx of foreigners. The old custom of trade confined to one port suited them, and they resisted its extension.

The question then narrows itself to this: Was it right that Great Britain should wage war upon China in order to gain more commercial facilities? No honest, right-minded man can hesitate here. It is wrong, it is wicked to kill other men in order to enlarge one's commerce and enrich oneself.

So far, however, as our first war with China was not caused by the Opium trade and the disputes and injuries which grew out of that trade, it was caused by the insatiable desire of the British for an enlargement of their trade. Immediately and mainly it was an Opium war: a war springing out of the Opium trade, supporting the Opium trade, perpetuating the Opium trade. All other

causes are reducible to one: namely, the determination of the British merchants and nation to force the Chinese to open their country to trade. The other causes which have been inconsiderately assumed to justify the war, upon examination must confirm our condemnation of its iniquity.

F. STORRS TURNER.

MEDICAL DEBATE IN LONDON.

Under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, a discussion of the Opium question took place in the rooms of the Medical Society of London on the 8th inst. Dr. Norman Kerr, President of the Society, occupied the chair. Dr. Huntly, of Rajputana, who is about to return to India at the conclusion of his furlough, opened the debate by a paper, entitled, "The Opium Habit: Some Points in Diagnosis and Prognosis." It had been expected that Surgeon-General Sir William Moore, who has been conspicuous in defence of the Opium policy of the Indian Government, would lead the opposition to Dr. Huntly. Before the debate occurred, however, Sir William Moore died. The debate thus lost some of the piquancy that it might have possessed had two medical men who had both lived and practised in Rajputana, and had put before the public widely divergent statements as to the use of Opium by the Rajputs, confronted one another. Sir William Moore will be most favourably remembered, not by his unfortunate contributions to the literature of the wrong side of the Opium question, but by his useful popular handbook of medical treatment in tropical countries, in which the dangers of Opium, especially for children, are clearly indicated.

We have been favoured with the following notes of the debate. A fuller report, with the text of Dr. Huntly's paper, will appear in the proceedings of the Society.

Dr. GEORGE HARLEY, F.R.S.,* said that of the three general indulgences

* As we go to press, we observe a notice of Dr. Harley's death after two days' illness.

of mankind, Tobacco, Opium and Alcohol, the worst was that of Alcohol. Mankind had a natural craving for some form of stimulant. The tobacco habit so common in England only affected the individual, and that to a varying degree. Opium he would place second, which affected only the habitué himself and his family. Amongst the poorer classes of smokers this was so, especially where the small earnings were almost entirely spent in purchasing the drug to the impoverishment of the family. But the alcohol habit was by far the worst of the three evils, for it not only injured the consumer and his family, but was a stimulator of crime and endangered the well-being of society and the safety of human life. Opium was of common use in certain parts of India, and was often given to camels, horses, and elephants when extra service from them was required. He thought that we had a far greater evil to contend with in the drink traffic at home.

Dr. JAMES L. MAXWELL said :—" I represent China and its most malarious district, the southern portion of the Island of Formosa which has now passed into Japanese hands. So saturated are the people of South Formosa with malaria that oftentimes in treating them for chronic diseases, as of the eye or kidney, the appropriate medicines would not work till the patients were under the influence of quinine. Prof. Harley urges that all races crave for some narcotic, and ranges together Tobacco, Opium, and Alcohol as the three typical ones. But in Formosa, while the smoking of tobacco was universal and the use of alcohol was not uncommon, no one there, no native, ever thought of putting Opium in a category with them ; Opium was by itself, an evil and a curse.

" I would urge earnestly, what I quite admit it is difficult for the ordinary mind in this country to grasp, that the special reason why it is unfair to rank Opium with these other drugs is that the term *moderation* cannot be rightly applied to its use. When the lowest average quantity used by a working man, say one dram daily, makes a slave of him, so that he cannot give it up and he must be locked up for a period of at least five or six days before the horrible craving and misery are sufficiently passed to permit of even the least liberty being allowed him, it is a wrong use of language to describe such use of Opium as *moderation*. We recognise this for ourselves in this country and guard the sale of Opium, and there is no medical man in this country who would dream of allowing either patient or friend of his to begin to use Opium as a man may begin to use alcohol. The Japanese recognise this and will not have it under any conditions, and our own Government in Burma recognise it in their most recent legislation which forbids it altogether to the Burmese. It is most important that we should frankly recognise this peculiar characteristic of Opium, that *moderation* is not a word which should be applied to its habitual use. So far as malaria is concerned, among tens of thousands of patients it was never suggested that Opium was in any sense a preventive of malaria, though it was sometimes taken to allay malarial pains."

Surgeon Lieut.-Col. R. PRINGLE, M.D., said that Opium was not a necessity. When used for malaria it becomes the most seductive thing possible, and if a man takes to it, he must go on. In the North West Provinces of India, of which he had considerable personal knowledge, malaria is an awful scourge, but if doctors recommend the use of Opium they put a dangerous thing in the hands of the people. It was true, that some of

the native drivers give a mixture of Opium and sweets to camels, horses, and elephants on special occasions, if an extra amount of work has to be done, or a great distance travelled; but the driver will take care that the camels have it only in moderation; and moderation is very doubtful when taken by one that walks on two legs. A man may cut himself off from alcohol at once, but he never saw an Opium eater do it, except in gaol. Three districts in the North West Provinces, while he was stationed there, refused to cultivate the poppy or to accept the Government advances. It must be remembered that India is a great country with varying conditions, and there are vast tracts where little or nothing is known of the habit, while in the towns and cities and more populated centres the vice is more known and more to be lamented.

Dr. GRAY was in agreement with Dr. Huntly, for morphia and laudanum were taken by patients who had come under his notice, and when there had been a removal of Opium and its effects he had observed clearly a corresponding increase of muscular fibre—which was proof to him of the deleterious effects of the drug upon the system.

Dr. LEES also spoke strongly against the idea of a natural craving for stimulants in the form of a narcotic or alcohol, and contended that the human system from its earliest days only craved the natural and most essential forms of nourishment for its well-being.

Dr. NORMAN KERR, in summing up, remarked that Opium was a functional poison, whilst alcohol was a brain or organic poison. The common use and sale of the drug should be discouraged and restricted by law.

THE TREATMENT OF OPIUM-SMOKERS.

We received some time ago from Japan a request for a statement of the best means of curing Opium-smokers; the request emanating from one of the patriotic Japanese gentlemen who are anxious to put down Opium-smoking in Formosa, not only that Japan may be safe-guarded against the insidious vice, but also for the good of the Formosans themselves. Not knowing where to find any clear and succinct statement on the subject, we referred to Dr. James L. Maxwell, M.A., who has probably had as much experience in the cure of Opium-smokers as any other man living in the United Kingdom. He kindly replied in the following letter, which was duly forwarded to Japan, and has, we are informed, been translated into the Japanese language, and printed in one of the most widely-read Japanese papers. We reproduce it here for the benefit of our readers, some of whom will doubtless be glad to make use of its valuable hints: we also

intend to reprint it as a leaflet, and shall be glad to send copies to missionaries and others who will write to us for them.

The Medical Missionary Association,
49, Highbury Park, London, N.,

8th June, 1896.

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER,—The curative management of the Opium-smoker in China depends on the resources which the doctor possesses for treatment.

1.—If it be possible, the patient should be in a ward set apart for the purpose, and under special care. As the craving is bound to assert itself when the drug is withdrawn, and the suffering becomes intolerable, the ward must be securely bolted and precaution taken against efforts to escape. The patient has to face five or six days of real misery; and the doctor's efforts, the Opium having been wholly withdrawn, are to mitigate the distress till the extreme of suffering is over.

Three things are kept in view:—

(1) Tonics from the first: quinine + strychnia + capsicum = nerve tonics and stomachics.

(2) Food of extremely easy digestion: milk, beef tea, &c.

(3) Soothing remedies for the extreme irritation of brain and muscle: chloral, sulphonal, bromides, but not too much of these.

In five days the worst is over, and the patient *under guard* may get out a little. His craving will not now be so uncontrollable as that he should be determined to run away.

2.—If the doctor is compelled to treat his patient at home, or as an out-patient, or in an ordinary ward, the above medication will not suffice. Nine-tenths of the patients, even though they have paid down a deposit, will sacrifice all and run for it. Such patients must be let down gradually. My own plan was to give the Opium-smoker solid Opium and camphor. The amount given was proportioned to the habits of the smoker. Much less solid Opium will meet the craving, and from day to day it must be steadily diminished. The struggle begins when you have got well down and are facing the end. Such a patient should also use powerful tonics as before, and he must be encouraged to persevere. Many such, if their heart is in it, do well; many, on the other hand, break down and fail.

I am, yours very truly,

JAMES L. MAXWELL.

THE WRESTING OF MEDICAL EVIDENCE.

We briefly noticed in our last the article contributed by the Rev. Arnold Foster, of Hankow, under the above title, to the *China Medical Missionary Journal*, and afterwards separately reprinted. Our readers will be glad of some extracts from this valuable critique of portions of the Majority Report of the Opium Commis-

sion. The writer explains that his intention is not "to tread on ground that belongs properly to medical men," but to ascertain how far the evidence placed before the Commissioners "really bears out the conclusions which the Commission has drawn from it." He does not attempt to criticise the evidence itself, on which, as he remarks, "a good deal might be said."

Mr. Foster tells us that his own perusal of the Blue Books leads him confidently to anticipate "a time when the present Report will no longer be regarded by any one as authoritative." He earnestly appeals to Anti-Opiumists at home, in India, and in China to "make a conscientious and searching examination of the materials, in the shape of evidence, with which the Blue Books supply them. The work is a great one, but the issues at stake are great also, and many workers are necessary." This appeal we would heartily endorse, whilst not unmindful of the good service already done by Mr. Rowntree, Mr. Storrs Turner, and others.

A MISLEADING INDEX.

Mr. Foster commences by pointing out the gross unfairness of the index; a point which has not before been dealt with as it deserves. For the index the Secretary, Mr. Baines, is personally responsible, much more than for the body of the Report—this is a part of the work which the Commissioners could hardly be expected personally to check.

The result of Mr. Foster's examination is amply to justify Mr. Rowntree's remark, "The report should have been drafted by independent men, and not by officers of the Indian Government," and the strictures of Sir Joseph Pease and Mr. John Ellis on the same point in the House of Commons. Here is an instance:—

One cannot help feeling sometimes that the references to certain subjects given in the index, are not intended as a guide to *all* the evidence on those subjects which was laid before the Commission, but only to such parts of it as the advocates of the Opium trade wish considered. Let any one, *e.g.*, look under the word "Medicinal," and he will be apt to suppose that the medical testimony given to the Commission must be almost wholly favourable to the indiscriminate use of Opium as a panacea for nearly every form of sickness and disease. It is needless to say that a good deal of the medical testimony was not at all of this nature. I will make my point clear by a few figures. The index under the word "Medicinal" fills four columns and a half, each column eleven inches deep. The references are given under 235 headings; of these headings about 190 are devoted to references to

answers detailing the benefits of Opium, about 30 are devoted to answers of a neutral character (such, *e.g.*, as "Quotations from Sanskrit books," &c.), while not more than 15 point to answers manifestly unfavourable to the consumption of Opium, or indicating the danger of its indiscriminate use. Now no one who has read all the medical evidence published by the Commission can possibly assert that an index compiled on these lines is a safe guide for those who enquire of it what the facts are in regard to the medical evidence, and where those facts are stated in the Blue Books.

(*To be continued in our next.*)

Side Lights from Current Literature.

[Under the above heading we hope to publish, from time to time, notices of books bearing upon the Opium traffic, or containing memoirs of those who have been connected directly or indirectly with the effort for its suppression. We hope some of our co-workers will contribute sketches to this column.—ED. *F. of C.*]

A LADY OF ENGLAND.

Miss Agnes Gibberne's *Life of A. L. O. E.*, the writer of "The Giant Killer" and many other charming tales for children, who spent the last eighteen years of her life as a Zenana missionary in the Punjab, can be warmly commended to all who are interested in the cause of Christian Missions. Miss Charlotte M. Tucker was the daughter of Mr. St. George Tucker, at one time Finance Minister in the Government at Calcutta, and subsequently twice Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. He shared the strong repugnance for the Opium traffic which was generally entertained by the Christian Anglo-Indians of his own and the succeeding generation, and to which the Rev. Dr. Townsend, the son of another Indian statesman, bore witness recently at Tunbridge Wells (see our July issue, page 104). "The Rambles of a Rat," one of A. L. O. E.'s most popular stories, contains a reference to "Opium, which destroys slowly but surely those who give themselves up recklessly to its enjoyment."

We are chiefly interested here in the light thrown upon the career and character of Miss Tucker's father. The change in the policy of the Indian Government as regards Opium, for a full

knowledge of which we are indebted to Sir James Lyall's Memorandum appended to the Report of the Opium Commission (see Mr. Storrs Turner's review, *Friend of China*, April, 1896, p. 63), was the subject of repeated indignant remonstrances by Mr. Tucker, who, however, places it a good deal earlier than the year 1830, to which it is assigned by Sir James Lyall. A note by Mr. Tucker, handed to the Court of Directors in 1829, states: "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." Two other protests against the traffic by Mr. Tucker were addressed the one to Sir Robert Peel and the other to Mr. Marjoribanks, and are quoted in Mr. Turner's "British Opium Policy" from "Kaye's Administration." To Sir Robert Peel he wrote:—

"When I was connected with the finances of India,* the policy pursued in the management of the monopoly was to draw the largest revenue from the smallest quantity of the drug. . . . But when the province of Malwa came under our dominion, it occurred to some of our functionaries that an Opium revenue might be obtained at Bombay analogous to that derived from the monopoly of the manufacture in Bengal, and every possible stimulus was given to the cultivation of the poppy. . . . From this time an entire change in our policy took place, and it became the object of the Government to crush the competition from other quarters, which high prices might engender, and to draw the same revenue from a large quantity at lower rates."

To Mr. Marjoribanks he wrote:—

"For the last twenty years we have been encouraging the production by all possible means, and we now export to China alone the enormous quantity of 27,000 chests. This I have always considered an intolerable evil."

"An intolerable evil." Such was the view of the Opium traffic between India and China taken by an enlightened Christian Indian administrator, nearly seventy years ago, when the export to China was but one-third of what it afterwards became, and less than one-half of what it is still. In those days Christian statesmen, though out-voted in the Councils of the Indian Government, were at least clear-sighted enough to protest with all their might against raising revenue from an immoral traffic. How is it that

* Mr. Tucker was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1792 to 1810, when he came home to recruit his health, having been appointed Secretary in the Public Department the previous year. He returned to Calcutta, having meanwhile married, in 1812, but finally left the country in 1815. See "A Lady of England," pp. 7, 8.

the Christian Indian statesmen of to-day have so lamentably fallen away from the moral standard of a Tucker, a Lawrence, a Frere, an Edwardes?

THE GURNEYS OF EARLHAM.

This interesting narrative, by Augustus J. C. Hare, gives a touching and beautiful picture of the last days of William Storrs Fry, the eldest son of Elizabeth Fry (*née* Gurney). He was, though the author does not mention the fact, one of the earliest opponents of the Opium traffic between India and China. His little book on the subject was, we believe, in point of time, second only to the Rev. J. L. Thelwall's "Iniquities of the Opium traffic," as an exposure of the evils flowing from the trade. The writer had gone out to China as a young merchant, had seen for himself the evils of the traffic, and on his return compiled this useful volume, giving to his countrymen at home information as to the curse which they were bringing upon the Eastern world. It was fitting that a son of the sweet and stately lady, who had opened the foul prisons of Newgate to the healthful current of Christian hope and sympathy, should become a pioneer in the effort to close the ports of India to the baneful traffic which poisons China's life-blood. His early death deprived his country of one who seemed likely to render valuable service in this and other causes on behalf of humanity.

Obituary.

Rev. A. T. Rose, D.D., of Rangoon, a veteran worker of the American Baptist Mission, died at his home in that city on the 5th July. He had laboured in Burma ever since the year 1853, and on the annexation of Upper Burma he took a prominent part in promoting the memorial from the Baptist Missionary Conference, which urged on the Government that the old Buddhist laws against Opium should be maintained in the newly-acquired territory, so that it might be saved from the evils that had befallen the lower province through the facilities provided for the sale of Opium.

Mr. William D. Terrell, of the London Missionary Society, whose sudden death at Hiao-kan, near Hankow, we regret to record, is a great loss to our cause. We published in a recent issue some extracts from a letter received from this devoted and gifted missionary, whose acquaintance it was our privilege to make at an Anti-Opium Conference in Bristol some years ago. Removed in comparatively early life from the loved service of his Lord on earth, he is doubtless called to some higher service above.

Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

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Braithwaite, Miss (use of slides)				0 2 0
Braithwaite, G. H., for 1895	0 5 0			
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Brown, Miss		0 2 6		
Brown, Rev. J. Jenkyn	0 5 0		0 5 0	
Buckle, James	0 2 6			
Burnside, Rev. Henderson	0 5 0			
Burslem				0 17 2
Button, Eustace	0 5 0			
Buxton, T. Fowell	2 2 0			
Carried forward	34 19 0	5 11 6	135 15 11	2 10 2

NAMES.	Subscriptions.	Donations.	Donations to Special Fund.	Collections.
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Cadbury, Richard			10 0 0	
Carpenter, Mrs. R. L.	1 0 0			
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Clevedon Committee, per J. Bailey		2 2 6		
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Clutterbuck, Miss E. C.	0 5 0			
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Colman, Alfred	0 5 0			
Compson, Miss E.			0 10 0	
Coote, Algernon C. P.	0 2 6			
Cory, John, J.P.	2 2 0			
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Crawley, less expenses				0 7 0
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Crosfield, J. B., 1895-1896	2 0 0			
Crosfield, William	1 0 0			
Crowfoot, Rev. Canon, M.A. ...	0 10 0			
Cuming, George W.	0 10 0			
Daubeny, Miss M. A.	1 0 0			
Davies, Miss Clara E., 1895	0 10 0			
Davies, Mr. and Mrs. D. H.	1 0 0			
Davies, Mrs. H. N.	1 1 0			
Davis, Mrs. E. P.	1 0 0		0 5 0	
Dennis, Rev. J. L.	0 2 6			
Denton, James		0 2 6		
Dodds, Mrs. B. A.		0 10 0		
Dodson, Mrs.	0 7 6			
Dodsworth, Sir Matthew, Bart.		5 0 0		
Douglas, Mrs.	0 5 0			
Dulwich, less expenses				0 3 4
Eccles, Mr. and Mrs. A. E.	2 2 0			
Edmundson, Mrs.	1 0 0			
Edmundson, The Misses	1 0 0			
Elton, Sir E. H., Bart.	0 10 0			
Ely, Joseph	0 5 0			
Evans, Mrs.		0 2 6		
Fenn, Rev. C. C., M.A.	0 5 0			
Carried forward	76 7 6	14 0 0	146 15 11	3 0 6

NAMES.	Subscriptions.			Donations.			Donations to Special Fund.			Collections.		
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Fenwick, Mrs. G. T.	0	5	0									
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Fordham, Rev. John S., Junr. ...	0	2	6									
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Fox, George Henry	0	10	0									
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Gallimore, Henry	0	5	0									
Garland, Mrs. L. H.	0	10	0									
Garnett, Mrs.	0	2	6									
Gayner, John	0	10	0									
Gibbs, Mrs. Clarence	0	2	6									
Gibson, Miss	2	2	0									
Gibson, W. S.	0	2	6									
Gloucester, per Miss Seekings...										0	13	0
Gordon, Mrs. Elizabeth	1	0	0									
Grace, Mrs. Abraham R.	0	10	0									
Gravelly, Frederic	0	5	0									
Gray, W.				0	5	0						
Grey, Joseph	1	1	0									
Grubb, J. Ernest	0	5	0									
Gurney, Henry	1	1	0				6	1	0			
Gurney, H. E.	2	2	0				10	0	0			
Guthrie, A., J.P.	1	0	0				1	0	0			
Haig, Major-Gen. F. T., R.E. ...	1	1	0									
Hall, Mrs. H. F.	0	5	0									
Hankinson, Rev. E. F. E.				1	0	0						
Hardy, Mrs.				1	0	0						
Harlock, Miss F. A.	0	2	6									
Harrison, James	0	2	6									
Harvey, William, J.P.	5	0	0				10	0	0			
Headland, Miss E.	0	2	6				0	7	6			
Heatley, Miss Mary	0	2	6									
Herklots, J. G. Craig	0	10	0									
Hertford										0	12	0
Heywood, Mrs. Oliver	0	5	0									
Hicks, James	0	2	6									
Hill, Mrs. Charles	0	2	6									
Hirst, Rev. Humphrey	0	2	6									
Holland, Rev. Canon H. Scott, M.A.	2	0	0									
Hooper, Mrs.							10	0	0			
Horsnail, Mrs. W. C.	0	10	0									
Hoste, Major-Gen. D. E.	0	2	6									
Howarth, T.	0	2	6									
Howlett, Charles E.	0	10	0									
Hubbard, Rev. W. G.	0	2	6									
Huddleston, T.	0	2	6									
Hughling, Miss Mary	0	5	0									
Hulme, Rev. S.	1	1	0									
Carried forward	107	0	6	17	3	9	194	4	5	4	5	6

NAMES.	Subscriptions.		Donations.		Donations to Special Fund.		Collections.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Brought forward	107	0 6	17	3 9	194	4 5	4	5 6
Hume, Mrs., per Mrs. D. H. Davies	0	2 6						
Hunter, Rev. James, M.A., B.D.	0	5 0						
Hurnard, Samuel F.....	5	0 0						
Hurry, Miss	1	0 0						
Hurry, Rev. Nicholas.....	1	1 0						
Hutchinson, Miss E.	0	5 0						
Hyde, Mrs.....	0	4 0						
Idle, Miss Grace, collected by ...			0	13 6				
Impey, The Misses	0	5 0						
Innocent, Miss, collected by.....	1	2 6						
Jackson, Grant	0	5 0						
James, Mrs. C. S.	0	2 6						
Johnson, Henry	0	5 0						
Johnson, Mrs. Lewis	0	5 0						
Jones, Mrs. Wm.	2	0 0			1	0 0		
Kelly, T.	0	2 6						
Kemp, Mrs., and family	4	10 0						
Kemp, Miss Mary.....	1	1 0						
Kenyon, Owen S.....	0	2 6						
Kerslake, Rev. E. K.	0	2 6						
Kissock, Mrs.....			5	0 0				
Kitts, The Misses.....	0	2 6			0	1 6		
Lamb, J.	0	5 0						
Lassell, The Misses	1	0 0						
Laurence, Mrs.			0	5 0				
Ledward, Rev. W. J.	0	5 0						
Lees, Miss Clara			1	0 0				
Legge, Rev. Professor.....	1	1 0						
Letchworth, Miss.....			2	0 0				
Lewis, Henry.....	0	2 6						
Lewis, Samuel	0	5 0						
Leyton, per D. R. Duncan....							0	10 2
Liddicoat, H.....	0	10 0						
Light, Rev. W. E., M.A.....	0	5 0			0	5 0		
Lingford, Joseph	1	0 0						
Lloyd, G. W.			1	0 0				
Long, Miss J. A.	0	5 0						
Macquillan, E.			0	10 0				
Margesson, Miss E. C.....	0	1 0	0	10 0				
Marriott, The Misses	1	0 0						
Marston, Miss Ann	1	0 0						
Martineau, The Misses, per Charity Organization Society	2	0 0						
Mathers, Joseph	0	3 0						
Matheson, Donald	2	2 0						
Mawson, Mrs.....	0	2 6			0	2 6		
Maxwell, J. L., M.D.	0	10 0						
McLaren, David, J.P.....	5	0 0						
McLaren, James	1	1 0						
McNeile, Hon. Mrs.....	0	5 0						
Carried forward.....	143	7 0	28	2 3	195	13 5	4	15 8

NAMES.	Subscriptions.		Donations.		Donations to Special Fund.		Collections.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Brought forward	143	7 0	28	2 3	195	13 5	4	15 8
Mennell, Henry T.	1	1 0						
Merrick, W. G.	0	5 0						
Metford, Mrs. W. M.			0	9 8				
Mickle, Miss	0	4 0						
Milne, John	0	2 6						
Moffat, Rev. W. D.	0	3 6						
Moir, Dr. John	0	4 0						
Morland, Mrs. John	0	5 0						
Morris, Mrs. S. A.	0	10 0						
Naish, C. E.			1	0 0				
Naoroji, Dadabhai	0	5 0						
Napier, Miss Emma	1	0 0						
Napier-Clavering, Rev. J. W., B.A.	0	2 6						
Neild, Theodore, B.A.	1	0 0						
Newland, Rev. F. W., M.A.	0	2 6						
Nichol, Mrs.	1	1 0						
Oakley Place, per Miss McLaren							0	10 0
Ogle, William, M.D.	1	1 0						
Olphats, M.			0	4 0				
Ormerod, Miss C.	0	2 6						
Ormerod, W. E.	1	0 0						
Overstone, Lloyd, 1896 & 1897... ..	0	10 0						
Owers, F. H.	0	5 0						
Parker, Rev. H. H.	0	5 0						
Parke, Rev. H., 1895 & 1896.....	0	10 0						
Partridge, Dep. Surg.-Gen. W. P.	1	0 0						
Pease, Mrs. Charles, 1895 & 1896	40	0 0						
Pease, Mrs. Gurney.....	10	0 0						
Pease, Sir J. W., Bart., M.P.					87	7 6		
Peckover, Alexander, per Sir J. W. Pease, M.P.					50	0 0		
Peckover, Miss P. H.	5	0 0			5	0 0		
Penney, Robert H.	1	0 0						
Peppercorn, Miss A. E.	0	10 0						
Phillips, Miss	0	10 6						
Pinniger, The Misses	0	5 0						
Piper, Frank H.	0	2 6						
Plumstead, part collection							0	6 0
Preston, Rev. John.....	0	5 0						
Priest, Thomas	1	1 0						
Ransom, Alfred.....	1	0 0						
Redman, T. E.	1	0 0						
Reed, C. C.	0	2 6						
Reid, Mrs.	0	5 0						
Reid, Mrs. George	0	2 6						
Renaud, Rev. George	0	2 6						
Richard, Mrs. Henry	1	1 0						
Richardson, Mrs. J. H.	0	2 6						
Ripley, Rev. W. N., M.A., 1896 & 1897	2	2 0						
Roberts, R. G., 1895 & 1896	1	1 0			0	9 0		
Carried forward	219	19 6	29	15 11	338	9 11	5	11 8

NAMES.	Subscriptions.			Donations.			Donations to Special Fund.			Collections.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	219	19	6	29	15	11	338	9	11	5	11	8
Robinson, W. L.	1	1	0									
Rochfort, John B.	0	2	6									
Romford										0	19	0
Rowntree, Miss Helen	1	0	0									
Selby, Rev. T. G.	0	10	6									
Sewell, Joseph S.	1	1	0									
Sharp, Mr. and Mrs. John.....	0	5	0									
Sharp, Thomson	0	5	0									
Sharpe, W. Arthur	1	1	0									
Sherwood, F.	0	2	6									
Simpson, Miss, and Friend				0	4	6						
Simpson, Miss A. E.	0	2	6									
Skemp, Rev. Chas. W.	0	2	6									
Smethwick												
Smith, Augustus Henry.....	2	2	0							0	15	0
Smith, Samuel, M.P.				10	0	0						
Smith, Samuel	0	2	6									
Smithson, Joshua.....	0	10	0									
Snell, T. Alford.....	0	5	0									
Southall, Misses E. and H.	1	0	0									
Southall, Miss L. H.				0	10	0						
Southall, Samuel	1	1	0									
Sterry, Arthur C.	1	0	0									
Stevens, Miss	0	3	0									
Stevens, Miss F.				0	2	6						
Stileman-Gibbard, L.	1	1	0									
Storr, Edwin	0	2	6									
Sturge, Joseph	1	0	0									
Sullivan, Commander J. Y. F., R.N.				0	10	0						
Symond, Rev. J. H.	0	2	6									
Tabor, Mrs.				0	2	6						
Tattersall, William	1	1	0									
Taylor, Mrs. H.	0	5	0									
Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. J. W.	0	5	0									
Taylor, Miss L. R.	0	5	0									
Taylor, Rev. Thomas	0	5	0									
Thompson, Charles, J.P.				1	1	0						
Thompson, J. M.	0	5	0									
Thomson, James	0	5	0									
Thornton, Miss.....	0	2	6									
Thurnam, Miss S.	0	5	0									
Tildesley, Edwin	2	2	0									
Tiltstone, Dr. Rogers	0	5	0									
Tinling, Rev. J. F. B., B.A.	0	10	6									
Tomkinson, Miss							0	7	6			
Tonge, Rev. George, M.A.....	0	2	6									
Tuke, W. Murray, 1897	1	1	0									
Turnbull, William	1	0	0									
Turner, Mrs. A. S.	0	2	6									
Turner, Wm. E.	0	5	0									
Twigge-Molecey, Mrs. Geo.	0	5	0									
Tysoe, Henry.....	0	2	6									
Carried forward	242	17	0	42	6	5	338	17	5	7	5	8

NAMES.	Subscriptions.		Donations.		Donations to Special Fund.		Collections	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Brought forward	242	17 0	42	6 5	338	17 5	7	5 8
Vaughan, E. L., 1895 and 1896...	0	5 0						
"W. W."	0	10 0						
Waites, Jonah	0	5 0						
Ward, Rev. J. T., M.A.	0	2 6						
Warner, Mrs. A. E.	0	4 0						
Waterman, H. Theodore			0	10 6				
Wates, Joseph	2	2 0						
Watkins, Thomas.....	0	10 0						
Watney, Dr. Herbert	2	2 0						
Webb, Alfred, 1895 and 1896.....	1	0 0						
West Bromwich, less expenses...							0	2 0
Westcombe, The Misses.....	0	15 0						
White, The Misses	1	0 0						
Whitehead, Miss, per Mrs. D. H. Davies	0	2 6						
Whiteley, Samuel S.....	0	5 0						
Whiting, John	1	1 0						
Whiting, Miss M. S.....	0	5 0						
Whytehead, Rev. H. R., B.A. ...	0	10 6						
Wigham, Henry	1	0 0						
Wigham, John R., J.P.	1	0 0						
Wigram, Rev. F. E., M.A.....	0	10 0						
Wilkin, Martin H.	1	1 0						
Wilkinson, Mrs.....			1	0 0				
Williams, Rev. F. A'Deane					1	0 0		
Williams, Herbert	0	5 0						
Williams, Rev. R. O., M.A.	0	6 0						
Williamson, David, J.P.....	0	10 6						
Wilson, Mrs.	1	0 0						
Wilson, Alexander C., 1896 & 1897	1	0 0						
Wilson, Rev. G. A.	0	5 0						
Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. J. Wycliffe	3	0 0						
Wilson, T. Crewdson	0	10 0						
Wood, Frederic.....	0	5 0						
Wood, H. K.			1	0 0				
Worsley, Rev. Garsham M., M.A.	0	5 0						
Wyburn, Walter R.	0	2 6						
Sums under half-a-crown	1	11 3	0	7 6				
Total.....	266	7 9	45	4 5	339	17 5	7	7 8

Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

Dr.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year 1896.

Cr.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	Payments.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers, as per last Account	30	16	5	By Payments, viz. :—			
To Receipts for the year, viz. :—				Salary of Secretary and Assistants	375	8	6
Annual Subscriptions	266	7	9	Public Meetings	67	10	8
Donations	45	4	5	Travelling Expenses and Lecturers' Fees	46	15	11
Donations to "Special Fund"	339	17	5	Rent and Cleaning	85	0	7
Collections (<i>Less</i> local expenses)	7	7	8	Postages, Telegrams, and Parcels	76	10	4
Sales of Publications, &c.	8	10	6	Printing and Stationery	273	9	9
			667	Newspapers, Blue Books, and Publications	18	19	9
To Loan, Barclay & Co., Bankers	300	0	0	Reporting	18	14	1
<i>Less</i> Balance to Credit on Current Account... ..	31	18	5	Petty Expenses	3	16	2
			*288				
			£966				
			5				
			9				

Note.—The Receipts and Payments are carried on up to the 13th January, 1897, so as to include the whole of the Receipts belonging to the year 1896.

Examined and found correct,

WENHAM, ANGUS & CO.,

Honorary Auditors.

London, 23rd January, 1897.

* Total outstanding liabilities £403 1s. 7d. (including debt to Bank as above £268 1s. 7d.)