

The report of the Royal Commission on opium compared with the evidence from China that was submitted to the Commission. : An examination and an appeal. / by Arnold Foster... with preface by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

P. 1727



THE REPORT OF THE
ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM
COMPARED WITH THE EVIDENCE FROM
CHINA THAT WAS SUBMITTED
TO THE COMMISSION.

AN EXAMINATION AND AN APPEAL.

BY

ARNOLD FOSTER, B.A.

HANKOW, CHINA.

WITH PREFACE

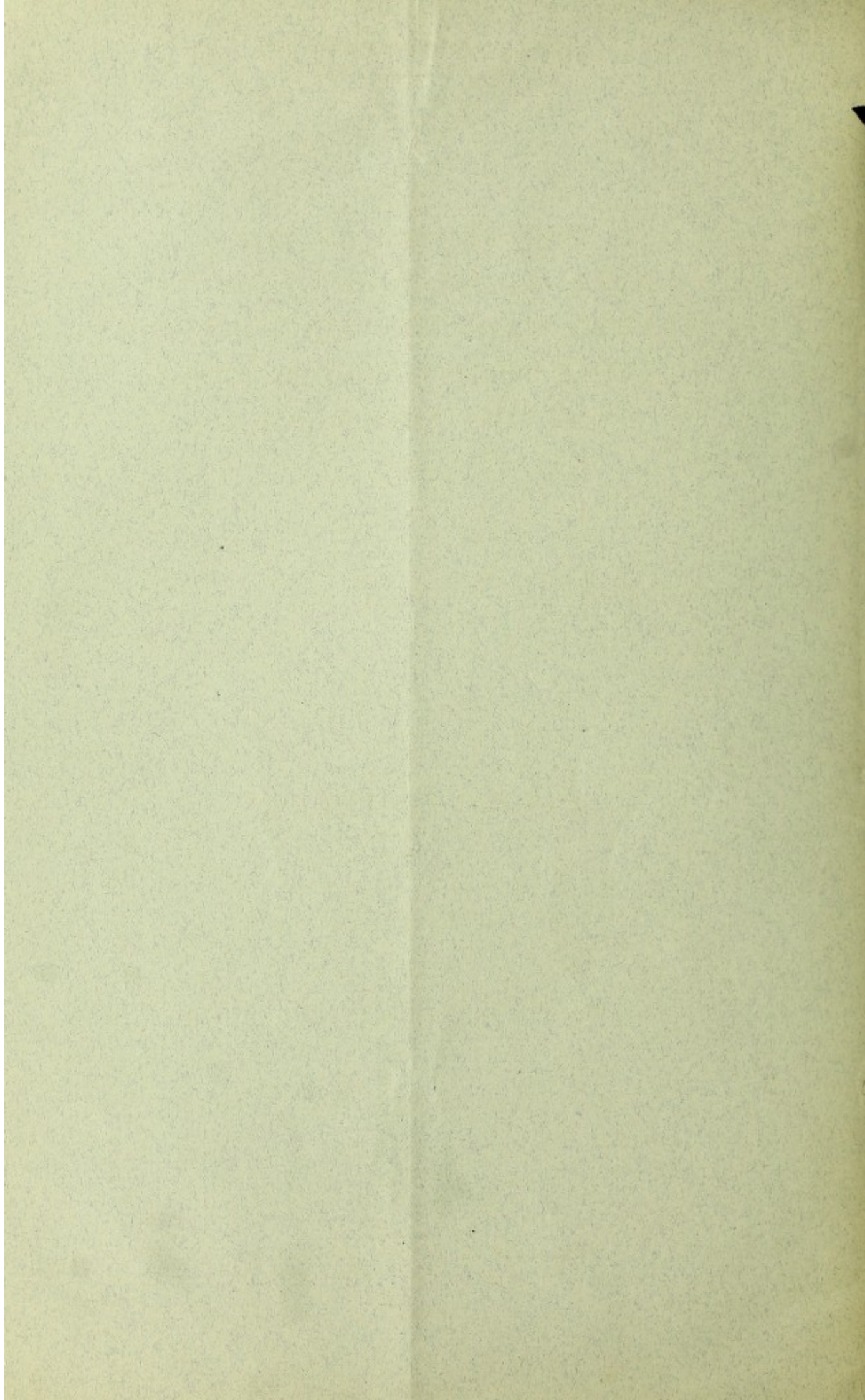
BY THE

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND OTHERS.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

1898.



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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium* compared with the Evidence from China that was submitted to the Commission.

INTRODUCTION.

The following pages are devoted to a consideration of one portion only of the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium (1893), the portion which refers to China.

The scope of this inquiry.

The writer, who has lived for more than 20 years in that country, in constant contact with the Chinese people, speaking their language, reading their popular books, and having some degree of acquaintance with current events, was struck on reading this part of the Report, to which all the Commissioners, save one, have affixed their signatures, with certain statements relating to the evidence before the Commission which appeared to him at once to be absolutely incredible. In particular, he would instance the following:—

Statements of the Commissioners regarding evidence that are absolutely opposed to fact.

- (1.) "*There is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped.*" Blue Book, Vol. VI., p. 61, par. 168.
- (2.) "*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 . . . The medical opinions were in general accord with those of the Consular body.*" Vol. VI., p. 51, par. 140.

His own personal knowledge of Chinese feeling and opinion, and of medical opinion in China, made him feel certain that neither of these statements here italicized could possibly be in accordance with fact, and he, therefore, determined to examine carefully for himself the China evidence published by the Commissioners, and upon which they were reporting to Parliament in the words quoted above. The result of this examination showed beyond possibility of gainsaying: 1st. That the Commissioners had received a considerable body of evidence from China of a popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped, and that this evidence was both weighty in character and emphatic in tone; 2ndly. That so far from the medical opinions in China supporting the proposition "that opium smoking in moderation is not harmful, and that moderation is the rule," the medical witnesses in China, whose evidence the Commissioners had before them, assert, by a very decided majority, the opposite opinion!

* The following is a complete list of the Blue Books issued by the Royal Commission on Opium, 1893, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty:—

	Pages.	Price.		Pages.	Price.
		s. d.			s. d.
FIRST REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, with Minute of Evidence and Appendices (C. 7313).	176	1 6	PROCEEDINGS, VOL. V. Appendices, together with Correspondence on the Subject of Opium with the Straits Settlements and China, &c. (C. 7473.)	376	3 0
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM between 18th November and 29th December 1893, with Appendices, Vol. II. (C. 7397.)	666	6 3	VOL. VI. FINAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM. Part I. The Report with Annexures (C. 7723).	184	1 6
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM from 3rd to 27th January 1894, Vol. III. (C. 7419.)	300	2 6	VOL. VII. FINAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM. Part II. Historical Appendices, together with an Index of Witnesses and Subjects, and a Glossary of Indian terms used in the Evidence and Appendices (C. 7723).	324	2 6
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM from 29th January to 22nd February 1894, with Appendices, Vol. IV. (C. 7471.)	524	4 3	SUPPLEMENT TO THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM. Note by the Hon. The Maharajah Bahadur of Durbhanga, K.C.I.E. (C. 7751.)	6	0 1

Suspicious
awakened as to
the trust-
worthiness of
the Report as
a whole.

The result of his investigations on these points led the writer to pursue the same method with other parts of the Commissioners' Report, and to compare carefully the Commissioners' conclusions on various other points with the data supplied to them by the evidence of China witnesses. The results were in each case, if not equally unsatisfactory with those already referred to, sufficiently unsatisfactory to awaken grave suspicions as to the trustworthiness of the China Report as a whole.

The Report
"an elaborate
defence of the
opium trade"
rather than
"a judicial
pronouncement
on the imme-
diate questions
submitted to
us."

Finally, he was led to consider very carefully the *general attitude* of the Commission towards the whole question submitted to them, and their treatment of all China evidence that was adverse to the export opium trade of the Indian Government. He now publishes some of the principal results at which he has arrived, in such a form as to make it easy for any reader to either verify all his assertions, or, on the other hand, to disprove them if they are capable of disproof. He thinks that the more the materials here provided are examined the more they will be found to support a statement which he finds in the Minority Report of Henry J. Wilson, Esq., M.P., who was himself a member of the Royal Commission:—"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." Blue Book, Vol. VI., p. 151, par. 49.

What parts of
the China
Report are
omitted in
these pages.

In publishing this criticism of the Opium Report, it was the writer's intention at first to reprint the whole of the Report, so far as it relates to China, for convenience of reference, but although that part of the Report only occupies about twelve pages of the Blue Book at the outside, it does not appear worth while to reprint such portions as are not here directly called in question. The parts not printed contain nothing material to the full consideration of the points here raised. Of course only a very small portion of the *evidence* is reprinted, but full references are given to the exact places where other evidence referred to will be found.

The only
evidence here
appealed to as
condemning
the Report is
the evidence
printed in the
Blue Book by
the Commis-
sioners
themselves.

It will be noticed that in these pages no evidence official, medical, or of any other kind, is appealed to that was not before the Commissioners when they signed their Report. Such evidence might be quoted in abundance from standard works on China, from Blue Books issued by other Commissions, from Consular Reports, &c., &c. But this is not a treatise on the opium question, nor is it primarily a defence of the anti-opium agitation. It is nothing but an attempt to show that the evidence from China which the Royal Commissioners themselves collected, and which they themselves have published, when impartially stated, overthrows completely the conclusions they have announced to Parliament.

Further evi-
dence, however,
was collected
by one of the
Commissioners.

But although all outside or supplementary evidence is here disregarded, such evidence is not unimportant. It is obvious that in any complete and impartial inquiry into the merits of the opium question and into the effects of opium consumption on the peoples of Asia, something more is necessary than simply to ask the opinions on these subjects held by the present race of officials and European residents in the East. It is not now for the first time that evidence has been given by officials of the Indian Government, officials in the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong, consuls in China, and medical men in all parts of the world, in regard to the opium habit and the opium trade, and Mr. H. J. Wilson was only performing the obvious duty of a Commissioner when he took the pains to collect specimens of testimonies given in previous years by a former race of officials on the questions at issue. These testimonies are attached to his Minute of Dissent, Vol. VI., Annexure IV., pp. 152, 154, 155, Notes B., H., J., and K. They deserve careful attention. It is much to be regretted that the Majority Report contains no such collection of earlier testimonies, which might have been made much longer. On this aspect of the question of evidence Mr. Wilson makes the following observations:—

The change
that has come
over official
statements in
regard to
opium.

5. "A change appears to have come over official statements in reference to opium within the last few years. These were, until very recently, almost invariably condemnatory of the drug. Illustrations of this are given in the Notes, and it will suffice to make here one quotation only. On the 24th October 1817 the Directors of the East India Company, writing to the Governor-General, referred to their desire 'to restrain the use of this pernicious drug,' and went on to say, 'were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the

'purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind.'

"It will be seen from the evidence, some of which is hereafter referred to, that a very considerable body of officials now adopt a decidedly altered tone. No definite cause has been assigned for this change, but it is impossible to dissociate it from the financial difficulties of India, and from the pressure of the anti-opium movement in England having been increasingly associated with the discussion on the reduction of Indian expenditure." (Vol. VI. p. 137.)

The Commissioners would have done well to point out in regard to certain pro-opium evidence they have published that it is in direct contradiction to statements made by the very same (official) witnesses in books published by themselves, or with their own authority, only a few years previously.

Witnesses who contradict their earlier statements.

No criticism is here attempted of that part of the Report which deals with India and the evidence from India, not because the writer has paid no attention to that subject, nor because he is satisfied with the Commissioners' treatment of the Indian question, but because India lies outside of his special sphere of experience. He only refers in these pages to the Indian Report and evidence incidentally, either as illustrating principles that the Commissioners avow as guiding them in considering the worth of evidence, or as illustrating methods which, without avowing them, they seem to have adopted in dealing with questions of evidence, morality, and general policy.

Why the Indian portion of the Report is not here criticised.

It can hardly be doubted that the charges here made, supported as they are in every case by proofs of a very strong kind, will be regarded as sufficiently serious to merit a reply and refutation if a reply can be given, or if they can be refuted; it may be safely assumed that if no reply is attempted, or if nothing more can be done than to point to some slight inaccuracies in little matters of detail, the reason must be that the charges are in themselves felt to be unanswerable even by those whose special care and duty it should be to answer them.

The charges here adduced, so grave and so strongly supported that they will certainly not fail to elicit refutation if they can be refuted.

It is needless to say that the author does not here attempt in any way to state the pro-opium evidence that was before the Commission. No one questions for a moment that such evidence was submitted to the Commissioners in considerable quantity. His contention is—not that there was no pro-opium evidence of any importance, but that none but pro-opium evidence has received the serious attention of the Commission. His sole object now is to show the kind of evidence on the other side that the Report either (1) misrepresents, or (2) understates, or (3) passes by in complete silence.

Why only anti-opium evidence is here treated of.

THE CHINA REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

The Report on the opium trade with China and the Far East, where found.

The Report of the Commissioners on "The export of Indian opium to China and the Straits," occupies the whole of Section IV. in Vol. VI., pars. 125-149 (pp. 48-53), of the Blue Book presented to Parliament. The China question is also referred to in other parts of their Report. See Vol. VI., p. 1, Section I., par. 3; pp. 28 and 39, Section III., pars. 93 and 113; pp. 60-62 and 67, Section VI., pars. 166-172 and 186; p. 70, Section VII., par. 191; pp. 94, 95, Section IX., pars. 268 and 273, I., c.

The question treated by the Commissioners from three different points of view.

Our examination of the Report will commence with Section VI. (Vol. VI., p. 59), for this Section precedes, in order of thought, the review of the evidence from China which is presented in Section IV. The Commissioners here deal with the opium trade from their different points of view:—

1. The moral aspects of the question. See Pars. 160 (I.), 166, 167, 168.
2. The political aspects of the question. See Pars. 160-165.
3. The facts of evidence presented by witnesses in or from China. See Par. 166.

Most of the paragraphs of the Report here referred to will be reprinted in full. The parts on which I propose to offer criticisms will be printed in italics.*

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

SECTION VI.

THE QUESTION OF PROHIBITION.

160. The Order of Reference shows that the main question we have to answer, to which all the rest are subservient or subsidiary, is that of prohibition. This may, we think, be formulated as follows:—

(I.) *What is the weight of the moral objections urged against the system by which the Indian opium revenue is at present raised; and are those objections so strong as to make it advisable, having due regard to political, financial, and administrative obstacles, to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes?*

(II.) If prohibition were adopted in British India, could it be extended to the Protected States?

(III.) If prohibition could not be extended, then, on what terms, if any, could the existing arrangements with certain States for the transit through British territory of Malwa opium be with justice terminated?

Of these three questions, the second and third, which are subsidiary to the first, have been already dealt with in our third Section, because the answer to them depends directly upon the history of the Malwa opium system, and the relations of the Protected States to the Government of India which are there described. It will be useful, however, to give here a brief summary of the conclusions at which we have arrived.

A.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF THE PROTECTED STATES.

166. *The moral objections which have been raised to the export of the Malwa opium rest upon the assertion that the habit of smoking opium which prevails in China and other parts of the Far East causes extensive moral and physical degradation. We have reviewed the evidence on this point in the fourth section of our Report, and have agreed that the effects of the*

The question formulated.

Examination of moral objections to the export trade in Malwa opium.

* N.B.—All italics in this book, whether occurring in quotations from the Commissioners' Report or from the evidence or elsewhere, are my own.—A.F.

use and abuse of opium in China are fairly comparable with those of intoxicating liquors in England. Such effects do not, in our opinion, constitute an objection to the Malwa export trade which makes it morally incumbent upon the rulers of the Protected States to put a stop to what is a private industry. The attitude of the Government of India towards the trade is purely restrictive. It imposes as high a transit duty as the trade can bear. It must be remembered, that in the similar case of the export of alcoholic liquors from England by manufacturers and merchants, no check is exercised, and no duty is imposed.

B.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF BRITISH PROVINCES.

167. We now come to the question of prohibition in British Provinces. We think it can be most conveniently treated by dealing first with the export trade in Bengal opium, and afterwards with the consumption of opium in India. *The moral objections to the present system, so far as the export trade in Bengal opium is in question, are, first, the effects in China, which we have considered in the preceding paragraph, and, secondly, the fact that the Bengal opium exported to China and elsewhere, is manufactured and sold to the exporting merchants by officers of the Government of India.* It is not considered right that the Government should have any connexion with the export of a drug which is believed to have evil results, or that India should derive revenue from what is said to be injurious to China.

The moral objections to the export trade in Bengal opium.

I. 5, 106.

II. 2771, 2461.

168. It is evident that the position of the Government of India in relation to the trade in Bengal opium is to some extent invidious. *But so long as the importation of Indian opium is allowed by the Chinese Government, and is not imposed upon it by intimidation or pressure of any kind, we are not of opinion that the objection based upon the effects of the opium habit in China, or upon the peculiar relations of the Government of India with the trade, are, from a moral standpoint, sufficiently strong to call for interference on the part of the British Government.* If the Government of India maintains a restrictive attitude to the export of Indian opium by taxing the Malwa drug, and by limiting the amount of Bengal opium put on the market, and so keeping the price high, we think its position is defensible, and that with reference to its duties to the people of India it cannot be justly required to go further and to extinguish the trade. In regard to the admission of Indian opium, China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent. The Convention of 1885, by which the trade is now regulated, is based on principles specifically proposed by the Chinese Minister who conducted the negotiations, as being those most favoured by the Court of Peking. It contains all the provisions which the Chinese Government had pressed upon that of Great Britain, and, in the words of the Marquis Tseng, those provisions "find their strongest guarantee in the moral obligation imposed upon his Government by the consideration that the arrangement was of that Government's own proposing." Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in announcing to the Government of India his acquiescence in the terms proposed by the Chinese, gave one of his reasons for so doing in the following words:—

Examination of these objections.

Marquis Tseng's Mem. No. 29, of 12th March 1883. Do., do. Mem. of 30th Sept. 1884. China, 5, of 1885 (C. 4448).

VII., p. 215.

"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 upon 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 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."—*Desp. No. 7 of 22nd January 1885.*

It may be added that *there is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped.* (Vol. VI., p. 61.)

End of Extract.

I.—MORAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION.

The moral objections of two kinds.

1. The alleged evils of the opium habit. These must be proved by evidence.

2. The blame imputed to the Government of India for its connexion with the trade.

The answer of Commissioners to this second objection.

The defence proposed, absolutely irrelevant as regards the export of opium to the Straits and to Hong Kong.

Chinamen who are living under British rule.

The evil effects of opium smoking by the Malays admitted.

As injurious to the Malay as to the Burman.

From the paragraphs here quoted it will be seen that the Commissioners propose to place the moral aspects of the question in the foreground as of supreme importance, and they deal with two moral objections urged against the Indian opium trade with China and the Far East. The first of these objections applies equally to the export of Malwa and of Bengal opium, and "rests upon the assertion that the habit of "smoking opium which prevails in China and other parts of the Far East causes "extensive moral and physical degradation." (Par. 166.) This assertion, of course, has to be tested, and its validity proved or disproved, *by evidence*, and the Commissioners add, "We have reviewed the evidence on this point in the fourth section of our Report" (par. 166). On the character of that review a great deal has to be said hereafter, but in the meantime it is only necessary to point out that the value of the moral objection now under consideration depends upon the evidence which the Commissioners have reviewed, not upon the Commissioners' review of the evidence. The importance of this distinction will be apparent by-and-by.

The second moral objection stated by the Commissioners is one that applies only to the trade in Bengal opium, and lies in "the fact that the Bengal opium exported "to China and elsewhere is manufactured and sold to the exporting merchants by "officers of the Government of India. It is not considered right that the Government "should have any connexion with the export of a drug which is believed to have evil "results, or that India should derive revenue from what is said to be injurious to "China." (Par. 167).

The Commissioners proceed to answer this objection as follows:—"So long as the "importation of Indian opium is allowed by the Chinese Government, and is not "imposed upon it by intimidation or pressure of any kind, we are not of opinion that "the objection based upon the effects of the opium habit in China, or upon the peculiar "relations of the Government of India with the trade, are, from a moral standpoint, "sufficiently strong to call for interference on the part of the British Government." The argument here, as it regards *China*, may for the moment be passed by without remark, but it is of utmost importance to notice that *this apology for the Indian Government and its export trade has no bearing whatever on the export of opium to our own possessions in the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong.* In Section IV., p. 48., par. 128, a table is given "showing the Number of Chests (of about 140 lbs.) exported" from India. The figures given for 1892-93 are as follows: "China, 59,771;" "Straits Settlement, 12,609." It is explained, however, that a good deal of this latter opium is re-shipped to Java and elsewhere. Allowing whatever reduction may be necessary on this account, it still appears that a very considerable quantity of opium is being annually imported into the Straits, for consumption, not by people living under *Chinese* rule, but by people living under *British* rule. It must further be remembered that apparently a certain amount of the opium said to be exported to "China" is really exported to the *British Colony of Hong Kong*, and here also is consumed by people with whom the Chinese Government has nothing to do, and for whom it has no responsibility. The quantity consumed in Hong Kong itself cannot be exactly ascertained, but it is approximately estimated as three chests a day, say, 1,000 chests per annum (See letter of G. S. M. O'Brien, Esq., Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, Vol. V., Appendix XXIV., p. 145.)

But this is not all; some of the opium consumed by our fellow subjects in the Straits Settlements in 1892-93 was consumed *by the Malays* and not by the Chinese. Of these people—for whose welfare, be it remembered we, and not the Government of China, are responsible—the Commissioners tell us "In the case of the Malays the injurious effects, physical and moral, are by general consent more evident" *i.e.* than in the case of the Chinese, (Vol. VI., p. 50, par. 134). Further, they say in their Report on Burmah, Section VIII.,

Extract from Commissioners' (Burmah) Report.

236. The evidence before us certainly shows that the Burman who takes to opium is more often injured physically and morally than the Indian. This difference is generally attributed to a difference in mind or

character. The Burman is more impulsive, pleasure loving, and reckless than the Indian. The latter has more stability of character, more industry, and much more thrift and prudence, inherited, perhaps, from a harder struggle for existence. These characteristics give the Indian more power of self-control than is possessed by the Burman. *It may be noted that the evidence from the Straits Settlements shows a similar difference in respect to the injurious effect of the opium habit between the Chinaman and the Malay. There seems no doubt that the Malays are more impulsive and excitable than the Chinese, and that the Burmans are much nearer in temperament to them than to the Chinese or Indians.* (Vol. VI., p. 87.)

End of Extract.

Yet the Commissioners have no suggestion or recommendation to make with regard to checking the consumption of opium by our Malay fellow-subjects, or for limiting the mischievous effects of the Indian export trade in the Straits Settlements. They meet the whole moral objection based on "the fact that the Bengal opium exported to China and elsewhere, is manufactured and sold to exporting merchants by officers of the Government of India" by seeking to shift the whole responsibility on to the corrupt, effete, and heathen Government of China. What has the Chinese Government to do with an "elsewhere" which is under British rule?

Yet the Commissioners do not propose any remedy.

Happily, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, has shown a little more sense of responsibility for the well-being of our Malay fellow-subjects in the matter of opium consumption than was shown by the Commissioners, and has seen a significance in their statements which they themselves failed to see. By the Straits Settlements Opium Ordinance, 1894 (No. 9), it was enacted that anyone who "knowingly permits any person other than an adult male to smoke chandu in a farm shop" shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 100 dollars.

Wise interference of the Secretary of State.

"Ordinance 20 of 1896, passed 3rd December, provides that sub-section (c) of the above shall be read as if the word 'Chinese' were inserted before 'adult male'; so that the sub-section now makes it an offence to permit 'any person other than a Chinese adult male to smoke chandu' in a licensed shop." (See *Friend of China* for July 1897.)

Thus it appears that the Malays are now to receive a protection against opium similar to that required by the Burmans, but not as the result of any recommendation from the Royal Commission on Opium.

Before passing from the moral objections to the Indian export opium trade, it may be observed that the majority of the Commissioners do not appear to take any notice of a third and very weighty moral objection which was pressed on their attention by several witnesses. Certainly they have no answer to make to this objection. One of the witnesses, Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., was asked on the day on which the Commission began its inquiry at Westminster:—11. "Have you any observation to make on the opium trade in China?" He replied:—

3. A third and grave moral objection urged by witnesses wholly ignored by the majority of the Commissioners.

"It is often argued that if we were not to supply China with opium, China would supply herself with opium. That is an argument which is very well met in Dymond's 'Essays on Morality.' I have no right to do that which is wrong, if it is wrong, because somebody else is going to do wrong. Dymond puts it:—'If I were to sell a man arsenic or a pistol knowing that the buyer wanted to commit murder, should I not be a bad man? If I let a house knowing that the renter wanted it for the purposes of wickedness, am I an innocent man?' The argument that if I did not do it someone else would,

Dymond treats as follows:—'Upon such reasoning you might rob a traveller on the road if you knew that at the next turning a foot-pad was waiting to plunder him. To sell property or goods for bad purposes, because if you do not do it someone else will, is like a man selling his slaves because he thought it criminal to keep them in bondage.' I wanted to bring that out that it might be on your notes, because it is an argument that is so often used in favour of the Indian opium trade, and I think has no defence in solid international morality." (Vol. I., p. 3.)

Many other witnesses took the same ground. See, e.g., the evidence of Mr. Broomhall, Vol. I., Q. 543, 547, 548; Rev. G. Owen, Vol. V., p. 238, Ans. 20; Rev. Griffith John, D.D., Vol. V., p. 265, Ans. 16-19; C. J. Voskamp, Vol. V., p. 222, Ans. 17; Dr. B. C. Atterbury, Vol. V., p. 232, Ans. 17, &c., &c.

This objection referred to, and its unanswerable force admitted, by one Commissioner.

Of all the Commissioners, Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., alone seems to have been able to perceive the gravity of the moral issue here raised or the unanswerable logic of Sir Joseph Pease's argument, which is quite independent of what the Chinese Government may do or may not do. In his Minute of Dissent, Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., thus deals with this point:—

16. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such widespread misery and disaster. It is known that the cultivation of opium is now largely carried on in China, with the connivance, if not the express permission, of the authorities, and without throwing any doubt on the sincerity of the desire of Chinese statesmen to rid their country of the blight of opium, it is impossible to say, especially in the present condition of the Chinese Empire, whether the cessation

of importation of Indian opium would be accompanied or followed by any serious attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to exclude opium from other sources, and to prohibit its cultivation within the limits of their own empire. *But however that may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that, if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples.* (Vol. VI., p. 141, par. 16.)

We shall see later on (p. 35), when we come to the end of our present inquiry, that the Commissioners' ultimate defence of the Indian export opium trade to China is justified by them on the very line of reasoning here expressly condemned by Sir Joseph Pease and other witnesses as being immoral. It is commended to them by Mr. O'Connor, Her Majesty's Minister in China, as being the natural, wise, and proper line of reasoning, and they heartily accept the position he takes up. See Vol. VI., p. 53, par. 148; p. 94, par. 268.

II.—POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION.

Political considerations. The Commissioners' conclusions criticized elsewhere.

With the Commissioners' Report on the political aspects of the question, which also include the financial, it is not proposed to deal here. Reference may be made, however, to a series of articles on this subject from the pen of the Rev. F. Storrs Turner, B.A., which appeared in *The Friend of China* for 1896. It should be noted also that the Commissioners do not attempt to meet one financial objection that was urged with great force in an important Memorial from China. The signatories said, "We hold as 'beyond all shadow of doubt the conviction that . . . any source of revenue, however large, that is morally indefensible tends only in the end to the weakening of the Empire and the impoverishment of its resources.' (Vol. V., p. 353.)

Similarly, Mr. David M'Laren, formerly President of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, "If the allegations of the demoralising consequence of the opium indulgence could be proved to a certainty, I should expect to find that the opium trade would not be a profitable trade in the end. I hold that there is nothing more certain than that a thing cannot be morally wrong and commercially or politically right." Vol. I., Q. 1753.

III.—THE FACTS OF EVIDENCE PRESENTED BY WITNESSES IN OR FROM CHINA.

The facts of evidence from China.

It now remains to consider the facts of evidence presented by witnesses in or from China.

This evidence is found in Vols. I. and V. of the Blue Book, and the Commissioners' review of it is found in Vol. VI., Section IV., with a preliminary paragraph in Section I.

The Commissioners deny the existence of evidence which they have themselves published. Specimens of this evidence.

But before coming to the Commissioners' review, in Section IV., of the evidence as a whole, it will be well to examine the truth of their statement given above, in Section VI. (par. 168), that "there is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped."

A few specimens of the evidence on this point are here given in full, and a further list of references to the Blue Book is added, all of which will be found to contradict *in toto* the assertion of the Commissioners.

A Chinese graduate's testimony.

1. Yu-Keng-Pak, resident in Canton, a Chinese graduate, and son of the Chief Secretary at the Governor's Yamen, says:—

I have written this especially in answer to the questions that you were good enough to show me, and I hope that you will forward it to the Government of your country and to all true gentlemen, that they may take the opportunity of joining heart and soul in the suppression of the cultivation and sale of opium. There is no room for empty excuses, let them make haste to help China and do away with this huge evil. (Vol. V., p. 227, col. 2.)

2. Dr. Cousland, a medical missionary of the English Presbyterian Mission, residing near Swatow, says :—

"An influential (Chinese) gentleman."

One very able and influential gentleman in my neighbourhood proposed lately to get up a great petition, signed by all the officials, literati, gentry, and business men, to be presented to the Queen of England, begging her not to send any more opium to China. (Vol. V., p. 241, Ans. 15.)

3. Lu Pao-yü, a Chinese literate, Official Writer at H.B.M. Consulate, Chefoo, says :—

A Chinese official writer in H.B.M. Consulate, Chefoo.

15. 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. (Vol. V., p. 281, Ans. 15.)

4. M. F. E. Fraser, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Pakhoi, South China, writes :—

H.B.M. Consul at Pakhoi.

15. I have, on a few rare occasions, become aware of such a wish being expressed by a few persons among the Chinese, on moral grounds. *It is often expressed in the native press of Shanghai.* On grounds of political economy the wish is, I believe, generally, in fact, perhaps I may say, universally entertained among the so-called educated classes. (Vol. V., p. 289, Ans. 15.)

5. W. R. Carles, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Chinkiang, writes :—

H.B.M. Consul at Chinkiang.

15. At the present day, the growth of native opium is so thoroughly established that the Chinese, who are opposed to opium, entertain scarcely any hope of seeing the habit eradicated, whether Indian opium is imported or not. There are, however, I believe, not a few who would welcome the news of its importation being prohibited, as the first indispensable step towards reform. (Vol. V., p. 262, Ans. 15.)

6. Mr. Ku Hung Ming, Interpreter to the Viceroy of Hukwang, writes :—

The Chinese interpreter to H.E. Chang Chih-tung.

15. "Yes, I must confess, however, that among the scholars and officials I am acquainted with, who have expressed their interest in this subject, their views of dealing with the opium question are either very vague or extravagant, but I must say also that *I think it is the impossibility of checking or in any way controlling the Indian trade that has made many earnest and thinking statesmen in China shelve the question as one incapable of practical solution.*" (Vol. V., pp. 294-5.)

7. R. W. Hurst, Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Tainan, Formosa, writes :—

H.B.M. Consul at Tainan.

15. "The Chinese dealers would regret the stoppage of the importation from India; *the non-smoking population would approve of the step.*" (Vol. V., p. 323.)

8. Dr. H. W. Boone, 13½ years in charge of St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai, writes :—

A physician in charge of a hospital for Chinese patients.

15. "The Chinese do wish that England would not allow opium to be exported from India."—Vol. V. p. 331.

9. Rev. William Ashmore, Swatow, 43 years a missionary in Siam and China, writes :—

Dr. Ashmore, 43 years a missionary.

"Yes." "Foreigners are continually being reproached for introducing opium and all its attendant evils."—Vol. V., p. 215, Ans. 15 and Ans. 9.

10. Information obtained by Mr. C. J. Saunders, at present residing in Canton, from Chinese friends :—

"Information from Chinese friends."

"Very many wish England to restrict opium."—Vol. V., p. 227.

See also the evidence of the following witnesses :—

11. Rev. H. L. Mackenzie, M.A.	-	-	(Vol. V., p. 213, Ans. 15.)	References to the evidence of 26 other witnesses, Chinese, English, official, medical, and missionary. Many of these men of great weight.
12. John E. Kuhne, M.B., C.M.	-	-	(,, p. 221, ,, 15.)	
13. C. J. Voskamp	-	-	(,, p. 222, ,, 15.)	
14. J. M. Swan, M.D.	-	-	(,, p. 222, ,, 15.)	
15. Dr. B. C. Atterbury	-	-	(,, p. 232, ,, 15.)	
16. Rev. W. Muirhead, D.D.	-	-	(,, p. 243, ,, 15.)	
17. Shanghai Chinaman, quoted by Dr. Edkins	-	-	(,, p. 249, ,, 15.)	
18. Rev. G. Andrew	-	-	(,, p. 258, ,, 15.)	
19. G. A. Cox, L.R.C.P., &c.	-	-	(,, p. 258, ,, 15.)	
20. Rev. W. Hunnex	-	-	(,, p. 260, ,, 15.)	
21. Rev. Griffith John, D.D.	-	-	(,, p. 265, ,, 15.)	
22. Consul Watters	-	-	(,, p. 277, ,, 15.)	
23. Rev. Hunter Corbett, D.D.	-	-	(,, p. 285, ,, 15.)	
24. Rev. C. Judd	-	-	(,, p. 288, ,, 15.)	
25. Rev. David Hill	-	-	(,, p. 296, ,, 15.)	
26. Rev. S. R. Hodge	-	-	(,, p. 296, ,, 15.)	
27. Thomas Gillison, M.B., C.M.	-	-	(,, p. 297, ,, 15.)	
28. Dr. J. Rigg	-	-	(,, p. 298, ,, 15.)	
29. Sheng Fu Huai	-	-	(,, p. 300, ,, 15.)	
30. Mr. J. Jackson	-	-	(,, p. 302, ,, 15.)	

31. Rev. F. Galpin	-	-	-	-	(Vol. V., p. 307, Ans. 15.)
32. Rev. R. Swallow, M.D.	-	-	-	-	(,, p. 308, ,, 15.)
33. Rev. J. Sadler	-	-	-	-	(,, p. 314, ,, 15.)
34. Dr. Cox	-	-	-	-	(,, p. 332, ,, 15.)
35. Rev. G. Stuart, M.D.	-	-	-	-	(,, p. 332, ,, 15.)
36. Hu Li Yüan	-	-	-	-	(,, p. 314, ,, 15.)

N.B.—All the above witnesses were resident in China itself. Similar evidence from the Straits Settlements or Hong Kong is not here adduced.

See also the evidence of Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, Vol. I., p. 30, Ans. 393; and Memorial from British missionaries of 25 or more years standing (printed below in Appendix), par. 3 and last paragraph.

Several other witnesses testify to the desire of the Chinese people to get rid of opium, *wherever it comes from*, but these witnesses doubt whether the Chinese have sufficient knowledge of geography to know of the existence of India as a distinct country. Thus the Rev. J. Macgowan, Amoy, writes—

15. In travelling in the interior, and preaching to heathen audiences, the missionary is continually being twitted with the charge that his practice is not consistent with his teaching. They say that his countrymen, having brought opium to destroy the Chinese, he is so far involved in their wrong. The masses know nothing about India, or the exportation of opium from that country to China. They believe it comes from England, and that Englishmen bring it from there to sell for gain, without any regard to the morality of the question at all.—Vol. V., p. 313.

Cp. also the evidence of Rev. George Owen, Peking. Vol. V., p. 238, Ans. 15.

THE COMMISSIONERS' DECISION TO CALL FOR EVIDENCE FROM CHINA.

We come now to a paragraph in Section I. of the Report, which must be taken as the Commissioners' Introduction to Section IV.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

3. At the suggestion of the Government of India, we opened our inquiry, on the 8th of September 1893, by taking in London the evidence there available which the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was desirous of placing before us. As it appeared that the majority of its witnesses referred chiefly to the subject in connexion with China, we thought it advisable to call for evidence from some of the persons present in England who have held responsible posts under the British Government in that country, and the opportunity was also taken of obtaining the views on the Indian aspect of the question of several witnesses of special experience, medical and administrative, who have retired from service abroad. *Looking also to the fact that the greater part of the Indian opium revenue depends upon the export trade in the drug, which is principally with China and the Straits, and that prohibition of the production of opium in India would involve destruction of that trade, we 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.* We decided, therefore, to request the Governors of the Straits and Hong Kong, and Your Majesty's Minister in China, to obtain the evidence of competent witnesses in the form of answers to interrogatories. Copies of the questions thus sent out under the authority of the Commission, with the answers received, are given in Vol. V. of our Proceedings. Vol. VI., pp. 1, 2.

End of Extract.

For convenience of reference I here reprint the questions sent out by the Commissioners to the British Minister in China. We are not dealing in this book with the evidence asked for from the Straits Settlements or from Hong Kong.

Questions addressed to witnesses in China.

QUESTIONS regarding OPIUM CONSUMPTION AND OPIUM REVENUE IN CHINA, issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM, through HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER IN CHINA, to be answered by—

- (a.) Her Britannic Majesty's Consuls in China and any officials of the Chinese Government whom the Minister thinks it desirable and unobjectionable to consult;
- (b.) Medical men, merchants, and others resident in or natives of China, who are specially conversant with any part of China in which opium is grown or consumed.

1. Is opium commonly consumed by the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted?

2. What proportion, should you conjecture, of the adult males of each race are consumers? Do women consume opium to any extent? Do children?

3. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers? Is the effect the same on consumers of each race, or can you draw distinctions between the effects on consumers of different races? Is there any difference between the effects of Indian and Chinese grown opium?

4. Do consumers chiefly smoke or do they eat opium? or do they drink a decoction of opium? If opium is taken in two or all of these forms, can you distinguish between the effects of each?

5. What are the proportions of those who use opium (i) without injury; (ii) with slight injury; (iii) with great injury (opium sots)?

6. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium? Do you know any or many cases of consumers who have taken their opium for years without harm to themselves? Please give description of one or two such cases in detail. If you know any or many cases of great injury, give examples.

7. Do a majority of the labourers, or of the merchants, or of the artisans, of the part of China with which you are conversant, consume opium? If so, what is generally the effect of the opium habit on their efficiency in their calling?

If possible, give details and examples in reply to this question.

8. How does the use or abuse of opium among the races of that part of China with which you are conversant compare with the use or abuse of alcohol among such races in regard to the effect on consumers?

9. Is the habit of consuming opium condemned as degrading or injurious by the general opinion of the Chinese? How would they regard the opium habit as compared with the alcohol habit?

10. Can and do opium consumers break themselves of the opium habit?

11. If the supply of Indian opium were to be cut off, what would be the effect on opium consumers and on the population of your neighbourhood? Would they resort to Chinese-grown opium? or would they take to alcohol or to some narcotic other than opium? or would they abstain altogether?

12. Do people of European race contract the opium habit in any numbers? If not, why not? And what makes Asiatics more liable to contract the habit?

13. How are opium consumers led to use the drug? Is opium, within your knowledge, a prophylactic against fever, or rheumatism, or malaria? Or is it so regarded commonly by the inhabitants of the part of China with which you are conversant?

14. Do opium consumers themselves usually desire to get free of the opium habit?

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?

16. By what classes of persons and in what provinces or districts of China is Indian opium usually consumed, and how far does Chinese-grown opium compete with Indian opium in the provinces or districts in which the two kinds are readily obtainable?

17. What will be the probable consequence of the prohibition or restriction of the export of Indian opium:—

- (a.) On the consumption of opium by the Chinese;
- (b.) On the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium in China;
- (c.) On the arrangements made by the Chinese Government for raising a revenue from opium.

18. Can you give any estimate of the area now under poppy in the several provinces of China, and the average annual out-turn of opium?

19. What revenue does the Chinese Government derive from opium, and how does the taxation levied on Indian opium compare with that levied on opium produced in China?

20. Have you any other remark to make in regard to opium consumption among the people around you? (Vol. V., p. 212, and *Errata*, Vol. VII., p. 324.)

On the above questions two remarks must be made. First, They contain no inquiries either as to the standing or the disinterestedness of the witness, or as to his ability to give trustworthy information on the subject in regard to which he is asked to testify. Secondly, The Commissioners' use of terms in some of their questions is so vague and indefinite that these questions are differently interpreted by different witnesses and answered accordingly. Hence much confusion arises in the evidence, e.g., two men, whose views of the opium habit are really very similar, use language which seems to imply exactly opposite opinions.

No inquiries as to status of witness.

Terms used by the Commissioners needed to be defined.

1. When the Commissioners by deciding not to go to China themselves, forewent the opportunity of cross-examining China witnesses, it became imperative that they should address to every witness who was to give evidence, printed questions on those very points on which cross-examination would naturally have turned. It was not sufficient merely to request Consular and other officials, in general terms, to put the questions into the hands of suitable people. Each witness should have been required to state

Questions should have been asked as to witnesses' status and qualifications.

his occupation and whether he himself had any connexion with the opium trade, his period of residence in China, his means of ascertaining native opinion on the opium habit, and his opportunities of observing for himself the customs of Chinese social life. On the answers to questions of this kind, it is obvious, a great part of the value of the answers to other questions depended. Had inquiries such as these been made, it would have appeared at once on the very forefront of the evidence of some witnesses that they were themselves deeply committed to the opium trade. In other cases it would have transpired that the witness had been but a short time resident in the East, or, that he could neither communicate with the people around him except through the medium of his pidgin-English speaking servants, nor understand the native literature, nor read the native newspaper, nor in any other way ascertain *at first hand*, the thoughts, opinions, feelings, and social practices of the Chinese people at large.

Some witnesses deeply committed to the opium trade.

Others resident only a short time in the East.

Others had no means of giving information at first hand.

Unsatisfactory nature of evidence at second hand.

Evidence gained by daily intercourse with the people, from popular literature, street advertisements, &c.

Many witnesses, both in India and China, and also elsewhere, call attention to the strong tendency that all Orientals show when interrogated on any subject by an European to answer in the sense in which they imagine the inquirer wishes to be answered. This undeniable fact shows the great importance of appealing for information chiefly to European witnesses who can give first-hand evidence gained by them from prolonged and constant intercourse with the people in all the varied circumstances of daily life, and from reading the popular literature, the Chinese advertisements placarded on the wall of every town in China, &c., &c.

The real question is, how do the Chinese talk to one another about opium? What do they say of it in the books that are written for popular circulation? We want European witnesses like, *e.g.*, Mr. Stewart Lockhart, of Hong Kong (*see below*, p. 20), who can answer these questions. That qualification, however, is not the only one to be regarded. It is essential, as already pointed out, that a witness should give evidence of his disinterestedness.

A striking illustration of the force of the foregoing criticisms.

One written document is quoted by the Commissioners, as if it carried special weight and authority, which well illustrates the force of the foregoing criticisms. The only specimen of evidence taken by the Commissioners in London that they have thought fit to quote in their review of the China evidence is that of—

Mr. Duff and his evidence.

“Mr. Duff, a merchant in China of 30 years standing, whose opinion is, ‘that in the circumstance of their living, food, climate, and habitations, opium has no deleterious effects upon the Chinese; indeed, quite the contrary, for it is a positive need, and they could not do without it.’” Vol. VI., p. 49, para. 131.

Mr. Duff has much more evidence of a similar kind to give that is not quoted by the Commissioners. But who and what is Mr. Duff? The Commissioners never asked that very simple and natural question, though a good deal depends on the answer to it, since we are invited by the Commissioners to pay special attention to his evidence. It appears that Mr. Duff gave evidence twice, once in London and once in China, both times in writing. We learn *incidentally* on the second occasion, from Consul Carles, that Mr. T. W. Duff was “formerly a very large importer of opium, no longer a resident in China.” Vol. V., p. 258. Similar information comes out *incidentally* about other witnesses (*e.g.*, about Mr. P. M. Sangar, of Amoy, a strongly pro-opium witness. Vol. V., p. 312. Cp. a letter from Consul Ford, Vol. V., p. 310, col. 2.), but the point to be noticed is that none of the written questions addressed by the Commissioners to witnesses in China was calculated to elicit any information on this important subject, the disinterestedness of the person giving evidence.

The “use” of opium; “moderation.”

2. The Commissioners’ questions about the “use” of opium, and “moderation in the consumption of opium,” were both so vague as to cause much confusion in the evidence. A man who smokes opium once and away with a visitor “uses” opium, and so does a man who smokes regularly three times every day. One witness, thinking of the first of these two classes of consumers, the occasional smokers, says, “Moderation in opium is very general.” Another witness thinking of the second class, the habitual and confirmed smokers, says, “moderation is scarcely possible.” “All depends on what is meant by the word moderation.”—Rev. E. Bryant, Vol. V.,

p. 238, Ans. 6. Take the following specimens of this apparently contradictory evidence which, however, is contradictory only in form:—

I.—Dr. George R. Underwood, Medical Officer, Kiukiang:—

6. *It is not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. In Kiukiang it is quite customary for the pipe to be produced on the arrival of a guest, or other similar occasion, even in the houses of those who detest opium. A man takes a pipe at such a time, and may not again touch it for weeks. . . .*

Of those who take the drug regularly, and have the craving for it, there are few who do not increase the quantity as time goes on. I know two men, the one a student who has smoked for nine years, and has not increased his daily consumption, and the other a caste who for 12 years has used the drug, and is much as he was when he began. On the other hand, a domestic servant whom I knew became a beggar; a second, a clerk in a yamen, got through all his means, and finally tried to sell his wife and child; and a third, a student, was, when last I saw him, living on money obtained by the prostitution of his wife. (Vol. V., pp. 302, 303.)

II.—Mr. John E. Kuhne, M.B., C.M., Ed., a German Medical Missionary:—

6. *It is correct, for of a thousand habitual smokers there is hardly one who does not gradually increase the dose. The great number of patients I see every year enables me to formulate this statement. I personally know one wealthy merchant living in Sheklung, a town in our neighbourhood. He came suffering from a chronic ulcer. Although his general health did not seem to have suffered much, he confessed that opium hindered him in his calling, and that he strongly desired to abandon the habit. . . . A literate ruins his reputation; a farmer or an artisan, unable to find any employment, becomes a gambler or a thief; a merchant, too lazy to attend to his business, loses the confidence of his customers, and in a few years has to sell his shop to another. (Vol. V., p. 220.)*

Confusion caused by inexact questions.

III.—Consul Carles, Chinkiang:—

6. *Moderation in opium is very general. Men who smoke moderately are generally regarded as non-smokers. I have no personal knowledge of any "opium sot." (Vol. V., p. 262.)*

IV.—Dr. John Dudgeon, C.M.:—

6. *It is difficult to speak of moderation where the habit must be gratified at regular times every day. (Vol. V., p. 229.)*

Had the "use" of opium been defined, as the "*habitual use*," Dr. Underwood's answer would have been *wholly* unfavourable. Had "moderation" been defined as covering "the habitual use of the drug at regular times every day," Consul Carles would not have said that people who smoked with this kind of "moderation" were regarded as non-smokers, or that men could thus smoke with impunity.

Similarly, the words "opium sot" (Question 5.), convey a different meaning to different readers of the questions. The Commissioners seem to think that no one can be "greatly injured" by opium without being an "opium sot." Numbers of witnesses naturally decline to identify the ordinary heavy smoker with a "sot," and consequently make the second class of smokers, "with slight injury," large, while they say that the percentage of smokers in the third class "with great injury (opium sots)," is comparatively small. Many heavy drinkers who are greatly injuring themselves and their families by their whiskey-drinking habits would not be classified in England as "whiskey sots." So is it in China with opium-smokers. The form of the question propounded by the Commissioners is responsible for a good deal of the apparent discrepancy between the statistics given by different witnesses. Some witnesses fixing their attention on the words "great injury," give a large percentage. These seem to exaggerate. Others, fixing their attention on the opprobrious epithet "sot," give a small percentage. These seem to understate the truth. Others, more wisely, point out that it is not necessary for a man to be an "opium sot" in order to be greatly and seriously injured by opium, and that a very large number are so injured.

"Opium sots,"

"Sot," or "heavy smoker."

See the evidence given in answer to Question 5 of the Commissioners, by Rev. Wm. Ashmore, p. 214; Dr. J. M. Young, p. 232; Dr. Cousland, p. 241; Rev. J. MacIntyre, p. 271; Rev. J. Ross, p. 273; Dr. Hodge, p. 295; Dr. Jellison, p. 334, &c., &c.

Many witnesses who are taken as pro-opium witnesses, qualify their statistics as to opium smokers who indulge in the habit "without injury," by adding the word "apparent" which makes a very great difference in the meaning of their answer, for

"Injury" and "apparent injury."

most even of the strongest anti-opium evidence is to the effect that it takes time for the injury fully to display itself. Cp. the following :—

5. "Without injury": Apparently most of those who are in the early stages of the habit. This for a short time only. "With slight injury": The same persons above indicated as the occasional use becomes regular, and that, too, only for a time at the beginning. "With great injury": Nearly all of those with whom the habit is fully formed, and whose regular recurrent daily craving has attained the mastery over the man. When the hour comes, smoke they must. Such a

man as this may not be called an "opium sot" as yet. That expression would rather apply to one who gives up all else about and devotes himself to the pipe and to getting means to supply it. At least that would be the definition here at this place; but opium, as I have seen its workings, does "great injury" to a vast number who would not be called "sots." Rev. W. Ashmore, Vol. V., p. 214.

THE COMMISSIONERS' REVIEW OF EVIDENCE RECEIVED FROM CHINA.

For reasons already explained in the Introduction to this book, only parts of Section IV. of the Report are here reprinted. The criticisms they suggest are introduced after the paragraphs to which they apply.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

SECTION IV.

THE EXPORT OF INDIAN OPIUM TO CHINA AND THE STRAITS.

125. We have now to deal briefly with the question of the production of opium in India as affected by the moral and political considerations arising out of the connexion of the opium trade of India with China. *The question of China was not explicitly referred to us by Your Majesty, but it is obvious that our inquiry would have been incomplete had we not devoted some considerable attention to it.*

126. Of the Bengal opium manufactured at the Government factories of Patna and Ghazipur, that which is intended for export is technically known as "provision opium," and that reserved for consumption in India is called "excise opium." The relative amounts of the two manufactured in the year 1892-3 were 40,506 chests of provision opium, as against 2,109 chests of excise opium. Taking the average of the last 10 years, the respective quantities were 52,419 chests of provision opium, as against 4,023 chests of excise opium. Of Malwa opium, the figures for 1892-3 are 27,268 chests passed for export for sea, as against 3,348 chests passed for consumption in India. Taking the average of the last 10 years, 33,758 chests were passed for export, against 3,093 chests passed for consumption in India.

127. *The quantity of both Bengal and Malwa opium exported to China and the Far East is thus far larger than that consumed in India, to which it bears the proportion of about 12 to 1. It is plain, therefore, that the financial interests of India are far more deeply concerned in the export trade than in the home consumption of opium. The financial aspects of the question are discussed in the next Section of our Report, together with the effect of the stoppage of the export trade upon the question of exchange. (Vol. VI. p. 48.)*

End of Extract.

Comparative
bulk of
exported and
excise opium.

II., p. 345.

II., p. 347.

The vast im-
portance of the
above figures.

The statement given in italics in the preceding paragraph (127) is one the importance of which can hardly be overrated in any impartial and adequate treatment of the Indian opium trade. The quantity of opium exported to China and the Far East is 12 times greater than the quantity consumed in India. It follows then, as a matter

of course, that it is a question of 12 times greater importance to the human race to know what is the effect of opium-consumption on the inhabitants of China and the Far East than to know what is the effect of opium consumption on the peoples of India. The contrast between the way in which the majority of the Commission on the one hand and the minority on the other hand (Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P.) deal with this fact is remarkable. The majority turn away at once from the question as one affecting the welfare of the human race to regard it merely in the light of the "financial interests of India," which they observe "are far more deeply concerned in the export trade than in the home consumption of opium." With this, contrast the following from the Minority Report of Mr. Wilson :—

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS PRODUCED IN BRITISH INDIA.

14. The main purpose of the production and sale of opium in British India unquestionably is to supply the Chinese and other Eastern markets.

Practically the whole of the Government opium thus sent to China and other Eastern countries is used for the purpose of smoking. That this practice of smoking is in the highest degree prejudicial, morally and physically, to those who indulge in it is established beyond all reasonable doubt

15. *English officials resident in China and the Far East have for the last 100 years continuously referred to opium smoking as a cause of moral and physical destruction. (See Note H.)*

The Chinese Government and Chinese officials have used similar, or even stronger, language. (See Note J.)

The oral () and written (b) evidence presented to the Commission is overwhelming in its force against the opium habit in China.*

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

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

18. *The result of careful consideration of this part of the subject is that in my opinion the opium trade with China and the Far East should be prohibited. Vol. VI., pp. 141, 142.*

Their bearing on the welfare of the human race.

How this question is treated—

1. By the majority of the Commissioners.

A question of Indian finance.

2. By H. J. Wilson, Esq., M.P.

A question of morals.

NOTE H.

NOTE J.

(*) 165, 214, 287, 380, 430, 450, 498, 549, 609, 639, 673, 751, 790, 825, 1509, 1638, 1863, 1961.
(b) Vol. V., pp. 212-342.

In the words of Mr. Wilson here italicised the whole facts of the case are summed up from the moral standpoint, and are dealt with on moral lines. By the majority of the Commissioners, on the other hand, the moral aspects of the question before us are simply ignored. To them, apparently, the first and only thought suggested by the enormously greater consumption of Indian opium in China than in India, is "the financial interests of India." If the Commissioners had only avowed all through that the financial interests of India were the question about which they were chiefly concerned, we should always know exactly where we stood. We should, indeed, in that case have had once for all to combat the fundamental position of the Commissioners, and to demand that the whole question must be considered on higher grounds than those of Indian finance. But the issue would have been plain and simple, and would have stood out clearly before every one who takes any interest in China and the opium question. Now, however, the ordinary reader of the Report does not know where he is. He finds the Commissioners for ever talking about the "moral" aspects of the question; but just when he expects them to announce some strictly moral decision, he finds them off on a different track, arguing about India and her finances, or stating minor or irrelevant moral issues and entirely neglecting the greater and really important ones.

"Moral" issues constantly paraded but never faced.

What, let us ask, then, are the plain moral inferences to be drawn from the statement made above (par. 127) as to the relative magnitudes of opium consumption in India and of opium consumption in China? Obviously these two: first, that *the China question is twelve times as important as the Indian*; and, secondly, that *this being the case, the China question deserves twelve times as much consideration as the Indian*. Who would expect, then, that after all the Commissioners' talk about the "moral" aspect of the question, these, the only possible inferences to be drawn from their own facts, would be turned upside down? Yet this is what has actually happened. It will be found, on careful examination, that the attention which the Commission has paid to these two branches of the Indian opium trade respectively, are in the inverse ratio of five to one as compared with their relative importance. The more important subject receives only one-fifth of the attention bestowed on the less important, and, *vice versa*, the less important subject receives five times as much attention as the more important! A reference to the Blue Books will show that all the evidence the Commissioners have collected from China and the Far East, together with their own review of the same, occupies less than 370 pages of the six volumes (2,220 pages) which contain all the proceedings of the

Disproportionate consideration of the Indian and China questions respectively.

Commission. (A seventh volume of the Blue Book contains matter that is neither evidence nor official Report.) Who will credit the results of an inquiry made on such lines as these? What investigation can possibly be regarded as satisfactory in character where one-sixth of the inquiry is devoted to twelve-thirteenths of the subject under investigation, while the remaining five-sixths of the inquiry are devoted to the remaining one-thirteenth of the question?

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

Scope of the inquiry as regards China.

130. We now proceed to discuss the moral and political aspects of the question as affecting China. In considering this branch of our subject it is obviously impossible for us to arrive at so definite and conclusive a judgment with regard to China as with regard to India. *The moral and physical results of the use of opium in China must be gathered from the evidence of witnesses, and, with few exceptions, we had no opportunity of seeing these witnesses and of cross-examining them upon their statements.* The political aspect of the question must depend largely on the view taken of some much controverted events in history. Subject to these necessary limitations, we proceed to give a brief summary of the results of our inquiry. Vol. VI., p. 49.

End of Extract.

Again we are to have the "moral aspects" of the opium question examined and discussed,—this time in the light of the evidence that the Commissioners collected from China. In this connexion our attention is specially called by the Commissioners to the following statement, "We had no opportunity of seeing these witnesses (*i.e.*, "witnesses resident in China") and of cross-examining them upon their statements." In view of three facts that I have now to adduce, I can only express my utter astonishment that the Commissioners should have thus invited criticism of their methods in the matter of cross-examining witnesses.

Great importance of the evidence,

Very great emphasis deserves to be placed on the statement of the Commissioners that "the moral and physical results of the use of opium must be gathered from the "evidence of witnesses." This statement certainly leads us to expect a very careful analysis, even if only a brief one, of the evidence the Commission had under review. But, as will shortly appear, this expectation is doomed to disappointment. For myself, I find it impossible to believe that the Commissioners have even read the evidence as a whole. I cannot help suspecting that they will read parts of it for the first time in the pages of this book, and will be surprised to find that my quotations are really to be found in the Blue Book they have presented to Parliament.

and of cross examination.

The reference of the Commissioners to cross-examination is in itself perfectly natural, for it is certain that judges are always in a better position for appraising the value of evidence when they have an opportunity of seeing the witnesses, and of cross-examining them upon their statements, than when they have not. In this particular instance, however, there are three considerations which tend to show that cross-examination was not considered of much importance by the Opium Commissioners, for,

The only London witness quoted is one who was not cross-examined.

1st. As we have seen above (p. 12), although nearly all the witnesses who gave evidence in London appeared before the Commission in person, and were cross-examined as to their statements, *the only London witness whom the Commissioners think it necessary to quote in their China Report is one whom they did not see and did not cross-examine.*

No substitute for cross-examination of absent witnesses attempted.

2ndly, it has already been shown (p. 11) that in the questions addressed to witnesses in China, *not one question was devoted to those subjects on which cross-examination would naturally have turned, viz., the standing and position of the witness and his qualifications for giving trustworthy evidence.*

3rd. The following quotation from Mr. Wilson's Minute of Dissent reveals a state of things in regard to the way in which Indian missionary opinion was treated by the Commissioners in regard to cross-examination that is truly marvellous.

The way in which evidence was received in Calcutta.

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

Of the 45 missionaries and others closely associated with them who appeared before us as witnesses, and submitted to the test of cross-examination, 41 (c) condemned the use of opium; two (d) may be said to have occupied neutral or indefinite positions, and two others (e) one of whom declared himself an "abolitionist on purely moral grounds," to some extent defended, or at least extenuated, the use of opium Vol. VI., p. 146.

See also Vol. I., Q. 26.

(c) Vol. II., p. 314, p. 460. Vol. V., p. 137. (e) Vol. II., p. 438. Vol. V., p. 138. (c) 2238, 2589, 2756, 6921, 11,015, 13,988, 21,382, 21,463, 23,308, 23,332, &c., &c. (d) 8652, 17,246. (e) 5457, 16,902.

In the light of this revelation let anyone turn to Vol. VI., pp. 21, 22, paragraph 77, and note the weight attached to certain Calcutta memorials. We ask, 1st, Why did not these memorialists, or those of them residing in Calcutta, appear in person before the Commission when it sat in Calcutta? 2ndly, Why did not the Commissioners in this case make an "opportunity of seeing these witnesses and of cross-examining them upon their statements" so opposed in their tenour to the bulk of missionary evidence laid before the Commission by the majority of the witnesses who did appear and submit to cross-examination? Surely the Bishop of Calcutta and some of his English chaplains would have come if they had been asked to do so, and would have given fuller information as to their opportunities for observing native life and for ascertaining native opinion in regard to opium-consumption in India. 3rdly, Since they did not appear before the Commission to be cross-examined, why do the Commissioners single these clerical witnesses out above all others and quote them as men "who are entitled to speak with special authority" on a question about which some of the missionaries of other churches knew quite as much as they did? Whoever heard before of a judicial inquiry in which cross-examination of witnesses was so set aside, as if it were a matter of no importance, as it was here?

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

131. Prior to our departure from London, we took the evidence of 17 missionaries, representing various Societies, who had been residents in China for longer or shorter periods, and of Mr. B. Broomhall, the general Secretary of the China Inland Mission. The evidence of these witnesses was practically unanimous as to the evil effects of opium-smoking upon the Chinese, though that of Dr. W. Lockhart, a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society, was less pronounced than that of the others. We also took the evidence of one medical man who had been in private practice for 18 years in Canton and Hong Kong, and of a retired Government medical officer, who had been in the Straits Settlements for 25 years. The evidence of these two witnesses was considerably less adverse to the practice of opium-smoking than that of the missionaries. We heard, also, the testimony of four gentlemen connected with commerce, of whom two were strongly adverse to opium, and two took a more favourable view of the practice. (Vol. VI., p. 49.)

Evidence taken in England.

I. 1668.

I. 1772

I. 790, 1751, 1618, 2012.

End of Extract.

The statements made in the above extract need to be carefully examined in order that their true character and worth may appear. "Seventeen missionaries" are grouped together, along with Mr. B. Broomhall, as being "practically unanimous as to the evil effects of opium smoking upon the Chinese." To lump together "17 missionaries" in this fashion, and then sum up all their evidence in two lines, suggests a method of treating evidence that is scarcely

An examination of the Commissioners' review of evidence taken in London. "17 missionaries and Mr. B. Broomhall."

judicial. There are differences in "missionaries" as there are differences in "soldiers." One would hardly expect judges summing-up important military evidence to group together as "17 soldiers," a company of witnesses in which were included two well-known generals, three army surgeons, and other officers of good standing, as well as several men from the ranks. Neither would one expect all the varied and important items of information afforded by the evidence of the principal of these military witnesses to be summed up, together with the more commonplace evidence of the less important witnesses in two or three lines. In the evidence now under consideration it happens that in addition to the personal testimony of the witnesses themselves there were most important quotations given from men of very high standing in China who were themselves not present. One witness also put in a document signed by 5,000 medical men in Great Britain, of whom no less than 35 had resided and practised medicine either in India or China. If the Commissioners' pronouncement quoted above in two lines is all that can be made out of the evidence of witnesses whom the Commission had the opportunity of seeing and of cross-examining, it is hardly to be expected that we shall get anything like a useful analysis in the Report, of evidence that had to be submitted in writing.

A memorial
signed by 5,000
medical men.

Let us now look at the witnesses under consideration in detail. The "17 missionaries," we find from Vol. I. of the Report, included (1) the Rev. James Legge, LL.D., Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, who informed the Commission that he had resided for more than 33 years among the Chinese. It is needless to observe that few, if any, greater European Sinologues than Dr. Legge have ever lived. His evidence, which the Commissioners have summed up with that of his sixteen fellows of the missionary fraternity in less than three lines, extends over three pages and a half of the Blue Book, printed in small type and double columns; (2) the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, M.R.C.S., the founder and general director of the China Inland Mission, informed the Commission that he went out to China in 1853, and had been a missionary ever since, had visited 10 out of the 18 provinces of China, and had spent a great deal of time in some of them. His evidence also was very full and of a very varied character. (3) J. L. Maxwell, Esq., M.D., Edinburgh, spoke at length of his medical experience in the Far East, quoted various medical authorities, and finally handed in a declaration of opinion on the opium trade signed only two years previously by 5,000 medical men of Great Britain and Ireland, of which this is his account:—

Dr. Legge.

Rev. Hudson
Taylor.

Dr. Maxwell.

There are over 5,000 signatures to this of members of the profession in Great Britain and Ireland, and amongst these 5,000 there are 10 Fellows of the Royal Society; 14 teachers of materia medica; the three representatives of the profession in England who sit on the General Medical Council; the President of the Royal College of Physicians of Scotland; 23 members of the profession who have practised in India, four of whom have been professors in medical colleges in India, and one a late reporter on economic products to the Government of India; 12 members of the profession who have practiced in China; 21 heads of asylums; four natives of India. These I have picked out of the midst of them, and I do not know that in the history of the profession on any question of social or moral interest there ever has been a paper which has been signed by such a vast number

of my professional brethren as this paper against the opium traffic. What they declare in this declaration of opinion is as follows:—"We, the undersigned members of the medical profession, are of opinion:—First: That the habit of opium smoking or of opium eating is morally and physically debasing; Second: That the unrestrained sale of such a drug as opium is immediately associated with many and grave dangers to the well-being of the people of India; Third: That the drug, opium, ought in India, as in England, to be classed and sold as a poison, and be purchaseable from chemists only; Fourth: That the Government of India should prohibit the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium, except as required for medical purposes." (Vol. I., p. 21, Q. 240.)

But Dr. Maxwell's evidence along with the declaration of 5,000 medical men which supported it is not referred to by the Commission. He is simply one of the "17 missionaries," and all his facts together with the document he put in as evidence are sufficiently described in the two or three lines devoted to the missionary evidence in general! (4.) A second medical missionary was Dr. William Gauld for 16 years a missionary in Swatow. It is needless to say he did not require any different treatment than other missionaries received, and so on with the rest!

Dr. Gauld.

Dr. Lockhart.

Reading paragraph No. 131 of the Report as given above, one would suppose that Dr. W. Lockhart was the *only medical missionary* who appeared in the group of "17 missionaries," but this, as I have shown, is not the case. Inasmuch as the Commissioners specially refer to him, and rightly so, as a man whose evidence was "less pronounced than that of the others," it will be well to give a quotation or two from

this "less pronounced" view of the evils wrought by opium. From the "less pronounced" view something of the *more* pronounced one may be inferred.

1641. What has been your impression acquired during all these years of the effect of opium on the people of China?—Many of them take it in small quantities. It is not particularly injurious to them if they continue to take in small quantities, but it is so seductive a thing, that they very generally increase it; and if they fall into evil circumstances and become poor, they take to it in larger quantities. When they become the victims of the opium habit, it is decidedly pernicious and injurious to them, in every respect. They fail physically, their mental faculties are not so particularly impaired when they are not in the act of smoking opium, but their general system becomes so deteriorated, and so debased in every way, that the people who are the victims of this habit are not allowed to give evidence in any legal proceedings in any of the courts of justice in China at all. They are not considered as people of the community who are above corruption, and they would not be allowed to give evidence in any legal proceeding.

Space does not admit of further quotations from the evidence of the "17 missionaries" though some of them were men of very high standing, and their testimony was exceedingly weighty. Reference must, however, be made to the evidence of the Rev. Christopher Fenn, and to that of Mr. B. Broomhall—not one of the seventeen. Mr. Fenn, quoted at length, from Bishop Moule of Mid-China, Archdeacon Moule, Archdeacon Wolfe, the Rev. W. H. Collins "who before ordination had been a medical man," and Dr. Duncan Main "the very able head of the Mission Hospital at Hangchow," all of them missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Broomhall in like manner quoted at length from about 20 missionary correspondents resident in different parts of China, all speaking of the evils of opium consumption. Thus the evidence of the "17 missionaries" practically mounts up to be the evidence of 40, with a strong expression of opinion unfavourable to the opium habit, signed by 5,000 medical men who were not missionaries, and much other authoritative medical opinion, thrown in. Mr. Broomhall also put in evidence some important translations of Chinese (pagan) popular books on the opium habit.

Passing now from the Commissioners "review" of the *missionary* evidence submitted to them in London, we may notice in their review of "the testimony of four gentlemen connected with commerce" the same inability to distinguish between the comparative importance of different kinds of testimony that we noticed in the case of the missionaries.

Of these four gentlemen, one at least deserved to be considered as amongst the most important of all the witnesses who, either in London or anywhere else, submitted evidence to the Commission. Mr. D. Matheson, formerly a partner in the business of Jardine, Matheson and Co., told how his firm was largely engaged in the opium trade. He detailed also some of his experiences in connexion with this trade by which he was led to feel that he could no longer be associated with it "It was intolerable to me "to continue in such a business, and I sent home my resignation to the senior partner "who was in this country. I left China finally in 1849." Vol I., p. 58, Q. 799. Surely that piece of evidence was as much worth quoting as the evidence of Mr. Duff, the large importer of opium who never had any scruples about his business.

1704. Were any of the members of your church opium smokers?—They were no longer members of the church if they used opium.

"Less pronounced" view of opium.

1705. You did not allow any opium-smoker to be a member of your church?—No.

1706. Why?—Because of the disgrace they brought upon themselves and their fellow-converts by smoking opium.

1707. First they were respectable men when they began to smoke opium, were they not?—Yes, but they got degraded by that process, and then the constant progress of degradation that goes on with all the victims of excessive use of opium. You could not trust them.

1711. I gather that you have a very strong belief that the Indian Government ought to free themselves from any connexion with the growth of opium?—Certainly. (Vol. I., pp. 113-115.)

Rev. C. C. Fenn.
Vol. I., p. 33.

Mr. Broomhall.
Vol. I., pp. 38-44.

"Four gentlemen connected with commerce."

Mr. Donald Matheson resigning his partnership for conscience sake.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

The other witnesses, with regard to China and the Far East, were Sir Thomas Wade and Mr. Lay, who gave evidence principally with regard to the negotiation of the Treaty of Tientsin and the Convention of Chefoo. Mr. S. Lockhart, the Protector of Chinese in Hong Kong, also gave evidence, stating that in his opinion it would be no more possible to enforce the prohibition of opium in Hong Kong than that of drink in the United Kingdom. We received, also, communications in writing from

I. 1324.

V. p. 143.

I p. 111.

Sir G. Des Vœux, late Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Hugh Low, formerly Administrator of Perak, both of whom were opposed to any further interference, and from Mr. Duff, a merchant in China of 30 years' standing, whose opinion is—

"that in the circumstances of their living, food, climate, and habitations, opium has no deleterious effects upon the Chinese; indeed, quite the contrary, for it is a positive need, and they could not do without it."

A Note on the history of opium and the poppy in China, by Dr. Edkins, formerly a missionary, and now in the China Customs Service, at Shanghai, will be found in the Appendices to our Report. The author shows that the poppy (papaver somniferum) was cultivated in China as early as the 8th century. (Vol. VI., p. 49.)

End of Extract.

I. p. 146.

Misleading references. Mr. Stewart Lockhart's evidence.

In regard to this review one must say that a part of it is very misleading, to say the least. 1. It is true, e.g., that Mr. Stewart Lockhart made the remark here attributed to him, but he went on to say "I am afraid the habit has become so ingrained in the Chinese that they must have their opium." The same witness gives also the following items of evidence which have an important bearing on those "moral aspects" of the question which the Commissioners declared in the preceding paragraph they were about to discuss.

1380. Well, now, can you from your extensive experience give us your opinion as to the state of Chinese opinion in regard to the opium habit, looking at the state of things not only among the working classes, but also the merchants, the literati, the official classes; and also can you tell us what you saw during your sojourn in the interior, which would give you an opportunity of forming an opinion as to how the Chinese regard this question?—As regards Chinese popular opinion in respect to the opium habit, it is decidedly against it. There is a common Cantonese saying which sums up rather appositely "The Ten Cannots" with regard to the opium sot. It says,

"The Ten Cannots regarding the Opium-smoker":—
"He cannot: (1) give up the habit; (2) enjoy sleep; (3) wait for his turn when sharing his pipe with his friends; (4) rise early; (5) be cured if sick; (6) help relations in need; (7) enjoy wealth; (8) plan anything; (9) get credit even when an old customer; (10) walk any long distance." That, I think, sums up the popular view of the Chinese with regard to the opium habit.

1381. Well, then, and that opinion is shared by high and low?—I should say it represents popular opinion on the subject.

Again, Q. 1393.—

It is the desire of the [Hong Kong] Government to limit consumption as far as it possibly can consistently with the raising of revenue. (Vol. I., pp. 99, 100.)

The allusion to Dr. Edkins' note.

Why this desire, if, as Mr. Duff and other pro-opium witnesses assert, "opium has no deleterious effects upon the Chinese"? 2. Of Mr. Duff, sufficient has been said already (p. 12). 3. What is to be said of this quotation from "Dr. Edkins, formerly a missionary"? That it is certainly calculated to leave a totally false impression on the general reader as to the tenour of Dr. Edkins' Note on the history of opium and the poppy in China. What Dr. Edkins says, is "The first distinct mention of the poppy" "is in the first half of the 8th century." But what then? For the purposes of an inquiry into the truth about opium-smoking in China that statement happens to be of no importance whatever. Listen to what Dr. Edkins has to say on the real point at issue,—the origin of opium-smoking:—

The true significance of Dr. Edkins' note.

"In the year A.D. 1729 an edict was issued on opium smoking prohibiting the sale of opium and the opening of opium houses. The Government found itself face to face with a dangerous social evil of an alarming kind. . . . Opium selling for smoking purposes has from this time forward (i.e. A.D. 1729) been regarded as a crime by the ruling authorities. . . . The very earliest instance of legislation on this matter is here before the reader. It was based on local events occurring on the sea coast a long way from Peking. The gradual spread from the province

of Fuhkien to all the provinces was still in the future, and was not before the mind of the legislators. . . . The sale of opium was prohibited by statute, but we do not find proof that it was refused as a drug at the Custom Houses of Amoy and Canton. The import steadily increased during the time it was in the hands of the Portuguese till English merchants took it up in 1773 after the conquest of Bengal by Clive. The East India Company took the opium trade into its own hands in 1781." (Vol. I. p. 156. 27.)

The drift of Dr. Edkins' paper goes to show that although opium has existed as a medicine in China for over 1,000 years, the curse of opium-smoking has only been felt to any considerable extent for less than 150 years, and that then it spread from the coast, inland, the import steadily increasing, first, in the hands of the Portuguese, but from 1773 in the hands of the British. This view supports the ordinary anti-opium contention which is, first, that opium is generally spoken of, not by its Chinese name as a home-grown drug for medicinal use, but as "*Yang Yen*," i.e. "*foreign smoke* (or tobacco)," and secondly, that the habit of smoking opium, which has now well-nigh ruined the Empire, came somehow from across the seas, and was introduced by foreigners. This, rightly or wrongly, is the common account of the matter given by the Chinese in their popular books, and Dr. Edkins' note, to which the Commissioners refer in this most misleading way, goes largely to support it. Cp. the evidence of Dr. Dudgeon. (Vol. V., p. 230, Ans. 18.) I would ask any impartial and candid reader what he thinks of the Commissioners' references, 1st, to Mr. S. Lockhart; 2ndly, to Mr. Duff; 3rdly, to Dr. Edkins?

From reviewing the evidence received in London the Commissioners pass, in their Report, to the evidence received from the Far East (paragraphs 132-138), and from China.

Evidence from China and the Far East.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

CHINA.

139. *The replies we received from China, like the evidence tendered to us in London, were of a conflicting character. By the majority of the missionaries of every Christian community in China the use of opium is strongly condemned. Other missionaries take a less decided view. Of these last, two may be quoted. The Rev. W. Ashmore, of the American Baptist Mission, 43 years a missionary in China, states that some men will use opium for years and not show marked results. The Rev. A. Bone, an English Protestant missionary, says:—*

Summary of opinions as to moral and physical effects of opium.

"The effects of opium vary, but it appears to me that the ordinary Chinese have but a poorly developed moral sense on many matters in regard to which the Christian nations of Europe hold decided opinions. The effects of opium, also physically, cover a wide range of experience. Many who smoke but twice or thrice a day do not appear to suffer any physical weakness. I question frequently men who tell me they have smoked for years, and no marks of physical deterioration are very manifest." (Vol. VI., pp. 50, 51.)

V. p. 218.

End of Extract.

That the replies received from China, like the evidence tendered in London, were of a conflicting character, goes without saying. If opinion on the opium question had been everywhere the same there would have been no need for a Royal Commission to be appointed to ascertain what that opinion was. When the Commission undertook the China inquiry it became responsible for arriving at an opinion of its own, which it could justify to Parliament, and on which Parliament could rely as being warranted by the facts of evidence laid before the Commission.

"Conflicting evidence."

This was the judicial function which especially pertained to the Commissioners. But it is required of judges, 1st, that they should sum up the evidence before them in an impartial and judicial spirit; 2ndly, that they should weigh this evidence, paying most attention to that given by the most disinterested and the best informed witnesses; 3rdly, that they should only make such assertions in regard to the facts of evidence as are strictly accurate. Has any one of these requirements been fulfilled by the Commissioners?

Requisites for an official enquiry.

I must confess that the impartial and judicial spirit does not appear to me to be manifest in the statements and quotations of paragraph 139.

Missionary
evidence
practically
unanimous.

"By the majority of the missionaries of every Christian communion in China the use of opium is strongly condemned." What are the facts?

It is so condemned by all the missionary witnesses from China who gave evidence before the Commission with, perhaps, two or three exceptions. Of these only one can be adduced who is in any sense *favourable* to opium-consumption. Many missionaries who did not themselves give evidence were quoted by others who did. From all this great company of missionary witnesses, the Commissioners *do not quote a single sentence* showing the character of their evidence *so far as it is unfavourable to opium*. They quote at length the solitary missionary who differs from all the rest of the missionary body, in that he is favourable to opium, as one who "has made the effects of the opium habit the subject of special observation and inquiry." They also pick out isolated sentences from strongly anti-opium missionary witnesses with a view to minimizing the evils of the opium trade with India.

Less decided
view of some
missionaries.
Rev. W. Ash-
more.

"Other missionaries take a less decided view. Of these last two may be quoted." We ask, 1st, *Why* are two missionaries to be quoted simply, because they are less decided on the subject than the majority? We ask, 2ndly, Is it a fact that the Rev. W. Ashmore is "less decided" in his condemnation of opium than the majority of his fraternity? and we answer emphatically that it is not. "The Rev. W. Ashmore states that some men will use opium for years and not show marked results."

Vol. V., p. 214.

Mr. Ashmore's own words are:—"Some men of *vigorous vitality* will use opium for many years and not show marked results. Others show the effects almost immediately in a general, physical, and moral deterioration." See also a very important quotation from Mr. Ashmore above, p. 14, and refer to his whole evidence which, from end to end, is about as strongly condemnatory of the use of opium as it could possibly be.

Rev. A. Bone.

"The Rev. A. Bone, an English missionary, says:—&c." Here, again, we have a garbled extract. Mr. Bone's view, no doubt, is "less decided" than that of Mr. Ashmore and some other missionaries, but the following sentences taken from his evidence will show that it is sufficiently decided to make him a strong witness as to the evils of opium:—

The effects of opium vary in different persons and under different conditions. The moral influence on men who frequent the opium dens with which I am familiar in Canton cannot but be bad. . . . Those who become in any sense "victims" of the opium pipe, have their moral sense greatly impaired. . . . Many boatmen smoke, and when on our boat journeys, if we have opium smokers on board, they must have their pipe at regular intervals. If they get their opium regularly they do their work equal to the best; if not they are restless, indifferent, and cause trouble. N.B.—I never will allow an opium-smoker among my crew if I can avoid it.

9. The habit, because it is more generally indulged in, is now regarded by fewer persons probably than formerly as "degrading and injurious." . . . On the other hand, those who do not use it, absolutely condemn it as degrading and injurious, and so do also all communities of native Christians.

14. Men who have become victims to the opium craving certainly desire to free themselves, but seem to lack the moral, or physical, or to be without the spiritual power, to do so.

20. I regard the smoking of opium, speaking in general terms, as baneful. (Vol. V., pp. 218, 219.)

With Mr. Bone's "less decided" evidence, Cp, the "less pronounced" evidence of Dr. W. Lockhart given above, p. 19.

Consular
evidence.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

140. 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. The evil effects of excess do not thrust themselves prominently on the notice. A minority of the Consular service condemns the use of opium in any form as essentially bad. (Vol. VI., p. 51.)

End of Extract.

It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to take the measure of the "prevailing opinion" of the Consular service on the lines here indicated. The Indian Government has been at the pains to analyse this China Consular evidence. (See Blue Book of "Correspondence regarding the Report by the Royal Commission on Opium," 1896 [C.—7991*], and the results of that analysis are given below. The Indian Government may be trusted to make the most it can of the Consular evidence from China. I accept this analysis provisionally as more likely to commend itself to my readers than any analysis which an opponent of the opium trade could make. It is, however, incorrect in several particulars. Even if it were correct it would not justify the statement of the Commissioners in their "review." The Indian Government, then, distributes the consular witnesses into the following four classes :—

Indian Government's analysis of China Consular evidence.

I. "Those who have expressed no opinion as to the effects of opium-smoking in China." This class contains *five* consuls or acting-consuls.

[N.B.—The compiler of this list for the Indian Government states the number as *three*, overlooking the consuls at Tientsin and Ichang, to both of whom questions were sent (see Vol. V., p. 229, col. 2), but from whom no replies were received.]

II. "Those who regard opium-smoking as a serious evil." This class also includes five witnesses.

III. "Those who give evidence, which is generally condemnatory of the habit, but not strongly so." This class again includes five witnesses.

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.

This class includes thirteen witnesses. [N.B., one of these was not a consul but only a Consular assistant.†]

The admissions of some of the consuls included in this last class are, however, worthy of notice.

i. Consul M. F. E. Fraser says :—

(3.) *I have not observed the moral and social effects, but suppose on moderate smokers these are good (if the man's health is benefited by smoking), or, at least, indifferent.*

(6.) *There can be no doubt, however, I think, that, especially with people of so little energy, force of will, moral courage, or ambition, as the average Chinese, the habit is very hard to break off when once acquired, and that a moderate use to begin with often ends in excess.*

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.* Vol. V., pp. 288, 289.

The testimony of a witness who *has not observed* the moral and social effects of opium, but *supposes* these are good, can scarcely be quoted against the testimony of witnesses who *have observed* them and say they *know* they are highly injurious.

ii. Consul Ford says :—

(i.) perhaps 30 per cent. use it without any injury.

(ii.) forty per cent. with but slight injury, and

(iii.) thirty per cent. with great injury. Vol. V., p. 309.

It can hardly be maintained that what a man does "with injury" to himself he does "with moderation," whether the injury be slight or great. That 70 per cent. of the smokers are injured is a serious admission.

iii. Consul Mansfield, Wénchow, says :—

20. *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 underfeeding and diminished reproduction should be ultimately disastrous.* Vol. V., p. 336.

* This Blue Book forms no part of the Report of the Royal Commission, and the Commission has no responsibility whatever for its contents.

† It is not disputed that some of the Consular assistants were qualified to give evidence. In point of fact, however, Mr. Perkins is the only junior member of the service who does so, and inasmuch as the question now at issue seems to be What do Her Majesty's Consuls say? it is only right to point out that Mr. Perkins was not even an acting-consul.

One may ask why it is to be specially deplored that the people in the *Wenchow* District are so much addicted to opium. Are they poorer than the people in other districts of China? Every one in China knows that the *poor* form the great majority in every district, and hence it is *everywhere* to be deplored that these populations are addicted to this habit.

iv. H. Cockburn, Esq., Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Britannic Majesty's Legation, Peking, says:—

(5.) 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.

(6.) 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. (See above p. 13.)

(9.) [The Chinese] have (speaking generally) no disapproval for the use of alcohol in moderation, whereas *very many of them do disapprove the habit of opium smoking, even in moderation.* Vol. V., p. 233.

Summary of
Consular
evidence.

The classification of Consular evidence given above is likely to be at least as favourable to the Commissioners as any that could be made. From this it appears that out of all the Consular witnesses appealed to by the Indian Government, only a minority commit themselves to the opinion that "moderation among Chinese opium-smokers is the rule, . . . and that the moderate opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit." [The difference between "no injury" and "no *apparent* injury" has already been pointed out, *see above*, p. 13.] What, then, becomes of the Commissioners' statement as to the "prevailing opinion" in the British Consular service in China?

Analysis of
Consular
evidence.

We are brought, then, to this nett result in regard to the opinions of the 27 British Consuls in China: Five of them, *i.e.*, 18 per cent., express no opinion; ten of them, or 37 per cent., either "regard opium-smoking as a serious evil," or "give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit," while the remaining twelve, *i.e.*, 45 per cent., may, perhaps, be taken as holding the opinion described by the Commissioners as "the prevailing opinion," though with serious reservations as regards four out of the twelve. I do not press these particular figures. I fully admit the difficulty of accurately and unanswerably defining the "prevailing opinion" in the Consular service on this subject. I doubt if any opinion can be fairly described as "*the prevailing opinion.*" But one thing is perfectly certain, *taking the Consular evidence as a whole, there is nothing in it on which to build up an argument favourable to opium-smoking in China.*

Value of
Consular
evidence and
its limits.

I wish to speak with the greatest respect of the Consular body in China, a respect which I sincerely feel, but since so much has been made of the importance of Consular opinion, it is only right to point out, 1st, that the Consular witnesses were after all only a small proportion of the witnesses who were well qualified to give trustworthy information to the Commission; 2ndly, that a not inconsiderable number of them speak with great diffidence as to their ability to give first-hand evidence. Even the British Minister, who had been for many years in China, says:—

"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." (Vol. V., p. 229.)

Several of the consuls make similar admissions, and two at least of them, on these very grounds, excuse themselves from answering the Commissioners' questions. (Consul Scott, Swatow, Vol. V., pp. 212, 213. Acting Consul Allen, Wuhu, Vol. V., p. 332.) 3rdly, that in as far as Consular opinion in China is really favourable to opium-smoking it is in direct conflict both with the bulk of the Medical and also with the Chinese evidence that the Commission has collected.

Effects of
excess, when
obvious and
when not.

The Commissioners add—speaking of Consular opinion—"the evil effects of excess do not thrust themselves prominently on the notice." That remark requires to be explained. Opium being a narcotic, and not a stimulant, never makes people noisy, boisterous, or violent, hence the evil effects of it naturally do not thrust themselves on the notice of any Europeans, either consuls or others, as they walk about, the streets, or as they are living entirely outside of Chinese society. They do thrust themselves on the notice of every one who is living in close touch with the lower classes of China. Take these two specimens of Consular evidence *from the same witness*, the first speaking of the ordinary life and experience of an

English Consul, the second speaking of the experience of a Consul who happens to have to sit in the Mixed Court in Shanghai. Very few Consuls discharge that duty, when they do, it brings them into contact with Chinese life as they had never been brought into contact with it before, and gives them experiences that are utterly unlike the experiences of the ordinary European resident in China.

I. As a private resident in China my experiences in China have not the weight either of those of a medical man or of those of a missionary. *We consuls have little private intercourse with the natives outside our homes and offices.* (Consul Allen, Chefoo, Vol. V., p. 279.)

II. Consular officials in China, especially those who hold the post of assessor at the Mixed Court at Shanghai, get a certain amount of insight into the ways of "opium sots," who have sunk in the world, and have become members of the criminal classes. *I held the post of Mixed Court Assessor for two years, and certainly there were considerable numbers of "opium sots" brought before the Chinese magistrate and myself every week.* (Consul Allen, Chefoo, Vol. V., 279.)

An official witness, and what he did not see.

The evil effects of excess did not thrust themselves prominently on the notice of Consul Allen, the private resident in China. They thrust themselves very prominently on Consul Allen, the Assessor in the Mixed Court of Shanghai, in close touch with the lower classes of Chinese society.

Sir Nicholas J. Hannen, Consul-General and Chief Justice, Shanghai, tells us: "During the whole of my 14 years' residence, I have only seen with my own eyes the visible effects of the consumption of opium on three occasions," and one of those occasions was not in Shanghai. But he also explains this when he says he was never "in intimate relations with the Chinese" (Vol. V., p. 251.) If he had ever been Assessor in the Mixed Court, he would have seen what Consul Allen saw, and what every one else will see who is constantly in intimate relations with the Chinese of the lower and poorer classes. The Consular evidence, which the Commissioners have published, explains the fact which they state but do not explain, viz., why the evil effects of opium consumption do not thrust themselves on Consular notice. It explains also why these evil effects do thrust themselves very constantly on the notice of missionaries, specially of those missionaries who are living in the heart of a Chinese town and in constant touch with the sunken masses. Cp. the evidence of Consul Carles, Chinkiang, and of Consul Bullock, Newchwang:—

An official witness, and what he did not see.

Why the evidence of missionaries is anti-opium.

3. My opportunities of personal observation of the effects of opium on its consumers have been limited, for the intercourse between Chinese and Europeans is so restricted that I have never known anything of the domestic life even of persons with whom I am in constant contact. It is only by hearsay, therefore, or by observation of men's outward lives, than I can speak of opium-smoking and its effect. So far as I have seen, the effect of opium-smoking is prejudicial morally, physically, and socially, but in widely different degrees according to the class of the consumer. (Consul Carles, Vol. V., p. 263.)

I have heard of cases of "no harm for many years," but know none personally. Nor have I ever had to do with a real "sot." Such a man must necessarily be dismissed from a foreigner's service before he comes to that point. Missionaries in China, speaking the language, constantly moving about, and always in close contact with the people, are able to give far more trustworthy opinions on such a subject than any other class of persons can, though many of them, of course, have strong prejudices concerning it. (Consul Bullock, Vol. V., pp. 266, 267.)

We come now to the medical evidence before the Commission, and here we find the statements made by the Commissioners as to its character are simply astounding in their inaccuracy, not to use a stronger term.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

The medical opinions were in general accord with those of the Consular body. We may quote, for instance, the statement of Dr. Rennie,

referring to the Island of Formosa, where he resided for seven years. He writes that :—

V. p. 218.

"By a high-principled Chinaman the use of opium would be pronounced degrading; but I do not think such is at all the general opinion. . . . A new arrival usually finds that his ideas, moulded on statements current at home, are immensely exaggerated; he seldom comes across that type of the degraded opium victim, with the description of whom we have in our earlier days been so familiar. Still, after more mature experience, and looking into the question with an unbiassed mind, he must admit that the habit is an evil. But what race has no pleasant vice? Opium is a solace to the wretched and luckless, and a stimulant to the hard-working and poorly-fed bread-winner, too often handicapped by malaria in the struggle for existence. As with most of nature's gifts to suffering humanity, abuse often converts the blessing into a curse. But look at the matter how we will, whether or not in its use or abuse it is a danger to the individual, to society, or to the State; we must unhesitatingly declare that the opium habit is in every respect a lesser evil than the consumption of alcohol."

V., p. 331.

We may also quote the following from Dr. Matthews, a medical missionary :—

"It occurs to me to add in connexion with the above answers that, upon my arrival in China, I was naturally prejudiced with regard to the opium habit, and that it is only on conviction that I now speak. To emphasise my position it is right to add that, apart from the interest I have taken in this matter for some years past, and the constant desire to avail myself of all practical information, is the fact that as editor of the only medical journal in China, I have had more extended facilities for examining into the question than ordinarily falls to the individual medical man. Such being the case, I, though in all diffidence, state that it is my firm conviction that the evils of the opium habit, though they are many and great, have been exaggerated, and the good derived from it but little recognised. With regard to contrasting opium and alcohol, it seems to me but the conflicting of essential requirements of the eastern and western worlds."

V., p. 324.

We may also refer particularly to the answers of Dr. Myers, who, like Dr. Matthews has made the effects of the opium habit the subject of special observation and inquiry (Vol. VI., p. 51.)

End of Extract.

The analysis of medical evidence in China by the Indian Government.

Here, again, we are helped in the attempt to analyse the evidence before us, by the Blue Book [C.—7791] published by the Indian Government. This book gives (p. 48) two lists professedly classifying the medical evidence from China that was submitted to the Commission. Without accepting this classification as altogether correct, I am content to accept it as being approximately satisfactory *so far as it goes*. I omit the names of merchants and re-number the medical men.

I. B.—List classifying the EVIDENCE of PRIVATE MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS [and MERCHANTS] resident in CHINA who replied to the Interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Name and Designation.	Reference to Page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of Evidence classed for the sake of Brevity as Favourable, Unfavourable, to the use of Opium, and Doubtful.
	Page.	
1. Dr. H. Layng, Private Medical Practitioner, Swatow - - -	215	Unfavourable.
2. Dr. A. Rennie " " Canton - - -	216	Favourable.
3. Dr. J. M. Young " " Peking - - -	232	Doubtful.
4. Dr. F. J. Burge " " Shanghai - - -	245	Unfavourable.
5. Dr. W. J. Milles " " " - - -	252	Favourable.
6. Dr. C. Lalcaca " " " - - -	253	Do.
7. Dr. C. Begg " " Hankow - - -	291	Do.
8. Mr. T. Gillison, in charge of a Hospital, Hankow - - -	296	Unfavourable.
9. Dr. C. S. Tenill, Private Medical Practitioner, Hainan, has not answered the questions himself, but observes that the Rev. Mr. Jeremiassen, who holds strong anti-opium views, has rather underestimated than over-estimated the evil effects of opium-smoking.	318	Do.
10. Dr. B. C. Atterbury, Peking - - -	231	Do.

II. C.—List classifying the EVIDENCE of MEDICAL OFFICERS of HER MAJESTY'S CONSULATES and the CHINESE IMPERIAL MARITIME CUSTOMS who replied to the Interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

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

The above lists characterise the opinions of 22 medical men resident in China in regard to the use of opium, as follows :—

Favourable 8. Doubtful 5. Unfavourable 9.

But the above classification adopted by the Indian Government deliberately excludes from consideration nearly half the medical witnesses.

In making a purely *ex parte* statement the Indian Government may, or may not, have been at liberty thus to manipulate the evidence collected by the Royal Commission, but certainly the Royal Commissioners were not at liberty to do anything of the kind. They were bound to consider all the evidence laid before them, and I now append a third list, drawn up by myself, in which the facts of medical evidence that the Indian Government has thought fit to ignore, are stated. I would first call attention to a very important fact, viz., that the private medical practitioners and medical officers of Her Majesty's Consulates to whose evidence the Indian Government attaches so much weight are men whose main professional duties are attendance upon *Europeans* who, admittedly, do not touch opium! Some of these gentlemen outside of, and in addition to, their private medical practice, or their official duties, do take some hospital practice among the Chinese, but this is not true of all. On the other hand, in the list of medical practitioners I am now about to give, there is not one whose main and almost exclusive duty is not attendance on Chinese patients. Most of them have hospitals, and are treating every day the very class of people who are most concerned in this inquiry—*Chinamen*, who either have been, are, or may become, opium-smokers.

Above classification excludes 18 witnesses out of 40.

An *ex parte* statement.

A Royal Commission bound to consider all the evidence laid before it.

Private practitioners and Consular medical officer not primarily concerned with Chinese patients.

Medical missionaries and their patients.

III.—LIST of MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS (omitted from the Blue Book of Correspondence regarding the Opium Report) who replied to the Interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION on OPIUM. All of these are practicing among the CHINESE.

Name and Designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of Evidence classed for the sake of Brevity as Favourable, Unfavourable, to the use of Opium, and Doubtful.
	Page.	
1. Dr. John E. Kuhne, M.B.C.M.Ed., "A German medical missionary who has a very wide experience," Tungkum.	220	Unfavourable.
2. Dr. J. M. Swan, Physician and Surgeon to the Canton Hospital	222	Do.
3. Dr. John Dudgeon, Peking	229	Do.
4. Miss A. K. Marston, L.K.Q.C.P.I., Medical Mission to Women and Children, Peking.	236	Do.
5. Dr. Cousland, "Eight years' experience," Ch'ao-chow-fu	240	Do.
6. Dr. G. A. Cox, "Seventh Year in China," Chinkiang	258	Do.
7. Dr. D. Christie, arrived in China 1882, U.P. Mission, Moukden	275	Do.
8. Dr. Horder, C.M.S., Pakhoi	290	Do.
9. Dr. S. R. Hodge, seven years in charge of Wesleyan Mission work, Hankow.	295	Do.
10. Dr. I. Rigg, C.M.S. Kien-Ning-Fu, Foochow	297	Do.
11. Dr. R. Swallow, Ningpo	308	Do.
12. Dr. A. W. Douthwaite, 20 years engaged in practice of Medicine among the Chinese, Chefoo.	283	Do.
13. Dr. H. W. Boone, 13½ years in charge of Hospital, Shanghai	331	Do.
14. Dr. G. A. Stuart, Wuhu General Hospital, Wuhu	332	Do.
15. Dr. R. Beebe, Philander Smith Memorial Hospital, Nanking	334	Do.
16. Dr. Jellison, ditto ditto ditto	334	Do.
17. Dr. Davenport, London Mission Hospital, Chungking	341	Do.
18. Dr. Percy Mathews, Shanghai	329	Favourable.

Total analysis of medical evidence from China.

The above list shows the opinions of 18 medical men resident in China, all engaged in Chinese practice, in regard to the use of opium to be as follows:—Favourable, 1; unfavourable, 17.

Adding these figures to those given before, we have—

Medical witnesses "Unfavourable" to use of opium	-	-	26
Ditto "Favourable" ditto	-	-	9
Ditto "Doubtful"	-	-	5
Total	-	-	40

A comparison of these facts with the Commissioners' statement above that "the medical opinions were in general accord with those of the Consular body" renders comment almost unnecessary.

The above figures totally contradict the Report.

The figures just given speak for themselves, and tell their own tale as to the trustworthiness of the Report of the Commission on Opium presented to Parliament. I leave the subject of the medical testimony with these remarks: 1st. It is significant that the two quotations given by the Commissioners from medical witnesses (Dr. Rennie and Dr. Percy Mathews), and their particular reference to the answers of another witness (Dr. Myers), all direct attention to the same aspect of the opium question, viz., the "favourable" view of it, which view is taken by *only 9 out of the 40 witnesses* who gave medical evidence in China. 2ndly. No more striking illustration of the perverse ingenuity of this method of appealing to special witnesses in support of the "favourable" view can be found than the following. In Vol. V., pp. 329–332, the evidence of two witnesses is printed consecutively, who both belonged to the same Mission and were living in the same place. One witness (Dr. P. Mathews) tells the Commission he has had *six years' experience* (p. 329, Ans. 1); the other witness (Dr. Boone) tells them he has had charge of a hospital for *13½ years* (p. 332, Ans. 20).

How a medical witness was selected as a special authority.

The first of these witnesses is at variance with the great body of medical men in China in the opinions he expresses on the opium question, and is the only medical missionary who holds those opinions. The second witness has had more than twice Dr. Mathews' experience in China, and is, moreover, in accord with the general opinion of the medical profession in China. The Commissioners deliberately choose the junior man for quotation as a special authority on the subject, and pass the senior by. What is the reason? 3rdly. In dealing with this medical evidence the Commissioners wholly ignore the memorial signed by 5,000 medical men in Great Britain and the other weighty medical opinions quoted by Dr. Maxwell in his evidence given in London (*see above*, p. 33). Those 5,000 men all said they were of opinion "that the habit of opium smoking or of opium eating is morally and physically bad." Thus their testimony entirely supports the testimony of the great majority of the medical witnesses in China. Why, then, do the Commissioners go out of their way to emphasise specially the testimony of that small minority who said the opposite?

Here the Commissioners finish their account of the evidence submitted to them, but the evidence itself does not stop here. Another very important class of witnesses gave evidence, viz., the Chinese. Attention has already been called to the fact that Chinamen, like other Orientals, when they are interrogated by Europeans, often answer as they suppose the questioner wishes them to do. Here, with two or three exceptions,* no questioner came before the witness, only a paper of questions. The Chinaman was not tempted, except in two or three cases, to consider what he was expected to say, he spoke as he thought. It is most instructive to notice what under these circumstances he said. Further, several European witnesses put in as evidence various extracts from non-Christian Chinese books bearing on the opium habit.

I append two lists showing the character of all this evidence, the first gives a list of the living witnesses, the second a list of the quotations from Chinese books.

I. LIST showing the OPINIONS of CHINESE WITNESSES, resident in the CHINESE EMPIRE, who replied to the Interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Name or Description of Witness.	Reference to Page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of Evidence classed for the sake of Brevity as Favourable, Unfavourable, and Doubtful.
1. A Chinese General, Canton	Page 222	Unfavourable.
2. Old Chinese Clerk, H.B.M. Consulate, Canton	223	Do.
3. Answers of a Chinese residing in Canton; obtained by Mr. Litton*	223	Favourable.
4. Another Chinese; obtained by Mr. Hare*	225	Do.
5. Yu Keng Pak, a Chinese Graduate	227	Unfavourable.
6. Wong Chuk Kwan	227	Do.
7. Lin Han Fang, Intendant of Circuit	280	Do.
8. Lu Pao Yü, Writer in Chefoo Consulate	281	Do.
9. Ku Hung Ming, Interpreter to Viceroy of Hukwang	294	Do.
10. Sheng Fu Hwai, Sub-Prefect	300	Doubtful.
11. Hu Li Yüan	314	Unfavourable.

* In the two cases in which answers were given through a European, they were pro-opium! But the interpreter, in one case at least, was apparently pro-opium. This comes out in the answer obtained from a Chinaman by Mr. Litton to Q. 15. "People sometimes say it would be a good thing to suppress opium, but there is no general public opinion to that effect. Some people will not allow opium to be smoked in their shops. *Agreed to my suggestion (i.e., to Mr. Litton's prompting) that some persons regarded opium much as a strict Methodist in England would regard theatres or cards.*" Vol. V., p. 224. Much a Chinaman knows of what strict Methodists in England think of theatres and cards!

The above list shows the following results. Chinese witnesses favourable to opium, 2. Doubtful, 1. Unfavourable, 8. It may be observed that some of the unfavourable witnesses speak very strongly indeed on the subject. Here are some specimens of their evidence. They should be read in connexion with the questions to which they are answers. *See above*, p. 11.

1. A Chinese General :—

Those who take to smoking always do so in order to cheer their spirits and feel comfortable. They begin with small quantities, but in time it affects their health and destroys their complexion. The pseudo pleasure is obtained at the expense of natural contentment. As years go on the craving increases. Vol. V., p. 222.

For some inscrutable reason Heaven has sent down this curse; in the interest of the race I earnestly pray that the plans of Heaven may be changed. Vol. V., p. 223.

2. Old Chinese clerk, H.B.M. Consulate, Canton :—

Smokers of many years' standing, feeling that the habit enslaves them, would like to give it up; but they fear that it might injure their health, and they hesitate. It is only those who are wealthy and without worldly cares that look upon opium-smoking as harmless. Vol. V., p. 223.

5. Yu Keng Pak :—

6. All, except those who take opium as a remedy for illness, are bound to go to excess in time.

8. The effect of opium is incomparably greater [*i.e.*, than the effect of alcohol]. How can China help being weak? Those who discuss the opium trade say that it does incalculable harm to China; it is from it that China is reduced to poverty and weakness. What can be urged in excuse by the party that at once gets the profit and does the injury? Surely England must shrink from the judgment that is passed on her behind her back. Surely she cannot bear to sit and see the people of a friendly country injured by herself without even stretching out a helping hand. Vol. V., p. 227.

8. Lu Pao Yü, official writer at H.B.M. Consulate, Chefoo :—

5. Ten per cent. of opium-smokers smoke without injury, about 20 per cent. with slight injury, and 70 per cent. with great injury. When the rich and well-to-do of the upper classes have the opium craving, they only spend too much money on it, but otherwise are not injured in their affairs. The second class of men, that is to say, traders and merchants on a large scale, who have the opium craving, may spend too much on opium, and yet their profits are enough for their own wants. But artisans and coolies who have

the opium craving suffer in a manner indescribable. If they cannot procure the drug they have a running at the eyes and nose. Their limbs become weak and feeble. They must satisfy their craving before they can do anything. They look on this as more important than their food. To be without opium is to them worse than being without food. They earn but little wages, out of which they have to get their opium and their food. An evil of this sort is immeasurable. Vol. V., p. 281.

9. Ku Hung Ming, Interpreter to the Viceroy of Hukwang :—

3. The effect "morally" is to make them capable of any meanness and crime, except those for which physical courage and animal spirits are necessary. "Physically" it takes all the stamina out of them for any sustained exertion, whether physical or mental, and "socially" it makes them unsuccessful for life; (b) opium-smokers say they require less of the foreign drug to satisfy their craving.

5.—(i.) None, except perhaps in the early stage of the habit.

(ii.) and (iii.) The injury is more or less according to the quantity taken, and the length of time the habit has been acquired, as the victim is constitutionally strong or weak, and especially as he is well or insufficiently fed. Over and above the injury they do themselves it will not be out of place to call attention to the enormous amount of misery which opium smokers in China bring upon their family, women and children, who depend upon them for support. Vol. V., p. 294.

II.—LIST OF REFERENCES TO CHINESE BOOKS OR PROVERBIAL SAYINGS given by WITNESSES
All these are strongly unfavourable. Not one quotation from a Chinese book favourable to opium was adduced by any witness.

1. Translation of Chinese book, put in by Mr. Broomhall. (Vol. I., Q. 536.)
2. Quotation of common Cantonese sayings, put in by Mr. Stewart Lockhart, Registrar-General, Hong Kong. (Vol. I., Q., 1380.)
3. Two pamphlets written by well-meaning Heathen Chinese, put in by Dr. Kuhne. (Vol. V., A. 3., p. 220.)
4. Three Chinese authors quoted by Dr. Griffith John. (Vol. V., p. 265, A. 9 and 15.)
Dr. John says, "I might go on to quote indefinitely from the popular literature of the Chinese and from official proclamations in order to show that the opium habit is utterly condemned by the general opinion of the Nation." (*Ibid.*)
5. The Anti-foreign Literature of Hunan is referred to by Dr. John as "full of the severest denunciations against us as the originators of the Opium vice in China." (*Ibid.*)
6. Cp. Reference to a Native Book, by Rev. G. Andrew. (Vol. V., p. 258, A. 15.)

[N.B.—Official proclamations, either recognising the cultivation of the poppy or recognising opium as a source of revenue, may be seen in some parts of China. Cp. Consul Warren's evidence, Vol. V., p. 291, A. 15. Such proclamations indicate the pecuniary needs of the authorities (Cp. the phrase "financial interests of India"), not the popular feeling and sentiment of China.]

All the above evidence, showing Chinese opinion on the opium habit, is wholly ignored by the Commissioners in their review of the evidence from China. Is it unimportant? Then, why did they specially suggest that their questions should be put into the hands of natives? But whose evidence, we may ask, is important in the eyes of the Commissioners, if it is anti-opium in character?

The Commissioners entirely ignore all the Chinese evidence.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

141. *On a review of the whole evidence in regard to opium-smoking among the Chinese, we conclude that the habit is generally practised in moderation, and that when so practised, the injurious effects are not apparent; but that when the habit is carried to excess, disastrous consequences, both moral and physical, inevitably follow. Assuming this conclusion to be well founded, we may fairly compare the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese population to those of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom.* (Vol. VI., p. 51.)

General conclusions as to the effects of the opium habit on the Chinese.

End of Extract.

This final "review of the whole evidence" is, of course, what one would have expected after following, as we have now done, the various steps by which the Commissioners have traversed the evidence to come to their conclusion. Let us sum up the principal data afforded by the evidence from China and see how far they support the decision which the Commissioners here announce.

"The whole evidence" from China includes answers to the Commissioners' questions sent in by exactly 134 persons.* Witnesses giving evidence in London are not here classified, but the large majority of them were strongly unfavourable to the use of opium.

Of the witnesses in China, 40 were medical men; 34 were missionaries (non-medical); 23 were connected with the Consular Service; 11 were Chinese; 26 were merchants or men (not Chinese) engaged in business pursuits.

Summary of China witnesses.

We have seen above (pp. 23, 24) the exceeding difficulty of classifying witnesses in the exact terms here employed by the Commissioners, and that the Indian Government has in its Blue Book adopted a more intelligible and satisfactory classification of witnesses, dividing them in regard to their opinions on the effects of opium consumption in China into three classes "favourable," "unfavourable," and "doubtful." Everybody, practically admits that "when the habit is carried to excess, disastrous consequences, both moral and physical, inevitably follow." The question now is, what opinions do the witnesses hold in regard to opium-smoking *apart from* the disastrous consequences that are manifest in *certain extreme cases*? Looking at the general tendency of the opium-habit on the regular consumer in China, and on the nation at large, is the result good, neutral, or bad?

I. What is the *Medical* opinion in China on this question?

1. Medical.

To that inquiry the answer is given above (p. 28).

Unfavourable, 26. Favourable, 9. Doubtful, 5.

II. What is the *Missionary* (non-medical) opinion in China on this question?

2. Missionary.

Unfavourable, 33. Favourable, 0. Doubtful, 1.

There is some variety of opinion in the missionary community as to the extent of the injury done by opium to the Chinese. This is to be accounted for in part by the

* One witness from Chungking sent in answers that are unsigned, three witnesses from Macao, which has no more to do with China than Hong Kong has, also sent in answers. None of these four are reckoned in the above statement.

different conditions under which the witnesses have lived, for opium-consumption is not nearly so common in some parts of China as in others, in part by the greater or lesser opportunities for close contact with the people which the different missionary witnesses have had.

A memorial from senior British missionaries.

But one document of great importance not alluded to by the Commissioners, is printed in the Appendix to this book, which may be said to represent the united opinion of the missionary community. This is signed by seventeen British missionaries in China of 25 or more years standing, of whom no less than seven did not give other evidence before the Commission. Thus the missionary witnesses are increased to forty-one. This document, which was drawn up with great caution and moderation of tone, does not, perhaps go as far as some of the signatories have gone in their personal testimony given separately. In that very fact its strength lies. It may be safely said that there are not more two or three missionaries in China who would hesitate for a moment to assent to every proposition which that document contains. It is a calm, temperate, but scathing condemnation of the whole opium trade, by the leading missionaries in China, speaking as the representatives of all the societies, English, American, German, and Scandinavian. On no other point affecting Chinese social customs, and opinions, and practices, would the united testimony of such men be set aside. Then why should it be on this point?

Unique experience of signatories.

The names of the Right Rev. J. S. Burdon, Bishop of Hong Kong, the Right Rev. G. E. Moule, Bishop of the Church of England in Mid-China, the Ven. Archdeacon Moule, the Ven. Archdeacon Wolfe, both of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. John Chalmers, D.D., the Rev. Griffith John, D.D., the Rev. Wm. Muirhead, D.D., the Rev. J. Macgowan, all of the London Missionary Society, the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, of the China Inland Mission; the Rev. H. L. Mackenzie, of the Presbyterian Mission, the Rev. David Hill, of the Wesleyan Mission, not to mention others, are all of them well-known far beyond the limits of the Chinese Empire. Some of them are widely known as eminent Chinese scholars. There is not, in the whole Consular service, or amongst all the medical men in China, one person who has spent as many years of his life in China as some of these missionaries have done; neither is there one who has had so wide and varied an experience of life amongst the Chinese people as some of them. Yet the Commissioners pass this document by entirely. On the other hand, they quote at length from a pro-opium memorial presented to them in Calcutta by the Bishop of that diocese and a number of Indian missionaries and chaplains, few, if any, of whom could lay claim to a tithe of the experience in India, that the Bishops of Hong Kong and Mid-China, and these other missionaries in the Far East have had in China. Can such treatment of such evidence be deemed judicial or impartial?

The document ignored by the Commission.

3. Consular.

III. What is the Consular evidence in China on the question before us?

This inquiry has been fully dealt with above (*see pp. 23-25*). Including five consuls, who were appealed to for evidence by the Commissioners, and did not see fit to give any, we find the consuls and acting consuls of China may be classified thus in regard to their opinions:—

18 per cent. express no opinion.

37 per cent. either "regard opium as a serious evil," or "give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit."

45 per cent. are "favourable," but with serious modifications of opinion on the part of four out of the twelve witnesses belonging to this class.

4. Chinese.

IV. What is the Chinese evidence on this question?

Unfavourable, 8. Favourable, 2. Doubtful, 1.

In addition to this evidence a number of quotations from Chinese popular books were put in, *all of them* strongly unfavourable. Further, the majority of witnesses of all kinds who gave evidence from China admit, in answer to the Commissioners' ninth question, that Chinese opinion condemns the opium habit.

There remains finally the evidence of merchants and others.

5. Mercantile and sundry.

V. What is the evidence of the merchants and men engaged in business pursuits?

As other witnesses have been tabulated, I here tabulate these, dividing them—on data supplied in the Blue Book (Vol. V.)—into two classes:—

1st. Those of whom we are told that they either are, or have been, themselves engaged in the opium trade.

2ndly. Those concerning whom no information is given in regard to this point. Some of them may have been directly or indirectly interested in the opium trade, or they may not.

CLASS I.

Name.	Reference to Page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of Evidence classed for the sake of Brevity as Favourable or Unfavourable to the Use of Opium, and Doubtful.
1. Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, and Co.	Page 254	Favourable.
2. Messrs. D. Sassoon, Sons, and Co.	255	Do.
3. Messrs. E. D. Sassoon and Co.	255	Do.
4. Mr. T. W. Duff (<i>see</i> p. 258, col. 1)	259	Do.
5. Mr. P. M. Sangar (<i>see</i> p. 310, col. 2)	312	Do.
6. Mr. E. Starkey (<i>see</i> p. 258, col. 1)	261	Unfavourable.

CLASS II.

7. Mr. J. D. Monro, Swatow	215	Unfavourable.
8. Mr. W. S. Wetmore, Shanghai	246	Doubtful.
9. General W. Mesny, Shanghai	247	Favourable.
10. Captain J. P. McEwen, Shanghai	250	Do.
11. Mr. James McKie, Shanghai	252	Do.
12. Mr. Robert Francis, Shanghai	253	Do.
13. Mr. T. Weatherston, Chinkiang	262	Do.
14. Mr. W. Des Troix, Newchwang	268	Do.
15. Mr. F. F. Lavers, Chefoo	281	Doubtful.
16. Mr. Chas. Schlee, Kiukiang	300	Favourable.
17. Mr. Mirrill, Ningpo	306	Unfavourable.
18. Mr. F. Cass, Amoy	310	Do.
19. Mr. F. Leyburn, Amoy	311	Favourable.
20. Mr. G. W. Price, Amoy	311	Do.
21. Mr. Juddell, Hoihow	316	Do.
22. Mr. Ashton, Tamsui	322	Do.
23. Mr. J. Mannich, Taiwan	329	Do.
24. Mr. A. G. Carruthers, Chungking	339	Do.
25. Mr. J. A. Kerr, Chungking	339	Do.
26. Mr. Archibald J. Little, Chungking	341	Doubtful.

In the above lists I have, in every instance, followed the classification given by the Indian Government where that was available. A few names that they have omitted I have inserted. The total result is as follows:—

Unfavourable, 4. Favourable, 19. Doubtful, 3.

Of those witnesses who are "favourable," 26 per cent. at least, perhaps more, either are, or have been, deeply committed to the opium trade. How many of the Merchant class of witnesses can either speak or read the Chinese language, or have even the most superficial acquaintance with the manners, customs, and opinions of the Chinese people, it is impossible to say. General W. Mesny is, I think, the only one for whom any claim to special knowledge of this kind is made. He has undeniably had a very extensive experience of Chinese life.

His evidence, however, though I have marked it "favourable," contains several important reservations, *e.g.*, "half the users of opium do so without injury to themselves." "An opium-smoker will, no doubt, sell all his property as well as his wife and children in order to procure opium to satisfy his inordinate craving for the drug." "It is no doubt a great pity that the Chinese should be so addicted to opium." General Mesny also admits that he himself has been an opium-smoker and got cured. "It is an act, however, which requires a good deal of determination, hence the reason so many fail to attain their object." Vol. V., p. 247.

So much for the Commissioners' review of the whole evidence (from China) in regard to opium-smoking among the Chinese. That any lawyer, or persons accustomed to weighing evidence and wishing to come only to conclusions supported by

that evidence, would, on the data here given, have come to the conclusion that the Commissioners have come to, it is impossible for a moment to suppose. Enough has been said above (pp. 17-21) on their review of the evidence taken in London. Both that evidence and the evidence from China is, as a whole, overwhelmingly opposed to the conclusions here adopted by the Commission.

Alcohol and
opium.

But another statement needs to be considered: "Assuming the conclusion to be well-founded, we may fairly compare the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese population to those of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom."

I pass by now without remark the fallacy so commonly held by the pro-opium party in England and in China, and here endorsed by the Commissioners, viz., that if opium-smoking is no more disastrous to the Chinese than the use of alcoholic liquors is in the United Kingdom, we need not trouble ourselves about it. Is it, then, superfluous for any nation to aspire to be more virtuous than the English people, even in regard to a matter where our national faults are most obvious and most discreditable to us?

That seems to be the argument underlying these references to the alcohol habit in the United Kingdom.

But let me call attention now to one or two points in regard to which the evidence from China shows plainly that *there is no true parallel* between the use of opium and the use of alcohol.

Opium and
suicide.

1. Who has ever heard of alcohol being used in this country for suicide? But *opium* is commonly used for this purpose in China. Take the following specimens of evidence on this point.

20. Les Chinois se servent assez fréquemment de l'opium pour se suicider. Le suicide est chose fréquente en Chine, et l'opium cru est le moyen ordinaire dont les Chinois se servent. Je pourrais citer un bon nombre de cas. (Rev. H. Moisan, S.J., Wuhu, Vol. V., p. 333.)

A decoction of opium is frequently used by persons who desire to commit suicide. Seventy-seven such cases in one small district were brought to our notice last year (1893). (Rev. H. I. Brown, Chefoo, Vol. V., p. 284.)

Opium is frequently taken as a poison, and suicide in this district has greatly increased since the drug has been introduced. (Mr. E. Starkey, Chinkiang, Vol. V., p. 262.)

20. The Chinese unanimously assert that suicides have become enormously more frequent of late years, owing to the facility of obtaining opium. (Dr. Lynch, Chinkiang, Vol. V., p. 261.)

The facility for suicide afforded by the unrestricted sale of the drug has rendered such cases very frequent. (Dr. Hodge, Hankow, Vol. V., p. 295.)

20. I should like to call attention to the evil of opium as an agent used by the Chinese to destroy their own lives. In former days the Chinese popular methods of committing suicide were hanging, strangling, and drowning. Now it is opium-poisoning, a far easier and more convenient way. I am satisfied, from all I hear and see, that suicide is much more common in China now than it used to be, and that this is to be ascribed to the advantages of the new method as compared with the old. (Rev. Dr. Griffith John, Hankow, Vol. V., p. 265.)

20. Suicides by swallowing opium, now so easily obtained, have become painfully common, and are said to be yearly on the increase. Again and again have I been called to try to save men in the agonies of death. (Rev. Dr. Corbett, Chefoo, Vol. V., p. 286.)

Many other witnesses testify to the fact that opium is thus used in China. See, e.g., the following, all in Vol. V., Rev. E. Bryant, p. 238; Dr. Jamieson, Shanghai, p. 244; Consul M. F. A. Fraser, p. 289; Consul Warren, p. 291; Consul Brown, p. 299; Dr. Cox, p. 332; Dr. Jellison, p. 334; Consul E. H. Fraser, p. 338; Dr. Davenport, p. 340; Consul Ford, p. 309; Dr. Burge, p. 245; Dr. Dudgeon, p. 231; Chinese witness, p. 225.

Only one witness, so far as I have been able to discover, represents opium suicides in China as being rare. That witness is Dr. Percy Matthews. (Vol. V., p. 329.) Only two opium suicides came directly under his cognizance during the six years of his residence in China! Yet this is the witness the Commissioners select as being one whose large experience entitles his evidence to special consideration!

In India, the Commission took up this question of suicide, and they announce in their Report that they "do not find that opium is to be credited with any special prominence in the history of these unfortunate occurrences." Vol. VI., p. 2, par. 73. It would have been only candid if in their China Report, they had taken up the same question, and had pointed out that nearly all the evidence from China pointed in an opposite direction as regards the Chinese suicides.

2. Another point in which it is evident that the effects of opium in China are very different from those of alcohol in the United Kingdom, comes out in the following quotations from witnesses in China:—

"As long as the smoking of opium in China is tolerated, the people will remain inert, and will thus never be a danger to other nations in Asia." (Mr. E. Starkey, Chinkiang, Vol. V., p. 261, Ans. 20.)

"Ask a Chinese which would win in a fight, a regiment of men allowed to smoke, or one of similar men who were prevented from doing so, and he will laugh at the simplicity of the question." (Consul Bullock, Newchwang, Vol. V., p. 266, Ans. 3.)

"There does not seem much hope for the rejuvenescence of China so long as this terrible evil remains in their midst." (Dr. Dudgeon, Peking, Vol. V., p. 231, Ans. 20.)

20. I regard the use of opium in the Yang-tsze Valley as a most serious drawback to the improvement of the condition of the people. It is the cause of great poverty and untold misery. No well-wisher of the Chinese can see without sorrow and dismay the inroads which opium is making among the people. If the habit continues to spread, I regard the Chinese race as doomed to decrepitude, there can be no hope of general social improvement or of physical and intellectual vigour among a race of opium-smokers. (Mr. J. Jackson, Kiukiang, Vol. V., p. 302.)

Opium and
national decay.

See also a quotation from a Chinese man of letters, Yü-Keng-Pak, given above (p. 30), the evidence of Dr. Douthwaite, Vol. V., p. 284, Ans. 20, of Rev. E. S. Little, Vol. V., p. 302, and of Consul Hurst, Vol. V., p. 323, Ans. 8.

It is manifest to every one that the opium habit in China of which such disastrous things are predicated as have been quoted above, must be a *totally different habit* from the habit of consuming alcoholic liquors which prevails in the United Kingdom. It is true that at certain points the two habits touch and have common ground. It is equally true that at other points the habits are separated by a wide gulf. Some medical men in England would advise their friends, even when in good health, to take a glass of beer or of wine with their dinner every day. But what medical man in his senses would advise anyone in health to take a daily dose of laudanum? This essential difference between opium consumption and alcohol consumption was clearly brought before the Commissioners again and again, but they will hear of nothing that would upset their theory, viz., "that opium-smoking in China is on the whole parallel to the consumption of alcohol in England," contradicted though that theory is by almost the unanimous opinion of medical men in England, and by the bulk of the evidence from China.

Beer or wine,
and laudanum.

Had the Commissioners weighed the considerations to which attention has now been drawn, they could never have described as being on the whole parallel, two lines which after running parallel for a certain distance, then diverge altogether the one from the other never to come near one another again.

I pass by all the remaining paragraphs of Section IV. of the Report till we come to the last two. Again and again the Commissioners have approached the "moral aspects" of the whole question, and just as frequently have they shrunk back from treating it on purely moral grounds. They end their review in the spirit in which it has been carried on from the outset. Expediency, and not morality is, after all, the rule of action which they adopt, and by that they decide the case.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

148. Upon the whole matter, we adopt as our own the conclusion of Mr. O'Connor, Your Majesty's Minister at Peking:—

"If the use of the drug in China depended upon the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could or ought to be taken to discourage its importation. But, in my opinion, this is not the issue. The quantity of opium produced in China is increasing enormously; even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout, I may say, 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." Vol. VI., p. 53.

End of Extract.

That is, in plain English, if our doing right would altogether remove from China the evil which opium entails upon her, we might consider the question of doing right. "But in my opinion this is not the issue." The Chinese Government is increasing the evil every year, and showing itself more and more indifferent to the existence of the evil. If the Indian Government surrendered its share in the profits resulting from this evil, China would get them instead. This being so, let us go on as before. Such is the conclusion which, upon the whole matter, the Commissioners adopt as their own.

Once more they fall back on missionary witnesses to give some countenance to them in their conclusions, but in vain. The missionaries quoted will be no parties to any such conclusions.

Extract from Commissioners' Report.

149. We may add that this view is shared by most of the missionaries who have answered our interrogatories. We quote the following replies to our question: "If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, what would be the effect on opium consumers in China?"

Dr. Dudgeon:—

"At present it would be without any effect; the smokers would smoke more of the native." (V., p. 230.)

Dr. Atterbury:—

"The stoppage of the Indian supply would lead to increased use of the native article." (V., p. 232.)

The Rev. Dr. Griffith John:—

"The opium-consumers in that case would resort to the Chinese-grown opium, that is, unless the growth of the native article were effectually stopped by the Chinese Government." (V., p. 265.)

The Rev. J. Macintyre:—

"We are already independent of Indian opium in Manchuria. The Chinese article has run out the foreign. . . . Now that the Chinese Government has legalised the growth of native opium, the quantity cultivated is already more than suffices for local consumption." (V., p. 272.) (Vol. VI. p. 53.)

End of Extract.

"This view is shared by most of the missionaries who have answered our interrogatories." What view? Certainly not the view enunciated by Sir N. O'Connor in the quotation given by the Commissioners which amounts to this—that the moral question is not the real issue, that it is after all only a question whether the Chinese Government will do right, and that if they will not, the Indian Government need not do right either! What the missionaries quoted say, and what many others say, is that they scarcely expect the Chinese Government now to act rightly in this matter, *but that this fact will not justify us in following suit and declining on our part also to do what is right.* I print here in full the testimony of the missionaries to whom in the above paragraph the Commissioners have appealed, and I leave my readers to judge for themselves of the methods of quotation here adopted by the Royal Commission on Opium. With these quotations the Commissioners end the section of their Report that deals with China, and with this correction and amplification of their quotations I will end my criticism thereof:—

Dr. Dudgeon, as quoted by the Commissioners:—

"At present it would be without any effect; the smokers would smoke more of the native."

Dr. Dudgeon as he would wish to be quoted :—

11. "At present it would be without any effect, the smokers would smoke more of the native, *but it was not always so*. The time has not yet come for forming a decision in regard to what action the Chinese Government or high officials would take in the event of the Indian supply being cut off. We know what it would have been previous to the cultivation of the native, and before the habit became so extensively prevalent. Judging from the general corruption and the analogy of other matters, it is to

be feared that no action will be taken." (Vol. V., p. 230.)

18. If the native growth in China and that in India are to be stopped, and the common people of both empires saved from misery and final extinction, the two Governments must come to an agreement for mutual prohibition. Heathen China never has said and never will say what India says. "I cannot do without the revenue." (Vol. V., p. 231.)

Dr. Atterbury, as quoted by the Commissioners :

"The stoppage of the Indian supply would lead to increased use of the native article."

Dr. Atterbury as he would wish to be quoted :

11. "The Indian supply is the strongest. Its stoppage would lead to increased use of the native article to make up for loss in quality and quantity."

17. Opium has come to China to stay. The revenue its use creates for a Government which cares but little for the moral condition of its people seemingly precludes all possibility of its being prohibited. The responsibility for its use and cultivation should, however, rest with the Chinese Government, and no Christian Government by special trade regulations should even seemingly seek to increase its use and demoralising effects. Vol. V. p. 232.

The Rev. Dr. Griffith John as quoted by the Commissioners :

"The opium consumers in that case would resort to the Chinese-grown opium, that is, unless the growth of the native article were effectually stopped by the Chinese Government."

The Rev. Dr. Griffith John as he would wish to be quoted :

To the foregoing add this :—

16-19. "I would only observe that it is very difficult to say what the Chinese Government or people might do in the event of the prohibition of the export of Indian opium. Much would depend on the action of the Government. As long as the Indian trade in opium exists, the hands of the Chinese Government are tied and paralysed. They can simply do nothing but allow things to go on from bad to worse. Their best efforts, however sincere and energetic, would prove abortive. If the Indian trade in the drug were abandoned, the Government might make an honest effort to stop the native growth, and the attempt might eventuate in a diminution of the evil, if not in its complete suppression. On this point, however, I have my serious doubts."

. . . . The evil is now one of enormous magnitude, and the venality of the officials is as deep-rooted as ever; and I therefore fear that no legislative measures on the part of the Central Government, however honestly adopted, would put an end to opium-smoking, and consequently to opium-growing in China itself. This, however, is only my opinion; others think differently, and they may be right. But whether the Chinese Government would and could put down the native growth or not, the path of England as a great Christian nation, seems to me to be perfectly clear. It is for us to wash our hands clean of a trade which is unworthy of ourselves and hurtful to the people of China. Vol. V. p. 265.

The Rev. J. Macintyre as quoted by the Commissioners :

"We are already independent of Indian opium in Manchuria. The Chinese article has run out the foreign. . . . Now that the Chinese Government has legalised the growth of the native opium, the quantity cultivated is already more than suffices for local consumption."

The Rev. J. Macintyre as he would wish to be quoted :

To the foregoing add this :

I should like to be allowed to add, without offence, that it would pay the British Government to back out of the opium trade in China. The great mass of the people would really believe us if we put it as a moral question. If we put it as a matter of friendship with China, it would make us an immense force in Chinese politics. I am satisfied we are even now the "favoured

nation." But with this opium question in the air, we give a truculent party a chance of alienating the more friendly disposed. And, as a fact, we are forcing the hand of the Chinese Government, and compelling them to grow opium in order to kick out the trade if it will not go peacefully. Vol. V., p. 273.

AN APPEAL.

In the foregoing pages I have spoken very strongly. The interests of truth have compelled me to do so. The Chinese people have suffered a huge wrong at our hands, and will continue to suffer it as long as we have any share in upholding the opium trade, which is rapidly working China's ruin. It is no answer to say that her rulers are now perfectly willing that we should continue to perpetuate this wrong,—nay, that they are even willing to co-operate with us in perpetuating it, we, in "the interests of Indian finance," they, in the interests of Chinese finance. The

worst results of slavery are felt when an enslaved nation has sunk so low in the scale of humanity as to be perfectly *content* to be a nation of slaves, and when it has lost the ambition, possessed by an earlier generation, to enjoy its liberty. If it be really true that the rulers of China have now fallen as low as they are accused of having done, if it be true that they have at length lost all true sense of moral responsibility for the welfare of their people, and that they would now continue to make money out of the opium habit, even if we withdrew from the trade, what then? Alas! for the Chinese Government. Alas! for the people it governs. It was not always so.

The Report of the Opium Commission must be overthrown. If accepted it will do much to rivet for ever on China the chains which an earlier race of Chinese officials would have broken had they known how to do it. The Commissioners might have done something to break these chains. Their influence has been all in the other direction. I ask nobody to accept any statement I have made concerning the Report without testing it by a comparison with the Blue Books themselves. I have tried, as far as possible, in every case to give references, and have only given quotations in addition to references, because I knew that few, if any, of my readers would look up my references for themselves.

Since the Commission presented its Report, since my examination of the Report was made, China has entered upon a new period in her history. It looks very much as if it were to be a period of gradual disintegration. How has Great Britain treated her in this hour of trial? I have seen but one answer to this question. Everywhere it is acknowledged that we have, as a nation, acted in a way that brings no stain on our honour, no reproach on our national reputation, but on the contrary, in a way that redounds to our credit in every way. The Chinese have every reason to welcome cordially every stipulation that England has made. These stipulations have all been to the best interests of China. It is for China's interest, quite as much as for our interest, and it is to the interest of the world, that the valley of the Yang-tse should be secured against foreign aggression, that Hunan should be opened to foreign trade, that the inland waters of China should be navigated by steamers, that the foreign Customs should still be under the honourable, equitable, and impartial management that they have been under so long. I believe it is for the best interests of China that even Wei-hai-wei should be leased to Great Britain so long as Port Arthur remains in the hands of Russia and Kiao-chow remains in the hands of Germany. Whatever we have gained for British interests by the recent negotiations has been gained in such a way that China gains still more for her own interest, and for maintaining her national integrity and stability. This China recognises. The people as well as their rulers regard us in the present instance as having befriended them. For this let every Englishman, every Scotchman, every Irishman, every Welshman rejoice.

We sometimes boast that as a nation we have a mission in the world, a mission to civilize the uncivilized, to help the weak against the strong, to bring to many races advantages that they would never have apart from us. In the present instance we have justified this claim. But can the same be said of our dealings with China in the past? Could anything be more pathetic than the words of Yü Keng Pak, the Chinese man of letters, whose evidence before the Opium Commission is given in the preceding pages? (*See p. 30.*)

"How can China help being weak? Those [*i.e.* of course, those Chinese] who discuss the opium trade say that it does incalculable harm to China; it is from it that China is reduced to poverty and weakness. What can be urged in excuse by the party that at once gets the profits and does the injury? Surely England must shrink from the judgment that is passed on her behind her back. Surely she cannot bear to sit and see the people of a friendly country injured by herself without even stretching out a helping hand."

It is not Chinamen alone who thus attribute the present weakness of China to the far reaching effects of the opium habit, as will be seen from the evidence quoted in the foregoing pages. Twenty-three years of residence in China have firmly convinced me that nothing can save China unless she can shake herself free from opium. The nation that can help her to do that will be the greatest benefactor she has ever known.

I sometimes wonder what would be the present position of Japan if we had pursued there for the last 40 years the same opium policy that we have pursued in China. I wonder what would now be the position of China if we had pursued there from the beginning the same policy in regard to opium that we have pursued in Japan. Certainly Japan would in the former case never have risen to the position she now

occupies. Certainly China in the latter case would never have fallen to the condition of helplessness in which she now lies.

But does the evidence from China really show that opium is the curse to the Chinese that I have declared it to be? It is vain to quote in proof of the contrary, occasional instances of well-to-do and prosperous opium-smokers who have taken their pipe for many years without "apparent" injury. Even if numbers of such men can be found, it must be remembered that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people are not well-to-do or prosperous, but are maintaining a constant fight with poverty. Concerning *such* people, many of the witnesses most favourable to the opium trade admit that opium is working ruin amongst them. Is it not time that we should as a nation arouse ourselves to execute our civilizing mission in China by helping that distressed people to cope with this giant evil? If the Chinese Government are rightly accused of being parties to their country's demoralisation, then there is all the more need that we who have so vigorously resented the diabolical misrule of the Sultan of Turkey over his subjects, should do what we can to help to save the people of China from the misrule under which in this matter they are suffering. We seem to have been hindered by various considerations from without from helping the Armenians. No hindrance from without will oppose us if we seek to help the Chinese.

But what of our Indian revenue? I answer, the Indian revenue from opium has been gradually shrinking for years. It will go on shrinking till it has finally vanished. The Indian Government is well aware of this fact. Why did not the Commission face it and consider how this constantly diminishing source of revenue is to be replaced? This question must be faced soon. The revenue that we would not part with in order to do right, is melting from us as others come to join us in doing wrong.

What will happen now that Russia has practically got possession of Manchuria, and now that Germany has got a footing in Shantung? I often think with horror of the possibility of Russia and Germany accepting as true the English Commissioners' Report, with its pitiful attempts to minimise the evils of opium-smoking, and thenceforth entering with a light heart into competition with the Indian Government in this miserable trade. What if Russia in Manchuria, and Germany in Shantung, should bring western science and western skill to develop the opium-producing resources of their respective territories, and then, not merely foster the opium habit amongst the Chinese over whom they rule, but also push their trade in other parts of China? They might well plead as their moral justification, if they cared to cover over such a proceeding with a veneer of morality, that the English Royal Commission had with constant and even ostentatious references to the "moral aspects" of the question, examined into the alleged evils of opium consumption and had found that they were very slight. That Russia with its eyes fixed on the "financial interests" of Manchuria could soon wrest a good deal of the opium trade out of the hands of India is certain. Germany, seeking only the "financial interests" of its Shantung dependency, might probably do the same. In both cases it would be to the lasting shame of Great Britain and to the lasting detriment of China. For once in my life I earnestly desire that no trust whatever may be placed in English official representations of an important political question by either Russia or Germany. I confess I do not think that in this instance they are likely to be trusted. The hypocrisy of our defence of the Indian opium trade with China has long been a byword among the other nations of the world, and it is likely to continue to be so as long as the trade itself continues. I have seldom read with deeper feelings of shame any official publication issued in my country than the China Report of the Royal Opium Commission. I trust it will ere long be regarded in its true light by Englishmen generally, and be set aside as a Report that has been utterly discredited because utterly unworthy of credit.

But is it enough that an untrustworthy Report such as this should only be discredited? Does not the honour of the British name require that the whole trade which can only be defended by such means as have been exposed in the foregoing pages, should be at once swept away by a nation jealous of its reputation as a civilized, a humane, and a Christian people?

ARNOLD FOSTER,

of the London Missionary Society,

Hankow, China.

APPENDIX.

Memorial presented to the Royal Commission on Opium by British Missionaries in China of 25 or more years standing.

WE, the undersigned British missionaries, representing different societies labouring in nearly every province of China, and having all of us had for many years abundant opportunities of observing the effects of opium-smoking upon the Chinese people, beg to lay before the Royal Commission on Opium the following statement of facts in reference to this question :—

1. We believe it to be a fact established beyond possibility of reasonable doubt that the consumption of opium in China is exerting a distinctly deteriorating effect upon the Chinese people, physically, socially, and morally. Statements to this effect have been repeatedly made in Blue Books and other official documents, on the authority of British officials of high standing, and they are entirely corroborated by our own personal observation. The Protestant missionary body in China has twice by its representatives assembled in conference, and including men of various nationalities and of many different churches, unanimously passed resolutions condemning emphatically the use of opium by the Chinese for other than medicinal purposes, and deploring the connexion of Great Britain with the opium trade. (See "The Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai," 1877, and ditto, 1890.)

2. It is a fact which cannot be reasonably disputed that the conscience of the Chinese people as a whole is distinctly opposed to the opium habit. It is continually classed, in common conversation, and in books, with fornication and gambling. Sir Rutherford Alcock, sometime Her Majesty's Minister in China, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, spoke of "the universality of the belief among the Chinese that whenever a man takes to smoking opium it will probably be the impoverishment and ruin of his family—a popular feeling which is universal both amongst those who are addicted to it, who always consider themselves as moral criminals, and amongst those who abstain from it." (See Report, East India Finance, 1871 (363), page 275. 5738.) We ourselves have never met with Chinamen who defended the practice as morally harmless, but we have heard it unsparingly condemned by the Chinese times without number. The missions with which we are respectively associated invariably refuse to admit opium-smokers to church membership, but in so doing they are only acting in accordance with the general sentiment of the Chinese, Christian and non-Christian alike, which always stigmatizes the habit of opium-smoking as vicious.

3. It is a fact that the opium trade, though now no longer contraband, is highly injurious, not only to China, but also to the fair name of Great Britain. The past history and the present enormous extent of the opium trade with India produces, as we can testify from personal experience, suspicion and dislike in the minds of the Chinese people towards foreigners in general. On the other hand, the attitude of hostility towards opium which foreign missionaries are known to maintain is approved and duly appreciated by the Chinese of all classes, as we have often found in our intercourse with the people.

4. It is an indisputable fact that the opium imported from India is neither required for medicinal purposes in China nor generally used for these purposes, and hence we regard the importation as being wholly prejudicial to the well-being of the Chinese people.

In view of these facts the undersigned venture respectfully to express the earnest hope that the Royal Commissioners will embody in their Report a united recommendation to Her Majesty that the Indian Government should immediately restrict the Indian production of opium to the supply of what is needed for medicinal purposes in India and elsewhere. With our long and sad experience of the injurious effects of opium-consumption on the Chinese people, we cannot but feel the gravest apprehensions as to what the effects of the opium habit in other lands are likely to be. We are quite aware that some medical and other testimony has been given in India designed to show that the consumption of opium by the peoples of India is not accompanied with the same disastrous consequences that we have all witnessed for ourselves in China, but we are glad to know that strong testimony has also been given in India of a contrary kind, for we are of opinion that a longer and wider range of experience will certainly show that opium is as injurious to all other races as it has been proved to be to the Chinese. Opium is rightly classed in England amongst dangerous poisons, and it is so regarded in other countries, and we cannot believe that what is a dangerous poison to the greater part of the human race acts only as a harmless stimulant on

other parts of the race. We are convinced that if ever the day should come when opium is as widely consumed in India as it is now in China the result will be as lamentable there as we know it to be here

In submitting this memorial, which we believe expresses the opinion of nearly every Protestant missionary in China, without distinction of nation or church, and of the whole native Protestant Christian community, consisting now of several tens of thousands of persons, we beg to say that we are actuated by feelings of the deepest loyalty to Her Majesty the Empress of India, and by the most profound desire for the truest welfare of her Indian dominions, not less than by the desire to see the curse of opium removed from China. We hold as beyond all shadow of doubt the conviction that thrones and dominions are established by righteousness, and that any source of revenue, however large, that is morally indefensible, tends only in the end to the weakening of the empire and the impoverishment of its resources.

J. S. BURDON,
Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong.

G. E. MOULE,
Bishop of the Church of England
in Mid-China.

WM. MUIRHEAD,
Chairman, London Missionary So-
ciety, Shanghai.

J. CHALMERS,
London Missionary Society, Hong
Kong.

J. HUDSON TAYLOR, M.R.C.S.,
Director, China Inland Mission.

GRIFFITH JOHN,
Chairman, London Missionary So-
ciety, Hankow.

J. MACGOWAN,
London Missionary Society, Amoy.

H. L. MACKENZIE,
Presbyterian Church of England
Mission, Swatow.

ARTHUR E. MOULE,
Archdeacon at Shanghai.

DAVID HILL,
Wesleyan Missionary Society, Chair-
man of the Wuchang District.

EVAN BRYANT,
London Missionary Society, Peking.

G. OWEN,
London Missionary Society, Peking.

JAMES SADLER,
London Missionary Society, and
Pastor of Union Church, Amoy.

J. W. STEVENSON,
China Inland Mission, Shanghai.

JOHN R. WOLFE,
Archdeacon, Church Missionary
Society, Foo chow foo.

We certify that the above signatures have all been authorised by the persons whose names are given, and that the authorisations are in our possession.

ARNOLD FOSTER,
London Mission, Hankow.

A. HUDSON BROOMHALL,
China Inland Mission, Hankow.

GILBERT G. WARREN,
Wesleyan Mission, Hankow.

Hankow, 17th April 1894.

[NOTE.—The signatures of Revs. Thomas Bryson and Jonathan Lees (both of the London Missionary Society, Tientsin), were subsequently added at their request.]

N.B.—This very important memorial, referred to above, p. 32, although it is printed in Vol. V. of the Blue Book as evidence, was not even alluded to by the Commissioners in their Report. This, however, is perhaps not to be wondered at, seeing that *no single sentence unfavourable to opium is anywhere quoted by the Commissioners from any anti-opium witness in any part of their China Report.* The only missionaries they quote from at all are those whose evidence can be made to appear to support pro-opium conclusions.—A.F.



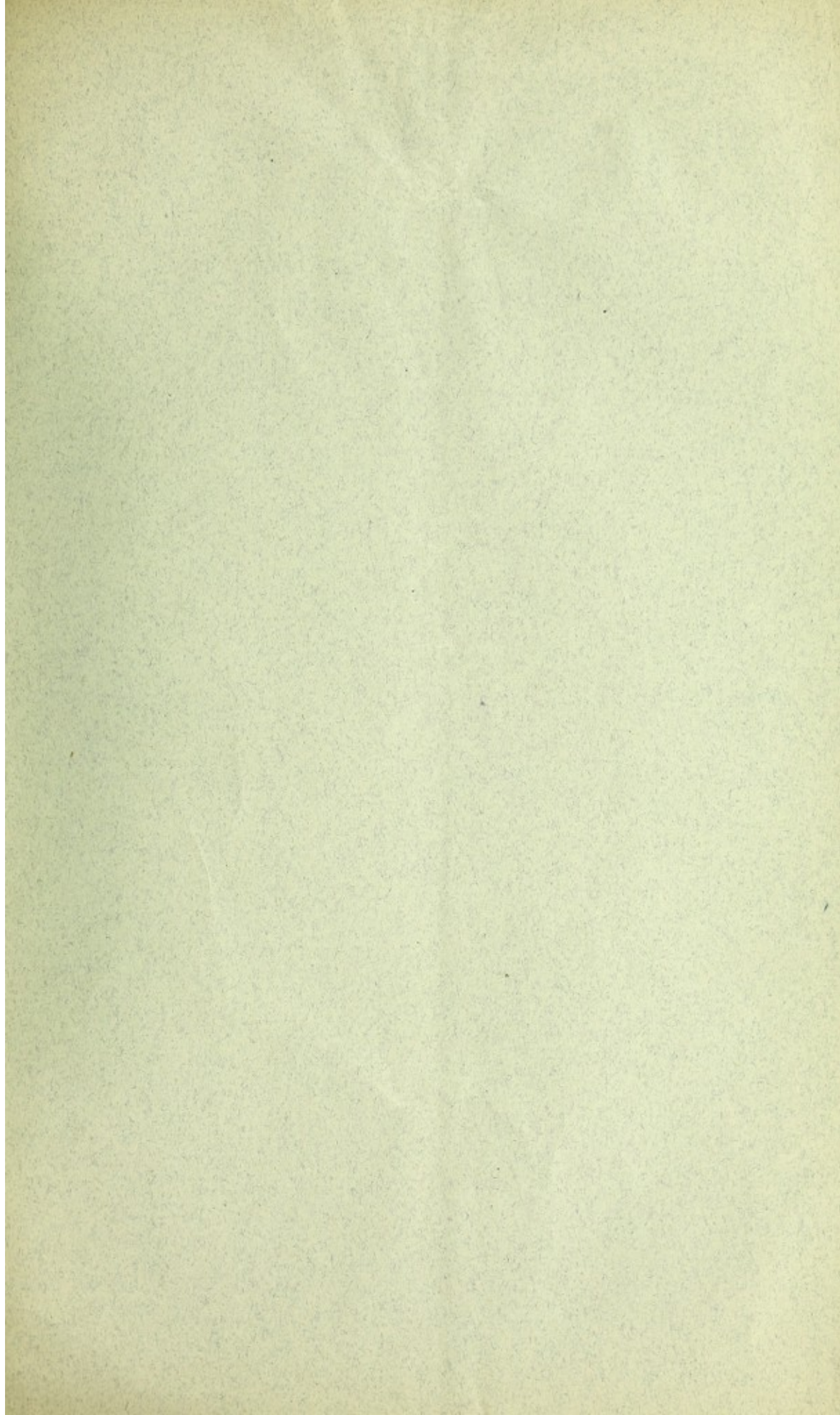
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