

Despatches from Sir A. Hosie forwarding reports respecting the opium question in China.

Contributors

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CHINA. No. 3 (1909).

DESPATCHES

FROM

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT PEKING,

FORWARDING

REPORTS

RESPECTING THE

OPIUM QUESTION IN CHINA.

[In continuation of "China No. 1 (1909)."]

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
December 1909.*

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DESCRIPTIVES

1909

HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT PEKING

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OPIMUM QUESTION IN CHINA.

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Despatches from His Majesty's Minister at Peking, forwarding
Reports respecting the Opium Question in China.

[In continuation of "China No. 1 (1909)."]

No. 1.

Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey.—(Received November 15.)

Sir,

Peking, October 21, 1909.

IN continuation of my despatch of the 14th November, 1908,* I have the honour to transmit herewith a further general report on the opium question in China, drawn up by Mr. Max Müller, councillor to this legation.

This report shows that considerable progress continues to be made in the task which the Chinese Government undertook three years ago. There has undoubtedly been a very sensible diminution in the consumption and cultivation of opium, and a public opinion has been formed which will greatly strengthen the hands of the Government and the provincial authorities in the drastic measures which they contemplate taking in the near future. Total prohibition within a measurable time is undoubtedly the policy which finds favour at the moment, and considering the conditions of the country and the difficulty in verifying the progress of gradual reduction, it is perhaps the best method of dealing with the problem. That the end, however, is so near as many of the official pronouncements would seem to indicate is, I venture to think, very doubtful.

We have full and reliable information about only two of the provinces—Shansi and Yunnan—and the annexes to Mr. Max Müller's report furnish eloquent testimony of the good work that has been done in both. At the opposite extreme stand Shensi, Kansu, Hupei, and Szechuan, in all of which comparatively little has been accomplished to check either the consumption or cultivation of the drug. The last-named province, which is by far the largest producing area in the Empire, will furnish the supreme test of the success or failure of the programme of total prohibition, and as the order has gone forth that no poppy is to be sown this autumn the issue on which so much depends is doubtless being fought out as this report is being written.

I cordially endorse the suggestion made at the end of this report that consular officers, with a knowledge of the language, should be sent to visit the principal opium producing provinces in the course of the year 1910. Mr. Max Müller has, so far as our available materials permit, given a most exhaustive and highly instructive account of the present state of the opium question in China; but, as he himself states, it is only by tours of personal inspection, such as have been made this year in Shansi and Yunnan, that we can ever hope to arrive at the actual facts.

I have, &c.

J. N. JORDAN.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

General Report by Mr. Max Müller respecting the Opium Question in China.

IT is now nearly a year since Sir Alexander Hosie, commercial attaché to His Majesty's Legation in Peking, wrote the last general report on the progress of the campaign against the use of opium in China. In forwarding that report to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir John Jordan, His Majesty's Minister in Peking, after pointing out how fragmentary and often contradictory the information was from which these opium reports were compiled, wrote as follows: "The general

*"China, No. 1 (1909)." Cd. 4702.

impression which I derive from a study of all the available evidence is that, considering the magnitude of the task, the success which has so far attended the movement is as great as could reasonably be expected."

During the year under review an event has happened in the history of China which might well have had a serious effect on the progress of the movement for the abolition of the use of opium. On the 14th November, 1908, the Emperor Kuang-hsü died and his demise was followed on the next day by that of the Empress Dowager. He was succeeded by his nephew, the Emperor Hsuan-t'ung, a mere infant, whose father, Prince Ch'un, became the Regent and the real ruler of the Empire. A glance at the three previous reports that have been written on this subject will show how important a factor in the anti-opium campaign were the energy and determination of the aged Dowager-Empress. The reports have all dwelt on the importance attached by the court and the Central Government to the conscientious fulfilment of the Imperial Edict of the 20th September, 1906, and of the regulations framed for its enforcement. Decree followed decree, instructions were repeated at frequent intervals, and the determination of the Palace to enforce obedience to its orders was shown by the removal from office of high dignitaries and Princes who had failed to break off the opium habit within the prescribed limit of time. Annual reports were called for from each Viceroy and governor as to the progress of the measures taken to decrease the cultivation and consumption of opium. Prince Kung and other high officers of State were appointed Imperial commissioners to enforce the application of the prohibition in the case of persons holding official positions. Officers of high degree, in one case a member of the Imperial family, were denounced by the commissioners and cashiered by Imperial decree for infractions of the regulations. Officials who showed themselves particularly zealous in the campaign were rewarded. In short, everything proclaimed that the court and the Central Government were sincere and zealous in their crusade and that all that they could do to help in carrying out the task that China had set herself would be done. This attitude on the part of the court was an indispensable condition of success. It has been repeatedly stated that the progress achieved in a province depended on the energy and determination of the governor of the province, but it is no less true that the energy and determination of the governor corresponds in turn to the sincerity and earnestness shown by the Central Government in their prosecution of the campaign. Whatever may have been said in former reports as to the venality and slackness of local officials, or even in certain cases of the want of energy of the high provincial authorities, there has only been one opinion as to the activity and fixity of purpose that has marked the attitude of the court and the Central Government. It is only natural when such a break in the established order of things occurred as that caused in China by the simultaneous death of the Emperor and the Empress-Dowager that many persons interested in the movement for the suppression of opium smoking should have had doubts as to the effect which the change of rulers might have on the attitude of the Central Government towards that movement. Sufficient time has now elapsed for one to be able to state with confidence that there has been no change in the attitude either of the court or the Central Government, and that the Prince Regent has shown the same energy and determination in the anti-opium campaign as his predecessor.

Only two Imperial decrees referring to the opium question have been issued this year, but as a matter of fact enough, and more than enough, had already been done in the way of issuing decrees and regulations. Indeed, the multiplicity of these long decrees could not fail to lessen their weight in the minds of the people, especially as they so often contained admissions that the authorities had failed to carry out the prescribed regulations. The first decree of the present reign began by emphasising the necessity of taking the most stringent measures to put a stop to both the cultivation and consumption of opium. It was published on the 15th March, shortly after the Opium Commission at Shanghai had closed its sittings, but it contained no reference to the results of the conference, though it made allusions to the co-operation of foreign countries. The principal object of the decree appeared to be to impress on the people the necessity of further taxation to replace the loss in revenue accruing from opium, the increased salt tax not being sufficient to make good the loss, and the various provincial authorities were invited to make suggestions as to new taxes. The second decree, issued on the 17th June, repeated the general injunctions contained in the first, and made mention of the total suppression of cultivation that had been effected in some provinces. It was, however, specially directed to the question of the suppression of smoking among officials. It stated that the regulations in regard to

the examination and cure of officials had been evaded, that only petty officials as a rule had been sent up for examination, and that many officials who had been declared cured of the habit had taken to smoking again. The Imperial commissioners for the suppression of opium smoking were ordered to issue instructions to all yaméns outside Peking that the most careful examination of all officials should be made, and no partiality shown to anyone.

Apart, however, from the issue of decrees, the continued energy and interest of the Central Government has been shown by its general attitude towards the question and by the approval bestowed on any governor or other official who may have specially distinguished himself in the campaign. This in turn has had its influence on the Viceroys, governors, and [other high provincial authorities, who have in most provinces during the past year shown greatly increased zeal in enforcing the anti-opium regulations.

The lack of uniformity in the practical steps taken in the various provinces deplored by Sir A. Hosie still continues, and greatly increases the difficulty of arriving at any reliable estimate of the progress that has been made. The promised statistics as to the acreage under poppy cultivation, which were called for from the various local authorities, are not yet forthcoming; in fact, it is doubtful if they ever will be, and in the absence of any such reliable statistics it is manifestly impossible to give even an approximate estimate of the proportionate diminution in the area of cultivation. Except in two cases, where our consular officers have undertaken special journeys of investigation, the information on which I have had to rely in the compilation of this report has been of a fragmentary and often contradictory nature. Memorials presented to the throne by Viceroys and governors, and other similar official proclamations, are apt to be unduly optimistic. The estimates of production for the years 1906 and 1908, based on reports supplied by the Commissioners of Customs at the various treaty ports, erred in the same direction. The quarterly reports of the consuls contain much useful information, but in most cases they give general impressions rather than definite facts, and, indeed, it is difficult to see how this could be otherwise. Even the information derived from the missionaries spread all over the Empire varies very much in value, and is often very contradictory, but it is on the whole the most valuable asset in our budget of knowledge, and the very fact of their reports being so contradictory enhances, in my mind, their reliability. Without the kind assistance of the missionaries in supplying periodical reports in regard to the districts in which they reside or through which they travel, it would be impossible to obtain even such a general impression as I hope to be able to convey by this résumé as to the progress being made throughout China, and I wish to express my sense of indebtedness to the missionaries who have supplied so much valuable information to His Majesty's consuls in the various provinces.

From the information gleaned from the above-mentioned sources I have compiled short accounts of the measures adopted in each province, and of the success which has attended their enforcement, but, as I shall explain at greater length later, the deductions which can be made from these accounts are based rather on hypothesis or impression than on specific facts. I must, however, first devote a few words to another event that has occurred in China during the period under review, namely, the assembling of the International Opium Commission at Shanghai last February.

Many enthusiasts had undoubtedly formed exaggerated ideas as to the assistance that China would derive from the results of this commission in the great task that she had set before her. Hopes were expressed in some quarters that China might be freed from the obligation of observing existing treaty engagements with regard to the import of opium, should she succeed in effectively stopping the cultivation of opium throughout the Empire within a less period than ten years. The Viceroy of Nanking stated that the Imperial decree of the 20th September, 1906, had fixed the term of ten years for the suppression of opium, that in some districts the production had already been reduced 80 per cent., that in certain provinces cultivation would be abolished during 1909, and that total suppression would be effected throughout the Empire in two or three years, in which case a monopoly of foreign opium would be necessary in order to eradicate the evil. His Excellency said that he was expressing the views of the Chinese Government on the subject, and recommended them to the serious consideration of the commission. These brave words naturally gave rise to great expectations, and there was doubtless some feeling of disappointment when the proceedings of the commission came to an end without any further tangible result than the adoption of the following nine resolutions:—

“1. That the International Opium Commission recognises the unswerving

sincerity of the Government of China in their efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the Empire; the increasing body of public opinion among their own subjects by which these efforts are being supported; and the real, though unequal, progress already made in a task which is one of the greatest magnitude.

"2. That in view of the action taken by the Government of China in suppressing the practice of opium smoking and by other Governments to the same end, the International Opium Commission recommends that each delegation concerned move its own Government to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of opium smoking in its own territories and possessions, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned.

"3. That the International Opium Commission finds that the use of opium in any form otherwise than for medical purposes is held by almost every participating country to be a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation; and that each country in the administration of its system of regulation purports to be aiming, as opportunity offers, at progressively increasing stringency. In recording these conclusions the International Opium Commission recognises the wide variations between the conditions prevailing in the different countries, but it would urge on the attention of the Governments concerned the desirability of a re-examination of their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other countries dealing with the same problem.

"4. That the International Opium Commission finds that each Government represented has strict laws which are aimed directly or indirectly to prevent the smuggling of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives, and preparations into their respective territories; in the judgment of the International Opium Commission it is also the duty of all countries to adopt reasonable measures to prevent at ports of departure the shipment of opium, its alkaloids, derivatives, and preparations, to any country which prohibits the entry of any opium, its alkaloids, derivatives, and preparations.

"5. That the International Opium Commission finds that the unrestricted manufacture, sale, and distribution of morphine already constitute a grave danger, and that the morphine habit shows signs of spreading; the International Opium Commission, therefore, desires to urge strongly on all Governments that it is highly important that drastic measures should be taken by each Government in its own territories and possessions to control the manufacture, sale, and distribution of this drug, and also of such other derivatives of opium as may appear on scientific inquiry to be liable to similar abuse and productive of like ill-effects.

"6. That as the International Opium Commission is not constituted in such a manner as to permit the investigation from a scientific point of view of anti-opium remedies and of the properties and effects of opium and its products, but deems such investigation to be of the highest importance, the International Opium Commission desires that each delegation shall recommend this branch of the subject to its own Government for such action as that Government may think necessary.

"7. That the International Opium Commission strongly urges all Governments possessing concessions or settlements in China which have not yet taken effective action toward the closing of opium divans in the said concessions and settlements to take steps to that end, as soon as they may deem it possible, on the lines already adopted by several Governments.

"8. That the International Opium Commission recommends strongly that each delegation move its Government to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government with a view to effective and prompt measures being taken in the various foreign concessions and settlements in China for the prohibition of the trade and manufacture of such anti-opium remedies as contain opium or its derivatives.

"9. That the International Opium Commission recommends that each delegation move its Government to apply its pharmacy laws to its subjects in the consular districts, concessions, and settlements in China."

In his closing speech at the final sitting of the commission, Bishop Brent, the president, spoke as follows of the work accomplished:—

"In our resolutions, based upon the evidence in hand, we have touched various phases of the subject, though we do not pretend to have exhausted them. A complimentary resolution expressing sympathy with China in her task has been adopted; drastic measures for the suppression of the morphine habit and the gradual suppression of opium smoking are advocated as a principle; three resolutions are aimed at correcting the abuse of opium and its derivatives in foreign concessions and settlements

in China; in countries where opium is not prohibited for other than medical purposes a revision of the existing systems of regulation is recommended to the Governments concerned; each delegation is urged to advise its own Government to investigate scientifically for itself the matter of anti-opium remedies, and the effect of opium and its products; international co-operation is advocated to prevent the smuggling of opium into countries where a prohibitory law prevails."

It is unnecessary to dwell any further here on the proceedings or resolutions of the commission, as a report has already been printed in two volumes at Shanghai, the first volume containing the minutes of the proceedings, and the second the reports presented by the various delegations on the opium question as far as it concerned the country which they represented. It had been expected that the Chinese report would contain much valuable and reliable information in the shape of statistics of production and of the number of smokers in various years, but I am bound to say that the hopes expressed by Sir A. Hosie in this respect in his general report were doomed to disappointment. I shall deal later with Sir A. Hosie's own criticism before the commission of the data furnished by the Chinese Government, when I come to the question of the possibility of furnishing the Indian Government, at the end of the three probationary years, with a reliable and serious opinion, based on adequate grounds, as to how far the Chinese have fulfilled their share of the agreement to reduce the production and consumption of native opium proportionately with the reduction in the export of opium from India to China.

I shall now take, first, the capital, and then the provinces one by one in the same order in which they were dealt with in Sir A. Hosie's report, and shall give a short résumé, in regard to each, of the information that has reached me from various sources, and, where possible, a general impression as to the progress made, or the reverse.

PEKING.

It has become a matter of some difficulty for any European to obtain accurate information as to the present position of opium smoking in the capital, as the Chinese have become so secretive on the subject. I am indebted for my information to Dr. Gray, the physician of His Majesty's Legation, who is at the same time doctor in charge of a hospital where large numbers of Chinese are treated, and who has taken considerable interest in the progress of the opium movement in China. Dr. Gray gives it as his deliberate opinion that opium smoking has almost disappeared in Peking, at all events among the classes with which he comes in contact. It is, he says, now very rare for a man either to seek treatment for the opium habit or to confess, when admitted to a hospital for other complaints, that he is still addicted to the drug.

Among the people about three-tenths have stopped smoking, and among the officials about eight-tenths. The latter, however, being subject to periodical examination, often stop for a short time and then relapse into their old ways. Among the officers of the army the habit has been entirely abandoned. It is now very difficult to purchase opium in Peking illicitly. The shops are licensed, and the purchaser must be provided with a licence. The licence ticket costs 10 cents, and is available for three months. After that period the licence has to be renewed, and at each renewal the daily amount purchasable is reduced. Opium dens are, of course, forbidden, but a considerable number are still open clandestinely—perhaps about half as many as were open eighteen months ago. From time to time the native newspapers mention cases of raids made by the police on such secret dens, the penalty inflicted on the owners averaging a fine of 15 dollars, or a month's imprisonment with hard labour.

The price of opium has increased greatly, in the case of foreign opium by 50 per cent.; while the price of native opium, which comes chiefly from Shansi and Kansu, has doubled. Opium pipes are difficult to obtain openly, though they can still be bought secretly.

Unfortunately, Dr. Gray tells me that a great deal of opium is consumed in the form of anti-opium pills. After a large number of enquiries extending over a period of several months Dr. Gray places the number of habitual anti-opium pill takers at between one-half and three-quarters of the former total of opium smokers. This means that the manner of taking opium has merely been changed, but fortunately for a less baneful form, that is to say, that a man can satisfy his narcotic craving in a

way that does not stupify him, sap his energies, or curtail his working hours. Many men take a pill now and then and go on with their work just the same. Dr. Gray instances one of the Chinese assistants at his hospital who was formerly a moderate smoker, but now swallows anti-opium pills containing opium, and keeps on taking this homœopathic remedy without in any way impairing his efficiency as a hospital assistant.

As for morphia, Dr. Gray says that there were undoubtedly a large number of smokers who left off opium and took to hypodermic injections of morphia at the time of the anti-opium edicts and for some months after their issue. But this craze has died down, and Dr. Gray tells me that it is at least six months since he has seen a man come to the hospital with marks of the needle pricks on his arms. The reason for this diminution is the great difficulty of procuring the drug or the injection needles. There is a certain amount of morphia taking going on, as it can still be clandestinely bought in certain Japanese chemists' shops. For those who are willing to pay the cost of this comparatively expensive luxury it can always be got, but Dr. Gray considers that if one were to compare Peking with other large cities in Europe and America there would be no difficulty in proving that the number of morphomaniacs in certain other cities is immeasurably greater.

MANCHURIA.

The reports received from the consul-general at Mukden prove that much has been done in the past year in Manchuria, both in regard to reducing the area of cultivation and to diminishing the number of smokers. In the last general report on the suppression of opium it was stated that, according to the approved proposals of the Board of Finance, poppy cultivation was to cease in the province of Hei-lung-chiang at the end of 1908, and in Kirin and Fengtien during 1909. In December of last year His Majesty's acting consul-general at Mukden reported that orders had been issued to the local authorities throughout Manchuria to entirely prohibit the growth of the poppy in the districts under their charge after the spring of 1909. In so large a country as Manchuria it is a practical impossibility to estimate the comparative extent of land under poppy cultivation in successive years, but there should not be equal difficulty in ascertaining after this year how far the orders of total prohibition have been carried out. No reports have reached His Majesty's Legation from Mukden since the end of last year, when the acting British consul-general reported that he fully believed in the sincerity of the high provincial authorities as set forth in their numerous anti-opium proclamations, but that it was difficult, if not impossible, at that time to furnish a reliable estimate as to the diminution in the area of land under poppy cultivation. The Newchang commissioner of customs estimated the consumption of the province for the year at 8,000 piculs, whereas before the anti-opium edict of 1906 it had averaged 12,000 piculs, plus an export of 3,000 piculs, making a total output of 15,000 piculs. The export of opium from Manchuria has practically ceased, and in 1908 only 3 piculs of foreign opium were imported through the two ports of Newchwang and Antung. The commissioner estimated the opium smokers to amount to about 2 per cent. of the total population of the three provinces, though of course the proportion varied considerably in different districts. This meant that there had been a decrease of one out of every three smokers.

At Mukden itself there is effective police supervision and proper control of the licensed houses and of the sale of the drug. The use of opium in inns, restaurants, brothels, and other public resorts had entirely ceased by the end of last year; there was no smoking amongst the local officials, at any rate in public, and the Viceroy had dismissed several officials for opium smoking. The diminution in the number of smokers is put by the Chinese themselves at 50 per cent., but this is probably an exaggeration. Mr. Acting Consul-General Willis reported at the end of last year that a similar condition of things seemed to prevail in all the larger cities of Manchuria, though not perhaps in all the outlying districts where the execution of the Viceroy's orders depended solely on the inclination and energy of the chief local authority; public feeling against the opium habit was steadily growing everywhere, and those who still indulged in the vice did so in private—in itself a good sign. The general consensus of available testimony tends to show that even in the remoter districts of Manchuria there has been a decrease both in cultivation and in smoking. Mr. Willis drew attention to the increased use of morphia by subcutaneous injections, which threatened to become a worse evil than

the disease it was intended to cure; the syringes and morphia were apparently distributed about the country by Japanese pedlars.

Mr. Willis's general conclusions are borne out by His Majesty's vice-consul at Antung, who reported that in the province of Fengtien the restriction of the area under poppy cultivation was being steadily persisted in, that in some parts total prohibition had been enforced by the uprooting of the crops, and that, although there were a certain number of officials who treated the question with laxity, yet public opinion throughout his consular district was generally in favour of total prohibition.

The Viceroy of Manchuria, in a memorial to the Throne dated the 12th April, stated that in the province of Fengtien the people were not greatly addicted to the vice; that the enforcement of the prohibition among the official classes had not been difficult to carry into effect; that the soil was not particularly suitable for the growth of the poppy; and that he would take proper steps to see that the order forbidding its cultivation after the spring of 1909 was enforced, and other crops, such as grain, cotton, indigo, &c., planted in its stead.

It is gratifying to be able to report that shortly after the termination of the Opium Commission orders were issued for the closing of the opium dens in the Japanese settlement in Antung, though the actual closing was not carried out till the end of July. These dens, to the number of about 150, had hitherto offered every inducement to opium smokers to indulge in the vice.

CHIHLI.

Sir Alexander Hosie was able to report favourably last year on the condition of things in the metropolitan province of Chihli and on the energy and determination displayed by the Anti-Opium Bureau. On the whole the information received since then from His Majesty's consul-general at Tien-tsin denotes further progress. A memorial by the Viceroy of Chihli published on the 21st January announced his decision to prohibit totally the cultivation of opium throughout the province after the spring of 1909, so that here, as in Manchuria, it will be easier to observe the effective value of this summary measure, which has been adopted by several provincial governments as the only satisfactory way of grappling with the question of suppression.

In a further memorial, dated the 19th April, the Viceroy explained that it was this conviction that had induced him to issue such a summary order against cultivation of the poppy. In regard to suppression of smoking, he stated that strict measures had been taken to stamp out the habit among officials, and several delinquents had been dismissed. Every effort had been made to discourage the use of the drug among the general public, and the system of licences had been strictly enforced. Large quantities of anti-opium medicines had been distributed, and the Viceroy claimed that between 20,000 and 30,000 cures had been effected in the 200 institutions specially established for that purpose. All opium saloons had been closed, and the number of licensed shops was being reduced, 800 having already been closed. Severe measures had been taken to check illicit trading in opium and also in morphia, over 1,300 convictions for selling opium without a licence having been recorded. He had taken steps to make good the loss in revenue by an increase in the salt tax and by imposing higher fees on opium licences, and would take further steps if necessary.

A report received from a missionary in the north of the province said that the system of quarterly licences for the use of opium had had excellent effects; that the number of smokers had been reduced by 20 to 25 per cent.; that there were only three licensed opium shops in the city where he lived, and that the cultivation of the poppy had already been prohibited in the district. Reports were received from missionaries during the earlier part of the year covering a large portion of west central Chihli, and these showed that the restrictions on smoking were well enforced, most of the officials had abandoned smoking, the renewal of smokers' licences was insisted on, and no opium dens were open; but the restrictions on cultivation were only enforced in some places, while in others the attitude of the authorities was not sufficiently uncompromising, and farmers were reported to have sown both poppy and wheat on the same ground, their idea being that if they were allowed to grow poppy they would root out the wheat, and, if not, they could root out the poppy and still have their wheat crop.

His Majesty's consul-general made the usual complaint as to the nature of the remedies employed against the opium habit, and said that in many cases they were more dangerous than the disease.

SHANSI.

What has happened in the past year in Shansi goes far to prove how entirely the final suppression of opium depends on the earnestness and activity of the Viceroys, governors, and other high provincial officials. For years past this province has been known as one of those most cursed by the opium evil. In Tai-Yuan Fu, the capital, it was said that half the adult population, female as well as male, smoked, and in many of the country districts the proportion was placed even higher. In spite of the great local consumption, opium was grown for export to Chihli and other neighbouring provinces, in fact practically every well-watered district throughout the province was ablaze with poppy-blossoms during the early summer. No effective steps had been taken in Shansi before this year with a view to restricting cultivation, and Sir A. Hosie stated that the slight reductions reported from a few districts were outweighed by increased cultivation in others. He also mentioned that the governor of Shansi had memorialised the Throne, proposing the entire and immediate prohibition of the growth of opium throughout the province, but expressed some doubt as to his Excellency having sufficient energy to enforce such a stringent measure. Gradually, however, reports began to reach His Majesty's Legation of stringent proclamations issued by the local authorities throughout Shansi prohibiting the cultivation of poppy after 1908, under a penalty of very heavy fines and confiscation of the land, and of the effective steps taken to carry these proclamations into effect. One missionary wrote in March, "There is now no opium sown over vast areas that last year were devoted to the plant, and thousands of acres of the best irrigable land are set free for the cultivation of other crops. The price of opium is rising rapidly, and will soon be double what it was a year ago. Needless to say that the retail opium is adulterated more than ever, so that the poorer smokers are breaking off perforce." In April His Majesty's Minister in Peking received through a missionary at Tai-Yuan Fu a message from the provincial treasurer, Ting Pao-chuan, to the effect that the growth of the poppy and the cultivation of opium had been entirely suppressed in the province of Shansi. It being a matter of some interest to ascertain how far the Shansi authorities had been successful in suppressing the cultivation of the poppy in so short a space of time, His Majesty's Minister instructed Mr. Brenan, of His Majesty's consular service in China, to undertake an extensive tour in the province, and furnish him with a first-hand account of what had actually been done. Mr. Brenan started in the end of May, and made a journey of 460 miles through a section of the province which was practically all devoted to poppy cultivation a year ago. His clear and concise statement of what he saw and heard is too long to be embodied in this report, but I consider it of such interest and of such good augury as furnishing a notable illustration of what can be effected in a short space of time by an active and well-intentioned Chinese administrator, that I have reproduced Mr. Brenan's account of his journey as an annexe to my report.* Mr. Brenan was unable to travel over the whole of Shansi, but his conclusions in regard to the southern half of the province are fully corroborated in regard to the remaining districts by reports received from missionaries. It may safely be said that not a stalk of poppy was to be seen this spring over large areas which in former years were covered with the plant; the price of the drug has gone up enormously; and were Shansi a self-contained State, instead of being a unit in a large Empire, opium smoking would soon be a thing of the past. It is indeed a great pity that the Central Government do not enforce greater uniformity of procedure in this matter, as otherwise it seems clear that success in suppression of cultivation in one province is only too likely to stimulate the production in the neighbouring provinces, in the present case in the provinces of Shensi and Honan.

Mr. Brenan's conclusions have been corroborated in a letter which I have received from Lieutenant Pudsey, R.A., who travelled over a large area of central Shansi in June and July. He writes that during his journey he made frequent enquiries from inn-keepers, farmers, missionaries, &c., all of whom said that no opium was now being grown in the province, and this was borne out by his own observations, for he did not see a single poppy. The officer dispatched by the Board of Finance to enquire into the progress of the suppression movement in certain provinces was able to report that in the south of Shansi opium cultivation had ceased altogether, while in the north only an insignificant amount had been found to have been grown in a few out-of-the-way places.

The Viceroy, in a memorial dated the 14th April, proposed that if the increased

* Inclosure 2, p. 29.

tax on salt were not sufficient to make up the deficiency of revenue caused by decrease in the opium taxation the taxes on tobacco, sugar, and wine might be raised. In a more recent memorial, published on the 15th September, the governor claims that the cultivation of opium in Shansi has entirely ceased and that the use of the drug will soon be entirely eradicated; and he has been ordered by Imperial rescript to submit a list of officials deserving of special recognition for their successful efforts to stamp out the cultivation of the poppy.

SHENSI.

Mr. Brennan, who crossed over the Yellow River from Shansi to Shensi, reported that once across the river there was no lack of poppy cultivation, the fields extending nearly to the water's edge; and he also reported that the increase in the marketable value of opium in Shansi had had the effect of widening the area under cultivation in the adjoining province of Shensi, while a missionary writing to him from Meihsien, on the Wei River in Shensi, said that the poppy was grown to such an extent in the Wei valley that the farmers had actually to import wheat for their own consumption.

Shensi has always been one of the greatest opium-producing provinces. Before the famine of 1873 Shensi is said to have supplied 30 per cent. of the native opium in China, and the Customs reports estimate the annual production up to 1906 at 50,000 piculs, and that for 1908 at 33,000 piculs. Unfortunately, neither the statement of Mr. Brennan nor the reports received at the consulate-general at Hankow from missionaries in various districts of Shensi during the past year confirm the decrease in the area of cultivation as given in the Customs reports. One missionary, writing from Feng Hsiang-fu, says that, judging from his own observations and from what the natives told him, more opium would appear to have been sown in 1908 in some districts, the chief reason given being that notwithstanding the increased tax on opium-growing land it paid better to grow opium than grain. His Majesty's consul-general at Hankow, writing on the 19th April, said that he had received eleven reports from missionaries resident in Shensi, covering the whole of the south of the province, and not one noted any real progress in the anti-opium movement. Proclamations had been issued but not enforced; there had been no restriction in the area under cultivation, while in one instance a notable increase had been reported. Other reform measures, except the publication of a few disregarded proclamations, were totally neglected. In some cases medicines were no longer sold, inaction and indifference were rife among officials and gentry, shops were openly doing a brisk trade in opium, and dens were still open. In the face of this information it is difficult to attach much importance to the statements contained in a memorial of the Governor of Shensi dated the 31st May. He claimed that the usual steps had been taken, both in the capital and in other parts of the province, for enforcing the prohibition of smoking amongst the officials and the people; that opium saloons had been closed and a system of licences instituted; that 200 officials and 1,600 other persons in the capital and 155,000 persons in other parts of the province had been cured of the habit. He stated that cultivation had been gradually decreasing, and that the area of land under opium had diminished from 531,990 mou in 1906 to 350,300 mou in 1908. These statements are quite at variance with the information I have received from other sources. The memorial, however, stated that the governor had decided to follow the example of other provinces and reduce the time limit for the total prohibition of opium, and had issued proclamations ordering that no more opium was to be grown, and that when the time for sowing the poppy came in the autumn the local officials would be required to see that the prohibition was properly enforced. Here again it will be easier to estimate next year the progress that has been made. The Viceroy suggested cotton-planting and silk culture to take the place of the cultivation of opium, and said that the increase of the salt tax and the fees on the opium licences would in some degree supply the deficiency in revenue from the opium tax.

KANSU.

Here also there is little progress to report, though the optimistic Customs reports presented to the Shanghai Commission estimated a reduction in the total production from 34,000 piculs in 1906 to 23,000 in 1908. The reports received from the provinces are, as Sir Alexander Hosie remarked in his report last year, few in number, His Majesty's consul-general at Hankow having only received two during

the last quarter of 1908 and the first quarter of 1909, the probable explanation being that the missionaries, to whom we are so greatly indebted for their invaluable assistance in obtaining information, grow weary of reporting that no real progress has been made in their districts. These two reports tend to show that in Kansu things are very much as they are in Shensi, and do not bear out the optimistic estimate of the Customs reports. On the contrary, they record no progress in any direction and no restriction in the area under cultivation, but only the issue of numerous proclamations, one of which merely contradicts the other, and none of which have led to any practical result. One missionary writes that the arrival of a deputy from the Central Government was the occasion of much "feasting," but that "any good he did he took away with him" and "there is no more in any direction."

Here again, however, it is said that this is the last year in which the cultivation of the poppy is to be permitted, so we must wait and see what is done in the way of restricting the area under cultivation after this year.

SHANTUNG.

Sir A. Hosie was able last year to report a considerable diminution in the land devoted to the growth of the poppy throughout this province, and both from the Customs reports and those received from His Majesty's consul at Chinan-fu it is clear that this diminution has not only been maintained but has been considerably improved upon. Yuan-shu-hsün, the governor, who has been transferred as Viceroy to Canton, showed great energy in his anti-opium campaign during the year he was in Shantung, and if the task of suppression had rested solely with him opium smoking in Shantung would be a thing of the past; but the apathy of many of the local authorities rendered ineffective several of the measures which he promulgated. In a memorial to the Throne Yuan-shu-hsün recognised the paucity of the results as yet achieved throughout China, and advocated as the only possible and effective measures the total prohibition of cultivation and the purchase by the Government of all imported opium for resale under official control.

On arriving in Shantung he first turned his attention to the question of suppressing the vice of smoking, and with a view to compelling officials to break themselves of the habit he opened an opium refuge, through which all officials, civil and military, had to pass, while all officials who alleged that they had never smoked or that they had ceased to do so were to give a bond to that effect and to find securities among their brother officials. Deputies were also sent to other towns in the province to examine the local officials. The measures for eradicating the use of the drug unfortunately yielded results by no means commensurate with the undoubted zeal of the governor. A certain number of officials were cured and several refractory officials were cashiered, including two of the deputies employed at the opium refuge, who had systematically connived at the evasion of the prescribed regulations; but the examinations were conducted in a notoriously perfunctory manner, the regulations could easily be evaded, and were at any rate never carried out in a manner likely to produce any genuine results, and opium-smoking officials still remain in office in the provincial capital itself. The measures adopted for restricting the use of opium among the people also achieved but little success; they included the usual regulations for the licensing and inspection of opium shops; the licensing and registering of smokers; the closing of opium divans; the prohibition of the sale of opium-smoking utensils; the distribution of anti-opium medicines; the prevention of smuggling of opium.

No fault would be found with the tenor of the regulations, and in many instances infractions met with severe punishment, but reports both from the capital and from other towns showed that on the whole they were more honoured in the breach, that dens flourished and unlicensed shops continued to sell the drug to all comers in spite of fines and confiscations.

It is consequently satisfactory to be able to record that it is in this direction that the most substantial progress has been made. It had originally been intended to enforce total prohibition of cultivation last season, but when the governor promulgated the measure last November the local authorities in the prefectures of Ts'ao-chou and Yen-chou represented to him that the poppy had already been sown, and that the turbulent character of the people rendered disturbances probable if the crop were uprooted. The allegation that the crop had already been sown is understood to have been a mere excuse, but the governor relaxed the rule to the extent that poppy was allowed to be grown in a few specified districts on the distinct understanding that no

more poppy was grown after the crop was once gathered. At the same time His Excellency directed the magistrates to furnish detailed particulars of the poppy grown in their respective districts, giving the exact location, the names of the farmers, and the area under cultivation, and in February he sent out fifty-three official inspectors to make independent inquiries and compare their conclusions with the magistrates' reports. These deputies on their return reported that, except in four districts exempted by the governor, the cultivation of the poppy had ceased throughout the province. The governor memorialised the Throne that, whereas in 1908 poppy had been grown in seventy-six departments of Shantung, with a total area of 14,500 acres, in the spring of the present year it was found only in four departments with an area of about 3,300 acres—a reduction of more than 75 per cent. in one year. His Majesty's consul at Chinan states that from the information which he has collected independently, he considers these figures approximately correct.

Any further sowing of poppy seed in Shantung is now prohibited, and it is to be hoped that the new governor will show as much energy and firmness as his predecessor in continuing the work so well begun.

HONAN.

The reports which have reached His Majesty's Legation from this province are somewhat meagre, but they would appear to show that the high provincial authorities are in earnest, and the effects of the anti-opium campaign are more evident at the provincial capital, Kai-Feng-fu, and in the districts immediately adjoining. It is generally agreed that the use of the drug amongst the officials, in the army, and the student class has largely decreased. In the capital the number of smokers has been reduced by one-half, and the officials have all abandoned the habit. There are still a few licensed opium shops, but no smoking is allowed on the premises and the amount sold is steadily diminishing. Total prohibition of cultivation of the poppy was enacted last autumn, and in the districts near Kai-Feng-fu orders were issued to destroy all opium crops, and runners were sent out to see that this was done. Away from the high roads small patches of ground were still sown with poppy, but the area was, it is said, not more than three-tenths of what was sown previously. The reports from the outlying districts are not so encouraging, and the local officials out of reach of the capital appear to have been very slack, and did little, if anything, to enforce the prohibition of cultivation. The farmers, therefore, took no notice of it and proceeded to sow their crops as usual, though, perhaps, not over quite so large an area as formerly. Officially, as I have already said, poppy cultivation is to be entirely suppressed by the end of this year, and here also we must wait a few months to see if the high provincial authorities have energy enough to perform their difficult, but not impossible, task.

KIANGSU.

A proclamation was issued last year by the Viceroy at Nanking that no opium was to be planted in the three provinces of the viceroyalty of Kiangnan, *i.e.*, Kiangsu, Anhui, and Kiangsi, after 1908, and that any land on which poppy was found would be confiscated. There can be no doubt that this order has resulted in a considerable diminution in the area of land under poppy cultivation in Kiangsu, though a report received last December through His Majesty's consul at Chinkiang, to the effect that the cultivation of the poppy was already practically abolished in Kiangsu, was, I am afraid, rather premature. In the Hsü-chou prefecture, in the north of the province, a considerable amount of poppy was planted last autumn, but in the spring the Viceroy heard of this, and sent orders to have the crops rooted up. It is difficult to ascertain how far these orders were carried out. The Governor of Kiangsu, in a memorial to the Throne dated the 9th May, claimed that poppy had only been grown in one district of the prefecture of Hsü-chou. Poppy had also been sown in the neighbourhood of Chinkiang, but here again orders were issued to uproot the crops, and His Majesty's consul there reported in the spring that there was no poppy to be found within a considerable radius of the town. In regard to the country round Nanking, His Majesty's consul in that town reported that the area of cultivation in that part of the province had been considerably decreased, and that land sown with poppy was confiscated by the authorities. The Governor of Kiangsu reported to the Viceroy that the magistrates of all the districts under his jurisdiction, except one, had given bonds that no opium was grown in their districts. In regard to the suppression of smoking, stringent regulations have been issued by the Viceroy to enforce the registering and licensing of all shops dealing in opium; a table of fees to be paid for

the licences and a scale of taxation on the quantity of opium sold were published. The prohibition of smoking among the official classes has been most sternly and successfully enforced. Smokers are required to take out licences, on which are inscribed the daily amount which may be purchased and also the name of the shop at which the purchase must be made. Any infraction of the licensing regulations is very severely punished.

In regard to Shanghai, reports received from His Majesty's consul-general prove that the anti-opium campaign conducted by the higher non-smoking officials shows no signs of slackening zeal, and that the trend of public opinion in so enlightened a community as Shanghai is distinctly in favour of suppression of the vice. The police have shown such energy that Sir Pelham Warren felt justified in asserting that in the native city of Shanghai opium divans were extinct. In the international settlement a second batch of opium-smoking saloons was closed at the end of December, making one-half of the original number, and a third on the 30th June, some 313 divans yet remaining open; and the lamp tax, originally 50 cents, has been increased to 1 dollar per lamp.

The Governor of Kiangsu reported that at Soochow, the capital of the province, the number of shops for the sale of raw opium had been reduced during 1908 from 1,906 to 555, while the number of smokers showed a decrease of 50 per cent. It was further reported that at Soochow opium smokers were debarred from appearing as plaintiffs in the courts in civil cases.

The opinion of His Majesty's consul at Nanking is that the outlook is distinctly promising, as all the higher officials—and especially the Viceroy—are so much in earnest in their efforts to eradicate the evil. He reported that opium smokers were fewer, that dens were mostly closed, and that the area of poppy cultivation about Nanking was considerably decreased.

His Majesty's consul at Chinkiang has reported at various times that in Chinkiang itself the dens had all been closed, though in the out-of-the-way towns and villages they still plied their trade. A register had been made of all opium-smoking officials and forwarded to the Viceroy, and owing to the severe attitude of the higher authorities smoking had decreased among the official classes; and this example, backed by public opinion, had had some effect in also reducing the number of smokers in other classes.

The Governor of Kiangsu, in the memorial to which I have already referred, after detailing the steps taken to eradicate the habit of smoking both among the official classes and the general public, stated that in 1906-7 the number of opium shops in Kiangsu was 12,790, while the daily consumption amounted to over 30,990 taels weight, and that these figures had fallen to 2,830 and 10,800 respectively.

ANHUI.

Sir Alexander Hosie had to state that very little had been done in this province and that the authorities were apathetic. The reports received in the early part of the year from missionaries, &c., continued to be very unsatisfactory, but lately there had been a great change in the tenor of their information. Many of the officials—and especially the governor—have proved themselves to be in earnest (though smokers still occur among the district magistrates), and the result of their efforts can be seen in a greatly reduced area of cultivation. His Majesty's consul at Wuhu reported at the beginning of the year that the opium dens appeared to have been closed in most of the larger cities, but not in the country villages or on the high roads. The general consensus of opinion was that the production of opium in 1908 in the province had been reduced from one-half to one-third as compared with previous years; in some districts the growth of the poppy had been absolutely prohibited, and what had been already sown had been uprooted. At the capital of the province, An-Ch'ing, the authorities were enforcing the system of licensing opium shops and opium smokers, and a licensed opium merchant had been fined twenty times the value of some Malwa opium which he had sold to a small dealer from the country who was not licensed to carry on the trade. Dr. Hart, the medical officer to the consulate, at the same time reported that there had been a decrease in the number of smokers, owing to the increased cost of opium, but that there had been an increase in the number of people using opium pills.

Writing again at the end of March, His Majesty's consul at Wuhu stated that the suppression of the cultivation of the poppy appeared to be more or less rigorously enforced in the country adjacent to the residences of the local magistrates, but that

in the outlying districts the regulations were not infrequently ignored. In the north-west of the province, on the borders of Honan, poppy continued to be the staple crop, and a missionary who had just travelled through those parts expressed the opinion that nothing short of military compulsion would alter this, so defiant was the attitude of the local farmers. During the spring, however, the authorities displayed great energy, and the last reports received are distinctly encouraging. As a matter of fact, the southern part of the province is not really suitable for opium cultivation, and in the north most of the opium comes from various departments of the Fen-yang prefecture. A special officer sent out by the Board of Revenue reported that the production had been considerably reduced throughout the north of the province, except in the Suchow department, where the magistrate had in consequence been cashiered. The governor also in a memorial to the Throne reported the steps he had taken to suppress cultivation, and said that the officers he had sent out informed him that it had entirely ceased except in a few remote districts. He added, however, that he did not place implicit reliance in these reports, and would continue the vigorous measures he had hitherto employed. The various reports received from missionaries prove that in many parts considerable local opposition had to be overcome and the measures sternly enforced. One missionary from Yingchow, in the north of the province, wrote: "During the last month there has been a tremendous slaughter in the opium crop of this district. It was a final chance to sow a spring crop—giant millet—on the land, after which the farmers would have been more unwilling to destroy the crop. The officials put on the final pressure." He gave instances where the magistrate, to overcome the opposition, had personally superintended the ploughing up of the opium crop. In some districts, he said, there was no opium left; in others, four-fifths of the crop had been ploughed up, and he expressed the opinion that the desired opium famine was now assured, which would compel all the poorer devotees to abandon the habit.

It does not appear that equal attention has been paid to the question of eradicating the vice of opium smoking. The governor instructed the prefects and magistrates under him to personally visit all country towns and villages to make sure that all divans were closed and that the people were duly notified of the opium regulations issued by the Viceroy, but though the closing of divans has been enforced, at any rate in towns, the licensing regulations appear to have remained a dead letter except at the capital.

KIANGSI.

There is practically no poppy grown in this province, so the question of the suppression of the cultivation is here of little importance. Other means must be used here to stop the supply of opium, either by restricting the amount of native opium imported from other provinces or by artificially raising the price. The reports of the missionaries as to the progress made towards eradicating the habit of smoking are very contradictory, but on the whole the quarterly reports of His Majesty's consul at Kiukiang seem to indicate a certain progress. Public opinion would appear to be favourable to the movement, and though opium can easily be bought secretly and smoked secretly, the very fact that it has to be done secretly indicates an improvement. The increased price of the drug has forced many poor people to abandon the habit. The higher officials really seem to be doing their best, but are handicapped in their efforts by the slackness and venality of their underlings. Opium dens have been officially closed, but nearly everywhere the missionaries report that a certain number of dens are open secretly, and that the sale and smoking of opium goes on. In some districts the magistrates have shown more energy, and persons found smoking secretly or selling without a licence have been punished. The central provincial authorities have issued proclamations forbidding the sale of smoking utensils and ordering the closing of all dens and the registering and licensing of shops for the sale of opium, but in most districts no official action of an effective nature appears to have been taken in pursuance of these proclamations. Nothing apparently has been done as regards the licensing of smokers and the gradual reduction of their allowance of opium. On the whole, however, there has been a decrease of the number of smokers, and from some districts we learn that smoking has actually become unpopular, and that smokers are looked on with contempt. In many districts the officials and gentry have set a good example to the people in abandoning smoking altogether, and this, taken in conjunction with the enhanced price of the drug and the fear of possible punishment, has had its effect. Though little has been done publicly to provide

facilities for breaking off the habit, many persons are spontaneously making serious efforts to cure themselves. The last report received from His Majesty's consul at Kiukiang indicates a slight improvement in restriction of use, but less energy seems to have been shown by the officials in this province than in almost any other, or, at all events, such efforts as they have made have not been very successful.

CHEKIANG.

Sir Alexander Hosie was unable, owing to the absence of reports, to give any information as to this province, but the reports received since then from His Majesty's consul at Hangchow and His Majesty's vice-consul at Ningpo show that the authorities in Chekiang have been active in their efforts to suppress the use of the drug. Last autumn the governor issued orders (*a*) that all land devoted to the growth of opium should be registered, and that after May 1909 the cultivation was to cease altogether; (*b*) that the regulations as to the registration of smokers should be properly enforced with a view to their cure or subsequent disgrace.

Again in the spring the governor issued a series of lengthy and complicated regulations regarding the sale of opium. The first regulations dealt with the establishment of central commercial companies to control the sale both of raw and prepared opium in the various prefectures and districts, the limitation of the number of licensed shops, and the gradual reduction of the amount of their sales; the second dealt with the registration and licensing of smokers and imposed additional taxes (*a*) on smokers' licences of 40 cash per tael of raw opium and 60 cash per tael of prepared opium purchased; and (*b*) on licensed opium shops to be calculated on the amount of their sales, and the third set of regulations laid down the duties and obligations of shops dealing in opium and the fees to be paid by them to obtain a licence.

The consumption of opium in Chekiang has undoubtedly diminished; all opium dens, at all events in the large towns, have been closed; there has been a marked decrease in the number of smokers among civil officials, officers, soldiers, and generally among the public, though it is difficult to give accurate statistics as to the proportion, as it varies so much from district to district. The importation of foreign opium has decreased, but there has been a corresponding increase in the amount of native opium passed through the customs. The officials have been especially energetic in reducing the area of land under poppy cultivation, and the governor has memorialised the Throne that a reduction of 30 per cent. to 40 per cent. has been effected, that an attempt at the suppression of poppy cultivation throughout the province will be made this year, and that in 1911 it must absolutely cease. That much has already been done in this direction can be seen from the following reports from various prefectures. Prefecture of Hangchow: The prefect informed the governor that total prohibition was already enforced. Prefecture of Ningpo: The cultivation is stated to be either totally suppressed or greatly diminished in all districts except that of Ning Hai Hsien, where permission was given to grow opium on account of the complete failure of the rice crops in 1907. Prefecture of Shaoshing: A considerable decrease is noted, though the officials did not show great energy in enforcing the measure. Prefecture of T'aichow: This is a great centre of poppy growing. The authorities showed great activity, with the result that in some districts no poppy was to be seen last spring, while in others the reduction was raised from 10 per cent. to 90 per cent. Soldiers were sent out and destroyed a large proportion of the growing crops, and men were dispatched in all directions to warn the people not to plant poppy again under penalty of confiscation of their lands. Prefecture of Wenchow: In most districts a 50 per cent. reduction in area is reported. Prefecture of Ch'ü Chou in Western Chekiang: Here it is said that absolutely no steps have been taken towards reducing cultivation.

FUKIEN.

The determined efforts of the authorities to suppress the growth of the poppy appear to have borne good fruit. As long ago as last December the reports of the missionaries received by His Majesty's consul at Foochow pointed to an almost total cessation of cultivation in that part of the province. The following sentences are taken from six reports received from missionaries: "So far as I can learn, there will be practically no opium grown here this year." "The cultivation of the poppy has been much diminished this year. I have noticed none." "The cultivation of opium has ceased in this hsien and other grains are planted in its stead." "Cultivation

ceased." "Cultivation almost nil. I have not seen a single field in travelling." "The cultivation of the poppy in the district of Hohchiang has diminished by one-half. It is now only grown in one or two places." All these missionaries also agreed in saying that there was a considerable decrease in the number of smokers, though smoking still went on chiefly in secret, all opium dens being shut.

In the Amoy consular district the authorities have shown themselves equally, if not more, in earnest. In the Tung-an district, formerly the principal source of native opium, the magistrate began a personal inspection of the villages when the time came for the poppy to show above ground and, when any was found, destroyed the crop and arrested the village elders. In one case where the villagers showed fight he had the villages burnt. The result is that the reduction of acreage under poppy in the Tung-an district has surpassed the most sanguine hopes: along roads where formerly nothing but poppies grow not a plant was to be seen this spring. In the other districts the story is much the same, the cultivation has been everywhere enormously reduced; only in two small districts the missionaries reported that the orders against planting had not been obeyed, while a British merchant who was travelling in the province in April reported that about 30 miles from Foochow up the Min River he had found about 30 acres of land under poppy.

HUPEI.

"Little or no progress" was Sir A. Hosie's verdict as to this province, and after nearly a year's interval it is difficult to modify that verdict to any appreciable extent. The reports on the progress of the movement in Hupei are most contradictory, but it seems clear that even if the numerous regulations issued have had some effect in Hankow and other large cities, little or nothing has been done in the remoter districts. Considerable progress seems to have been made in suppressing the use of the drug among the high officials, military officers, and students in the cities of Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow. A head office for the suppression of opium in Hupei has been established in Wuchang, and regulations were issued there imposing heavy penalties for the illicit sale or consumption of opium and for the sale of smoking utensils. The gentry and mercantile classes of Wuchang are said to be specially keen on the work of suppression, but the richer merchants of Hankow and Hanyang do not take the official action seriously and have laid in large stores of opium. All dens in Hankow have been closed, the officials themselves making several raids and severely punishing delinquents, but in the suburbs dens are still secretly open. His Majesty's consul at Ichang reports that the dens at Ichang, Shasi, and other riverside towns have been officially closed, and that in March a deputy arrived to enforce the regulations for the registration and licensing of opium shops and opium smokers.

The reports of the missionaries make it clear that outside the large cities the regulations of the opium suppression bureau remain for the most part a dead letter. From the Lachokou district, the only large opium-growing country of Hupei, a discouraging report says that the local officials have done nothing to diminish the growth of the poppy nor the number of smokers, and that in one district more poppy had been planted than in the previous year. Opium dens were as numerous as ever and did a thriving trade. From other parts come similar tales of orders issued, and either openly or secretly disregarded; but where the magistrates are determined the story is very different.

At Hsiaokan Hsien, for instance, a missionary reported that the dens were closed, and the small crop of poppy formerly raised had disappeared; that no officials dared to smoke, as those caught were promptly dismissed, and that the magistrates had a load or two of opium pipes and lamps smashed in public every few days. At Tsao Shih again an energetic magistrate is reported to have personally inspected and shut down all opium dens, confiscated smoking implements, and arrested and beaten the den-keepers.

Of the numerous regulations issued by the opium bureau, the most important have been those imposing a tax on licences to smokers renewable every month, and prohibiting the sowing of poppy after the autumn crop of the present year. As a matter of fact very little opium has ever been grown in Hupei, though the province has always been a veritable hotbed of the vice. According to the reports of the Customs commissioners, at least 20 per cent. of the total population smoke, amongst many young women. To satisfy the demand large quantities of opium are imported, especially from Szechuan and Yunnan, though it is impossible to give any accurate estimate of the total importation into the province.

HUNAN.

The soil of this province is not suitable for the cultivation of the poppy, though in some districts a small amount used to be grown, the amount being estimated in the Customs reports as not exceeding 1,000 piculs in 1906. The vice of smoking, though common in these few small poppy-growing districts, has never, I understand, been prevalent throughout the province. The estimates given vary considerably, but according to reports received from Changsha the proportion of confirmed smokers in Hunan did not exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population, though probably about one in every two grown-up men occasionally indulged in a pipe. From the very beginning of the anti-opium campaign the officials in Hunan have shown much earnestness in their efforts to stamp out the vice, and there seems to have been no falling off in this respect during the past year. In Changsha the registration of the licensed shops was completed last October. There were forty-seven such shops, of which thirty-three were to close within five years and the remaining fourteen within the following three years. Where shops were opened secretly the owners were arrested and punished, and persons who smoked in inns and restaurants have been bamboosed and the owners of the inns cangued. Two companies of provincial soldiers were sent to assist in preventing the smuggling which has sprung up on the borders of Kweichow and Szechuan. In Siangtan the measures adopted were so drastic that it was reported that merchants were compelled to go to Changsha to buy opium. At Yochou a woman opened a den for junkmen, and the magistrate, on being informed of this, went in person, arrested the smokers, gave the woman 200 blows, destroyed the pipes and closed the den.

A meeting of Wesleyan missionaries from six cities in the province held last spring was able to report a marked improvement; the drug was much more difficult to obtain, and the smoking had not only diminished, but was not indulged in so publicly.

His Majesty's consul at Changsha, however, wrote in January that in spite of the precautions taken to prevent smuggling into the west of the province, smoking in those districts showed but little diminution, and the drug was easily obtainable in those parts. The Governor of Hunan has recently addressed a memorial to the Throne, in which he reports that some 150 officials and 20,000 people have been cured of the habit; that all dens have been closed, and the system of licences strictly enforced. He had issued orders last year for the total suppression of cultivation, and had in the spring sent out inspectors to make sure that his orders were being obeyed, and to root up any poppy they might find. He intended to send out inspectors again in the winter to see whether any fresh poppy had been sown and, if so, to root it up. He suggested that in order to replace the steadily decreasing revenue from opium, all business establishments should be required to take out a licence, on which a small fee would be charged.

KWANGTUNG.

This province has never produced much opium, though the vice of smoking has always been very common. The question of suppression of cultivation has therefore been of secondary importance as compared with the eradication of the habit of smoking, and we can accept the statement made by the Viceroy in a memorial to the Throne last April that his orders for the total suppression of cultivation throughout the province had been faithfully observed, though it is possible that a small amount of poppy in the Ch'ao-chu-fu prefecture, in the neighbourhood of Swatow, may have escaped the vigilance of the Viceroy's inspectors.

In the beginning of the year His Majesty's consul-general at Canton reported that no restrictions were imposed on the free import and sale of raw opium, either foreign or native. The opium boiling shops were still licensed by the opium guild, but owing to the decrease in the quantity of opium prepared consequent on the closing of the dens, the lump sum paid by the guild to the Government in commutation of licence fees was reduced in 1908 from 100,000 to 48,000 dollars. There was a slight decrease in the volume of business in Indian opium in 1908, but high prices had been the rule and all the dealers did well. There was a marked falling-off in 1908 in the quantity of native opium coming down from Yunnan, Szechuan, and Kweichow caused by the partial suppression of cultivation in those provinces and the rise in the price of native opium owing to the heavy taxation.

Public smoking has practically ceased in Canton. The licensing regulations are strictly enforced by the police in the case of poor smokers, and smoking is becoming

a luxury confined to the rich, who, apparently owing to the venality of the police, find no difficulty in evading the regulations, and can therefore continue to indulge in the habit in their own houses with impunity. In order to assist in the enforcement of the regulations, orders were issued for the preparation of statistics as to the number of smokers, the number of shops selling prepared opium, and the quantity of opium sold. These statistics are probably not reliable, but those received from various magistrates give a total sale of opium throughout the province of 9,272,725 oz., or 5,115 piculs; the number of smokers was given at about 470,000, and of cures effected at 36,000.

Morphia, in various forms, continues to be smuggled into Canton, in spite of the prohibition and of the utmost vigilance on the part of the Customs officials. The declared total import for 1908 was only 1 oz., yet morphia in powder, pills, and tabloids is openly displayed in every medicine shop in Canton. Having learned from His Majesty's consul-general that six different samples of anti-opium pills which he had submitted for analysis to the Government analyst at Hong Kong all contained morphia in larger or smaller quantities, His Majesty's Minister addressed the Chinese Government on the subject, with the result that the Viceroy at Canton issued orders that the police should periodically test the various anti-opium medicines offered for sale. These orders do not appear to have had the desired effect, as certain further samples of pills submitted to the Government analyst at Hong Kong were again found to contain opium.

His Majesty's consul at Swatow has recently reported that in his district, and especially in Swatow, there has been considerable activity in the enforcement of the regulations governing the sale and smoking of opium. Licences have been issued to all shops selling either raw or prepared opium and the regulation requiring smokers to take out permits has been widely enforced. The permits state the daily amount the smoker is allowed to purchase and have to be changed at fixed intervals, usually of three months, when the allowance of opium is reduced by one-fifth in the case of smokers under 60, and by one-tenth in that of smokers over 60. An idea was mooted that the permits should be printed on large pieces of wood, to be increased in size each time the permit was renewed, and this piece of wood would readily indicate to the public the confirmed opium-smokers; but the idea was abandoned. Prosecutions for the infringement of the anti-opium regulations have been very frequent.

While the progress in the province as a whole therefore appears to be satisfactory the reports received from His Majesty's consul at Pakhoi tell of a very different state of affairs in the western districts of Kwangtung and the Island of Hainan. Here the various regulations have remained a dead letter; the local officials have made no serious attempt to grapple with the situation, opium can easily be procured without a licence, dens are even still open where the poorer classes can indulge in the vice, while the wealthier classes are laying in large stores for private consumption. Smoking in fact goes on just as before, and there does not appear to be any strong public feeling aroused in this part of the province against the use of the drug. It is evident that renewed and more stringent orders to the various local authorities are necessary before anything is likely to be done, and we must hope that the new Viceroy, who is showing such activity in his anti-opium campaign in other portions of the province, will see that his orders are enforced here also.

KUANGSI.

His Majesty's consul at Wuchow reported at the beginning of the year that the consumption in the province had decreased, though only to a small extent. There was, however, a widespread feeling among the Chinese against the use of the drug; men who did use it took pains to conceal the fact, and even those who smoked at home would not admit doing so, and when travelling one saw hardly any persons smoking opium.

In regard to the cultivation of opium, which has never been extensive in Kuangsi, the governor in a memorial to the Throne claimed that it had been completely suppressed throughout the province, and His Majesty's consul reports that, as far as his information goes, he hears nothing to conflict with this claim. Nevertheless the governor, to avoid any possible revival of this increasingly remunerative industry, issued very stringent regulations forbidding the cultivation of poppy under heavy penalties. The governor also reported to the Throne that he had taken steps to encourage the growth of cotton and hemp, the planting of mulberry and other trees, and the erection of factories to take the place of the opium industry.

As regards preventive measures against the use of the drug, the last report received from His Majesty's consul at Wuchow shows that the local authorities after a period of slackness are again showing more activity in the campaign. In the prefecture of Wuchow an official anti-opium society has been formed to undertake the suppression and cure of smokers and to organise a monopoly of the sale of opium. The monopoly was inaugurated in Wuchow and its suburbs on the 17th July, and the right of sale was confined to twenty-four houses. As regards other parts of the province, the information received is very scanty, but at Liuchow the dens have all been closed down, and only fifteen opium shops out of an original fifty remain open. It is difficult to say how far a statement of the Governor of Kuangsi that since the middle of 1907 all opium dens have been closed can be accepted as accurate. Opium is apparently still easily obtainable, though at an enhanced price. Nevertheless one may conclude that opium smoking throughout the province is on the decrease, though unfortunately the habit of eating it in the form of pills would appear to be growing.

SZECHUAN.

The report which Sir A. Hosie was able to give last year as to the reduction in the area of cultivation in this by far the greatest opium-producing province of the Empire, showed more satisfactory results than had been expected, and was a good augury for the future success of the movement. In view of the fact that Szechuan produces such a large proportion of the native opium consumed throughout the Empire, I shall deal at some length with the measures adopted there for the restriction of the cultivation of the poppy and the degree of success with which these measures have been attended thus far.

At the end of last year the Viceroy, his Excellency Chao Erh Hsün, an energetic and enlightened official, presented to the Throne a memorial describing the position as it then existed. His Excellency pointed out that in view of the large number of people dependent upon the cultivation of the poppy for their livelihood and the revenue derived therefrom by the province, the measures to be adopted must not be too hasty. It was first necessary to find a crop to replace the poppy, and he was experimenting with American cereals, and was at the same time teaching the people improved methods of agriculture. He had already given instructions that in the poppy districts the area should be reduced by one-half and that no new land should be planted. From reports received from various localities in the province his Excellency estimated that cultivation had been entirely suppressed in forty districts, and that the acreage under poppy throughout the whole province had been reduced by one-half, and that in two or three years cultivation would have entirely ceased. As he considered that in order to control the growth of opium it was necessary to have an official purchasing monopoly of the raw drug, he had established opium honges in the capital and other parts of the province, to which honges all raw opium must be brought. These honges were to supersede the official retail shops. The opium was to be prepared for sale or exportation to other provinces by the official opium factories. Illicit cultivation or sale of opium was to be suppressed by the local officials; consumers could only purchase opium at the official opium shops if provided with a licence, and the amount which each applicant was permitted to purchase would be periodically reduced. His Excellency added that he was doing his best to exclude smokers from official employment; that the movement against the use of the drug had made considerable progress; and that he was anxious to take advantage of the present enthusiasm of the people to reduce the limit of time for the abolition of the poppy before that enthusiasm had time to grow cold.

The summary prohibition of cultivation throughout the province, which is, as the Viceroy observed, both the largest producer and consumer of opium, was evidently at that time condemned as impracticable. The statement as to the large reduction already effected in 1908 was fully borne out by the information given in Sir A. Hosie's report, and it is evident that some further reduction in the area of cultivation has been effected in 1909, at all events in certain districts of the province.

A provincial opium agency was established in the early part of the year to control the cultivation of poppy and to see that the Viceroy's scheme of reducing the crop by 50 per cent. was properly carried out. The system was as follows:—

1. Local bureaux were to be established in all districts where opium was cultivated with a market for the purchase of opium in the most central place, and a warehouse for storing opium.
2. All opium grown in the district must be brought to this market.

3. The headman of each village was to notify in November all lands under poppy to the local bureau branch, which would in return issue permits for cultivation of a fixed area binding the holder of the permit to hand over a proportionate amount of opium after the harvest. Officers were to be sent round to see that the area under cultivation did not exceed that for which permits had been issued.

4. In issuing the permits the local bureau was to provide for a 50 per cent. reduction in cultivation, and after the harvest the permit was to be surrendered and the proper quatum of the opium grown delivered to the local bureau for sale or storage.

5. Opium imported from other provinces must also be delivered to the opium agency.

6. Consumers were not to buy raw opium, but only officially prepared opium.

These rules were published too late to permit of the enforcement of the system of permits for cultivation last season, but, in spite of that, as I before said, there was a further reduction in the area of cultivation last season. The Viceroy furnished the acting consul-general with a list compiled from reports received from the magistrates, according to which cultivation had completely ceased in fifteen districts, had been reduced by one-half in four, while from two other districts the magistrates had reported that they were taking steps to reduce the area. On the whole the Chinese reports are borne out by those received from missionaries scattered over the province. The Viceroy claimed that in Peng Hsien, one of the largest opium-growing districts north-west of Chengtu, cultivation had entirely ceased, and this was confirmed by an American missionary, who wrote that poppy was no longer grown there, wheat and vegetables having taken its place. Eight other reports received from missionaries covering a wide area may possibly serve as an indication of what is taking place in other parts of the province. In every instance they report a considerable reduction in cultivation. Unfortunately there are districts from which the reports are far from encouraging, and it is evident that the reports forwarded to the Viceroy from many districts were misleading. For instance, in the Tanleng district the magistrate reported to the Viceroy that the area had been reduced by one-half, and that there were not more than ten fields sown with poppy, whereas a missionary wrote that there were hundreds of fields covered with the plant. Not very far from Tanleng, in Pengshan Hsien and Meichou, south of Chengtu, more poppy was sown last autumn than ever before, and poppy was even substituted for other crops. In the Ninyang-fu prefecture poppy was sown in large quantities last autumn, but a newly appointed and energetic official ordered the growing crops to be dug up. The missionary reports received through His Majesty's vice-consul at Chungking have been very contradictory, but on the whole they indicate no progress in the eastern side of the province; some talked of a reduction in the area of cultivation, but the great majority said that no steps had been taken in this direction, and many even reported an actual increase, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of Chungking.

The Viceroy of Szechuan, like other Viceroys and governors, appears to have realised that it was beyond the power of the Chinese to enforce strictly the complicated regulations that had been issued in regard to reducing the area of cultivation, and he also has issued a proclamation forbidding the sowing of any poppy at all this autumn. The effect of this proclamation will certainly be to diminish the amount of poppy grown still further, and, while it may not in such a vast province owing to the laxity and venality of subordinate officials, produce immediately the desired result, there seems to be every chance that opium may not be grown on a large scale throughout the province in a year or two. His Majesty's consul at Chungking, in spite of the unsatisfactory reports he has sent, appears to be hopeful as to the ultimate result. The farmer in Szechuan is a patient and law-abiding person, not likely to offer active opposition to any measures that may be adopted, and the missionaries are of opinion that a definite prohibition of cultivation and a little genuine activity on the part of the officials would soon put an entire stop to the cultivation of the poppy. When one considers that this means that roughly one-half of the entire supply of native opium in China would thus disappear, it is evident that both the central and the provincial authorities should spare no pains to attain such a desirable result.

In regard to the suppression of the vice of smoking, there is also some progress to be reported. Writing at the beginning of the year His Majesty's consul at Chengtu said that there was a marked decline throughout the province in the prevalence of the opium habit, which was gradually becoming unpopular among

educated people of all classes. The retail opium shops or official opium dens established in 1907 were finally closed this year, in Chengtu on the 20th February and elsewhere in the province on the 22nd March, though I understand that in Chungking, where eighty-six dens remained open at the end of last year, the final closing could not be enforced till the 20th April. Since then the only lawful means of obtaining the drug has been from the official opium shops, which can only sell to holders of licences for consumption off the premises and the rule requiring the production of licence prior to purchase of opium is strictly enforced, though its real object is evaded by the indiscriminate issue to any applicant of travellers' permits allowing the holder to purchase 1 oz. a-day for five days. It is, I understand, difficult to estimate to what extent illicit traffic in prepared opium is carried on by this means, but it no doubt exists on a considerable scale.

The price of the officially prepared drug rose last year from 440 cash per ounce to 500 cash per ounce, and in the middle of July it was raised to 540 cash per ounce. This periodical increase would not, however, appear to have the effect of reducing illicit sales as smuggled opium is necessarily sold at a cheaper rate than the officially prepared drug and the higher the price of the latter the greater the profit the smuggler can make.

The returns of prepared opium issued by the official factory to the distributing agencies in Chengtu show an enormous decrease on last year's figures, but I am afraid that a considerable proportion of this decrease was due to two causes: the inferior quality of the drug prepared at the factory, and the consequent increase in the amount of opium illicitly prepared and sold. Since the quality of the officially prepared drug has improved, its consumption has again increased. However, even taking these facts into consideration, there can be no doubt that the subjoined figures giving the monthly amounts of prepared opium issued by the factory during portions of last and this year indicate a diminution in the number of smokers and in the amount of opium smoked:—

Chinese moon.	Kuang Hsu. 34th year.	Hsuan Tung, 1st year.
	Oz.	Oz.
1	54,825	10,182
2	61,248	7,590
2nd intercalary..	..	9,298
3	51,153	10,770
4	49,540	17,201
5	38,633	..
12	19,159	..

KUEICHOW.

Sir A. Hosie was obliged to paint a very black picture of the state of affairs in Kueichow, which he characterised as probably the most opium-sodden province in the Empire.

During the past year practically no reliable information has reached His Majesty's Legation, except a report from a missionary who travelled through the province in the spring and found that opium was being grown openly everywhere and estimated the area of cultivation as even greater than in previous years. The Viceroy, Hsi Liang, would appear to have confined his attention to the province of Yünnan and not to have made any attempt to have his energetic measures enforced in the province of Kueichow. It appears that when he travelled through the latter province on his way from Yünnan-fu to Hankow last March the young poppy in the vicinity of the main roads along which he passed were covered over with earth for the day.

The only other evidence we have to go on is a memorial by the Governor of Kueichow dated the 6th July. In it he admits that both the cultivation and consumption of opium in Kueichow had increased to an exceptional extent and that its abolition was correspondingly difficult. Here, again, the governor had come to the conclusion that total prohibition of cultivation was more easily enforced than gradual reduction, and he had issued an order that no opium must be grown after this year. Although this prohibition was in many cases disregarded last spring, he hoped that by the autumn the cultivation of opium would be completely abandoned

and other crops substituted. He claimed that the consumption of opium in the province had already fallen by 40 to 50 per cent., and that 90 per cent. of the officials and 40 per cent. of the people had given up the drug. I cannot help feeling, however, that if these estimates were even approximately correct, some independent confirmatory evidence would have reached us. On the whole, I am inclined to consider Kueichow as one of the provinces in which the least progress has been made, and most therefore remains to be done.

YÜNNAN.

Sir A. Hosie has already described the stringent regulations issued last year by the Viceroy Hsi Liang, according to which all cultivation was to cease in Yünnan by the end of the last Chinese year, *i.e.*, the 21st January, 1909, and no opium was to be allowed to pass any customs or *li-kin* barriers after the 21st September, 1908. Opinions were divided as to the wisdom of the step taken by the Viceroy in curtailing to such an extent the period within which the cultivation of the poppy was to be prohibited in a province which was the second in importance of the opium-producing provinces. Many strong partisans of the anti-opium movement held that the suppression should take place more gradually and extend over four or five years, so as to allow the farmers more time to substitute other crops and to avoid arousing too active resistance on their part. Sir A. Hosie spoke with justice of the herculean task that the Viceroy had set himself. The reports, however, since received from Mr. Wilton, His Majesty's consul-general at Yünnan-fu, and Mr. Rose, the acting British consul at Tengyueh, have proved that Hsi Liang was fully justified in adopting such radical measures, and the success which has attended his energetic efforts goes far to prove how much can be achieved even in the very worst provinces towards the final eradication of the opium habit if only the higher provincial authorities are energetic and determined.

In the early part of the year it looked as if the people were inclined not to take the Viceroy's proclamation seriously, and though for miles around the capital no poppy was to be seen, in many more remote districts it was sown just as usual. In Kütsing-fu, Lopingchou, and other districts in Eastern Yünnan large tracts were planted, and the farmers declared that they would resist with force any attempt to interfere with their crops, but they found that the Viceroy was in earnest and was prepared, if necessary, to employ military force to enforce his orders for the uprooting of the crops. The same state of affairs prevailed at the end of last year in many districts of West and South-West Yünnan, large areas of opium being planted in the belief that the Viceroy would never have the power to enforce his prohibition. In the district of Tsu-yung the area of cultivation was said to extend over 90 miles in length and attempts of the police to dig up the plants were forcibly and successfully resisted. Gradually, however, the reports received from missionaries and officials began to show that headway was being made. His Excellency Hsi Liang left Yünnan towards the end of February and the people evidently thought that the Acting Viceroy Shen would not show the same energy as his predecessor and that things would fall back to their former state. They were fortunately mistaken. Shen began by exposing one of his own official servants for three days in a cage for owning a secret opium den, he issued orders to search for hidden stores of opium, and gave instructions that loans advanced to opium growers by prospective buyers need not be enforced. The period during which opium would pass the customs and *li-kin* stations was prolonged, but only for a few weeks, and this step was taken to calm the growing discontent of the traders who had large stores of opium to dispose of. He dispatched soldiers to assist in rooting up the growing crops and stationed small bodies of troops in places where opium was cultivated. Apparently, however, it was not safe or possible last spring to carry the anti-opium crusade into the districts under the aboriginal chiefs of Yünnan, where large quantities of opium are grown—according to some accounts, two-fifths of the whole supply of the province—though His Majesty's consul-general at Yünnan-fu puts it at only one-fifth, and that is probably nearer the mark.

The acting Viceroy, in a memorial to the Throne, stated that the production of opium had been reduced by 80 or 90 per cent. Of course he excluded the semi-independent native districts from his calculations, but even then His Majesty's consul-general considered this estimate exaggerated, but he informed His Majesty's Legation that the Viceroy Hsi Liang, in conversation with him shortly before his departure, had claimed that the cultivation throughout the province including the districts not directly under the Chinese authorities had been reduced by one-half.

Mr. Coggin Brown, of the Geological Survey of India, who travelled this year

through Western and Northern Yünnan, was much struck by the extraordinary reduction that had been made since his visit last year to Western Yünnan, and confirmed the opinion that the poppy was nowhere to be found growing along the main roads, though he had seen a good deal growing in out of the way parts, notably to the south and west of Tali-fu. Mr. Wilton reported that in Eastern Yünnan the authorities adopted very strong measures, and soldiers were employed to uproot the plantations of poppy wherever they were found, the farmers in most cases receiving a small compensation.

The authorities appear to have paid much less attention to the enforcement of the regulations for the suppression of smoking though the closing of the opium dens was apparently made effective, at all events in all the big towns. His Majesty's consul-general at Yünnan-fu was told by a trustworthy Chinese official in touch with the anti-opium bureau that about 10 per cent. of the well-to-do classes, 20 per cent. of the middle classes, and 50 per cent. of the working classes in Yünnan-fu had given up opium smoking.

In view of the importance of the province of Yünnan as a source of supply of native opium, and of the difficulty of obtaining independent and reliable information as to the degree of success attained in the anti-opium campaign, His Majesty's Minister decided to authorise Mr. Rose, the acting British consul in Tengyueh, to undertake a journey of inquiry in his consular district. The country traversed by Mr. Rose was formerly estimated to produce about 36,000 piculs, or nearly one-half of the opium grown in the whole province of Yünnan, and he considers that this year's production will not exceed 18,000 piculs. In the districts which are under the direct rule of the Chinese authorities not a field of poppy was to be found, but amongst the semi-independent Shan tribes the diminution in cultivation was naturally much less. This result had not been attained without resort to drastic measures on the part of the Chinese authorities, of which Mr. Rose cites several examples. Riots had been suppressed by military force, and in one instance the decapitation of fourteen persons had been necessary to convince the farmers that the authorities were in earnest.

Mr. Rose's report is of such interest as showing at first hand the remarkable progress that has been made towards the total suppression of opium cultivation in the greatest poppy-growing districts of Yünnan, that I have printed it as an annexe to the present report.* We may, I think, take it for granted that the progress in other parts of the province is at least on the same scale. The great problem which still awaits solution in Yünnan is the discovery of some crop to take the place of the poppy, and I understand that the present Viceroy is studying the possibilities of introducing rubber cultivation.

Yünnan, like Shansi, affords a splendid example of what can be achieved in the space of a few months by the energy and determination of a single administrator bent on the eradication of the opium habit.

There are two points which I think must strike any one who, after a perusal of what has been written above about the individual provinces, wishes to form a more or less definite judgment as to the degree of progress made throughout the Empire towards the suppression of the cultivation of opium, namely, (1) that there has hitherto been no uniformity of practice except in regard to the prevailing absence of any accurate survey or record of the area of land devoted to poppy growing; and (2) that there is only one method of making effective progress in a manner that will make it possible to give a definite answer as to the decrease in the production of opium in China at the end of the three years, and that is by issuing orders totally prohibiting the cultivation of opium after a certain date and taking the necessary measures, however harsh, to see that those orders are properly carried out.

As to the absence of reliable statistics, to which I have already referred, nobody can regret it more than the various members of this legation who have been responsible for the compilation of the general reports on the opium question. Their labour and their responsibility would have been much lightened if they could have confined themselves to reproducing reliable statistics which could speak for themselves, instead of trying to draw some more or less definite conclusions from the mass of vague and contradictory reports placed before them. I think that it is better to admit honestly that in the circumstances now prevailing throughout China and with

* Inclosure 3, p. 35.

the machinery at the disposal of the Government it is not possible to obtain a proper survey in the various provinces or accurate records of the area under poppy cultivation in successive years on which one could base reliable statistics as to the proportionate reduction in the amount of opium grown in China each year.

It is evident that at first the Central Government were under the delusion that such information would be forthcoming to assist them in their task. The Imperial decree of the 26th June, 1907, and the regulations of the 23rd May, 1908, called for returns from the provincial and local authorities as to the area of land under poppy cultivation and as to the number of smokers. Sir A. Hosie in his general report wrote that the acreage under poppy cultivation was said to be in process of compilation by the local authorities, but that nothing had as yet been published.

Much had been expected from the report to be submitted by the Chinese Government to the commission at Shanghai, in the compilation of which the officials of the revenue and postal departments of the Imperial Maritime Customs who are spread all over all the provinces of the Empire, had assisted. In presenting this report, however, Mr. Tang Kuo-an, a member of the Chinese delegation, had himself to acknowledge its shortcomings. He described the difficulties that had to be contended against by the delegation in compiling it, and confessed that, owing to the absence of any proper Government machinery, it was well-nigh impossible for them to obtain reliable statistics of the area of land under cultivation, and no attempt had therefore been made to arrive at any conclusion in that respect. The Chinese report contained a table, which I here reproduce, giving the various estimates that have been made of the production of opium per province.

Provinces.	Morse, 1905.	Leech, 1907.	Board of Revenue (Kuang Hst, 32nd year), 1906.	Estimate based on Customs Reports, 1906.	Estimate based on Customs Reports, 1908.
	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.	Piculs.
Manchuria	15,000	15,000	6,279	15,000	8,000
Chihli	5,000	10,000	3,870	12,000	8,000
Shantung	10,000	10,000	6,863	18,000	12,000
Kiangsu	5,000	5,000	9,919	16,000	5,000
Chekiang	5,000	5,000	4,724	14,000	9,000
Fukien	2,000	2,000	1,514	5,000	3,000
Kwangtung	500	500	77	500	200
Total, coast provinces ..	42,500	47,500	33,246	80,500	45,200
Hunan	3,000	3,000	158	1,000	500
Hupei	4,000	4,000	1,293	3,000	2,000
Kiangsi	500	500	74	300	100
Anhui	3,000	3,000	4,048	6,000	3,000
Total, Yang-tze provinces..	10,500	10,500	5,573	10,300	5,600
Honan	5,000	5,000	5,283	15,000	10,000
Shansi	5,000	5,000	9,666	30,000	20,000
Shensi	10,000	10,000	10,815	50,000	33,000
Kansu	5,000	5,000	7,988	34,000	23,000
Szechuan	250,000	200,000	57,463	238,000	159,000
Yunnan	30,000	30,000	7,928	78,000	39,000
Kweichow	15,000	15,000	9,350	48,000	32,000
Kwangsi	3,000	3,000	1	500	150
New territory	187	500	300
Total, inland provinces ..	323,000	273,000	109,281	494,000	316,450
Grand total	376,000	331,000	148,100	584,800	367,250

These are Morse's estimate of 1905, Mr. Leech's estimate, the estimate of the Board of Revenue in 1906, and estimates for the years 1906 and 1908, culled and joined together from reports sent forward by the commissioners of Customs at the various treaty ports. "These reports," we read, "are based on the personal investigations of the writers and assistance derived from inland postal officers, missionaries, and Chinese merchants, as well as an occasional recourse to official sources. It is acknowledged that accurate statistics about opium are most difficult to obtain

in China, and it must therefore be understood that the figures given are in many cases only approximate and the result of sifting the scraps of information received here and there and the putting of 'two and two together' in the minds of the framers of the estimates." This is more especially true in regard to the estimates of the inland provinces—the greatest opium-producing districts in China—where taxation is irregular and, for the greater part, evaded, and where public or official returns are practically unknown; where, in addition, the percentage of an uncounted population, who locally consume the opium, is a matter of conjecture, the most carefully made computation may be easily converted."

Mr. T'ang, however, insisted that "no manipulation of figures could alter the fact that more than 600,000 piculs of opium were consumed annually within the Empire up to the year 1906," instead of the more moderate estimates of Morse and Mr. Leech, and naturally, by increasing the estimate of the total output in 1906, it was easy to magnify the proportionate reduction effected in 1908.

As Sir A. Hosie said, in his speech at the sixth session of the commission, there was certainly no delegate present who was more in sympathy than he was with the desire and aim of the Government of China to eradicate the cultivation of the poppy and the consumption of opium in China. His remarks were, as he himself said, made in no carping spirit, but were offered to show that we were still much in the dark regarding the actual production, consumption, and reduction of opium in China, and also in the hope that criticism and analysis at that stage might do something to obviate the difficulty and possible controversy which might occur if towards the end of next year the Chinese Government are not in a position to demonstrate with some approach to precision the actual progress that has been effected. It is in the same spirit and with the same intention and, I may add, with the same conviction as to the sincerity of the Chinese Government, and as to the reality of the progress already effected by China, that I reproduce Sir A. Hosie's criticism of the estimates presented to the commission in the Chinese report. Sir A. Hosie spoke as follows:—

"I come now to the question of opium production in China—a subject which has occupied many minds for many years. At p. 15 of the memorandum presented by the Chinese delegation some estimates for recent years are given by Mr. Morse for 1905, Mr. Leech for 1907, the Board of Revenue for 1906, Customs returns for 1906, and Customs returns for 1908. I eliminate from these Mr. Leech's estimate, which, with two exceptions, is the same as Mr. Morse's whereon it was based, and the estimate of the Board of Revenue, which is admitted to be altogether unsatisfactory and untrustworthy, and has been challenged in an outspoken memorial by the Tartar general stationed at Ning-hsia, in the province of Kansu; and I ask the Chinese delegation when the Customs estimate for 1906 was compiled. Was it compiled in 1907 or at the end of 1908 along with the estimate for that year? There is, I think, internal evidence to show that the latter was the case, and that both estimates were compiled at one and the same time. For the moment one instance will suffice. At p. 18 the province of Anhui is dealt with. The commissioner of Customs at Wuhu, the only port open to foreign trade in that province, estimates the annual production of Anhui to be not less than 3,000 piculs at the present time, and he states that there has been a reduction in the area under poppy cultivation in some districts of from 50 to 80 per cent. The compilers of the memorandum then say that the estimate is consequently doubled for 1906. Such reasoning, to my mind, is perfectly illogical, for we have been informed that the area or acreage under poppy is an unknown quantity, and a conclusion based on the alleged reduction of an unknown area is of very little value. In other cases the estimate of production in 1908 is deduced by cutting down the estimated production of 1906 by certain percentages. For example, it is stated that the production of Yünnan has been reduced since 1906 by over 50 per cent., and that, as Kueichow is under the same viceroyalty, it is reduced by one-third. Again, although there is no connection between Yünnan and the provinces of Szechuan, Shensi, and Kansu, it is argued that because Yünnan production has been curtailed by one-half, the output of the other three provinces has each been reduced by one-third. It is really unnecessary to take up the time of this commission with multiplying such cases, but it is well to point out that from reductions such as these the conclusion is drawn that there has been a curtailment of production in China to the extent of 37 per cent. in 1908 as compared with 1906. It may be so, and I sincerely hope it is; but I am afraid that the figures on which such a conclusion is based would not satisfy any western statistical society."

A reply made by the Chinese delegation to a question of the British delegation emphasises still further the impossibility of securing reliable statistics on which to base our final conclusions, and as a deliberate expression of opinion of the Chinese Government I think that it is worth reproducing:—

“In reply to the question of the British delegation whether trustworthy returns of the acreage under poppy and of opium smokers in each province will be compiled, and, if so, when they will be made public, we beg to state that no definite date can be fixed for the compilation of trustworthy returns, owing to the enormous difficulties involved in obtaining such returns under existing circumstances. It is too well known that under the present system of local and provincial administration there is neither proper Government machinery for the compilation of statistics nor proper survey and land records out of which statistics can be compiled. A number of the provinces have attempted to make such returns, but for the reasons given above the Chinese delegates do not consider them of much real value. In regard to the number of opium smokers in each province, the remarks given above as to the difficulties of obtaining trustworthy returns of the acreage are equally applicable here, and only estimates can be given, which we have done according to the best of our ability in our memorandum on opium. For our shortcomings in these respects we can only repeat that we crave the indulgence of not only the British delegation, but of all the delegations of this honourable commission.”

My idea as to the purpose of these general reports on the opium question in China is that though they may also serve for the enlightenment of public opinion as to the progress of the anti-opium campaign in China, they are primarily intended to furnish information to His Majesty's Government which may enable them at the end of the trial period of three years covered by the agreement with the Chinese Government to form a correct judgment as to whether China has fulfilled her part of the bargain, and made a corresponding reduction in the internal production and consumption of opium, so as to justify the Indian Government in continuing their policy of annually reducing by one-tenth the export of opium from India to China.

It is evident that we cannot expect reliable statistics by the end of next year, therefore we shall have to depend on the other method to which I have before referred as affording clear evidence that the necessary diminution in production has been effected, namely, the issue and proper enforcement of orders categorically forbidding the cultivation of opium. The Chinese authorities have themselves come to the conclusion that elaborate regulations for the registration of poppy lands and a proportionate annual reduction are unworkable, and that there is only one way of measuring the progress made towards the ultimate extinction of the poppy, and that is by issuing orders for its total prohibition after a certain date and taking energetic measures to see that the orders are enforced. Such orders were already in force last season in the provinces of Shansi, Yünnan, Fukien, Hunan, Kwangtung, and Hei-lung-kiang, and were successfully enforced in most cases. The two first named were two of the greatest opium-producing provinces of China, and His Majesty's Minister considered it to be of such importance to ascertain how far the order forbidding the growth of opium had been enforced that he instructed Mr. Brenan and Mr. Rose to undertake journeys of investigation in Shansi and Yünnan respectively. I need not repeat here what I have already written as to the great results achieved in these two provinces by vigorous personal administration; but apart from the actual reduction in the total amount of opium produced by China involved therein, the results obtained are the best possible augury for the success of the movement throughout the Empire, for there seems no reason to believe that what has been done in Shansi and Yünnan could not be accomplished elsewhere were the same energy and earnestness applied to the task. All that is needed are definite and simple orders and a fearless and determined governor to secure their execution. I am strongly of opinion that prohibition of cultivation will now be enforced, of course with varying results, in practically all the provinces, and I also cannot help feeling that the majority of the high provincial authorities are convinced that no trifling with this question will be allowed, and that they will therefore do all that lies in their power to enforce the order that no more poppy is to be sown.

In one of the provinces of Manchuria—Hei-lung-chiang—total prohibition was already enforced last season, and resulted, if not in the total disappearance, yet certainly in a great reduction of the crop. Kwangtung has never been a large opium-producing province, and apparently what little was formerly grown is now to all

intents and purposes suppressed. In Fukien also and in Hunan, where very little poppy was ever grown, similar orders were enforced last season with a very large measure of success.

In Kuangsi the cultivation was never very extensive and has now been entirely eradicated.

The excellent results obtain in Hei-lung-chiang, Shansi, and Yünnan appear to have inspired governors of other provinces to issue similar orders, and the growing of opium is from now on forbidden in the large majority of provinces, *i.e.*, Kirin and Fengtien, in Manchuria; Chihli, Shantung, Honan, Kiangsu, Anhui, Szechuan, Shensi, Kansu, and Kweichow.

As to Kirin and Fengtien, the activity shown by the Viceroy and other officials in Manchuria in regard to the suppression of smoking throughout the three provinces, and the eradication of the poppy in Hei-lung-chiang, augurs well for the successful enforcement of the order in the two remaining provinces.

The prohibition of cultivation in Chihli was to take effect from last spring. A certain reduction had been already effected, and there seems little doubt that if the new Viceroy, Tuan Fang, only shows himself stern and uncompromising in enforcing the prohibition the next reports from Chihli will show a great diminution, if not a total disappearance, of the poppy crop.

In Shantung the former governor, Yuan-shu-hsun, an energetic and progressive official, at first turned all his attention to the promulgation and enforcement of complicated rules for the suppression of smoking, but seeing that, though he made a certain amount of progress, his final object of abolishing smoking in Shantung could never be achieved by these means, he issued orders last year that no more poppy was to be grown. Unfortunately he was persuaded to grant certain exemptions, but, nevertheless, the success that attended his efforts last season was so marked that it may be prophesied with some certainty that now that it is absolutely forbidden to grow poppy in Shantung the cultivation will be practically stopped next year in this province also, provided always that Yuan-shu-hsun's successor shows the same will and energy that he himself did.

In Honan an order forbidding the cultivation of the poppy was issued last year, but apparently was not to become generally effective till this year. As a matter of fact, it was actively enforced already last year in the neighbourhood of the provincial capital, and all the growing crops were destroyed. There seems, however, to have been some doubt in the minds of officials and farmers whether they were allowed to grow poppy last season or not, the consequence being that though there was some reduction in area there was still a considerable quantity of opium harvested. Now, however, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the order, and it only depends on the officials to see that it is properly enforced.

In Kiangsu and Anhui we have the same story, the order was issued too late last year to be carried out in its entirety. In both provinces the authorities showed energy, and large areas of land already planted with poppy were dug up, with the result that there was, if not entire cessation, at any rate a considerable decrease of production. The authorities intend to enforce the prohibition very rigorously this year, and we may look forward to satisfactory results in both these provinces.

In Szechuan the orders in regard to the diminution of the area of cultivation appear to have been too complicated for practical enforcement. Immediately around Chengtu, and in a less degree throughout the whole of the western half of this vast province, there has been some decrease in the amount of opium produced, but in the east of the province, especially along the Yang-tsze, the very reverse appears to have been the case; not only was there no diminution in the area of cultivation, but in some districts there was an increase, and new lands were planted with poppy. This was apparently due to the slackness of the local authorities, who, realising that last season was probably the farmers' last chance of deriving profit from a good crop of opium, allowed them "to make hay while the sun shines." The Viceroy has now forbidden the planting of any poppy, and the general impression appears to be that if he manages to convince the local officials and the people generally that he means to have his orders carried out at any price, we shall at all events see a marked reduction in the quantity of opium harvested next year, even if, in so large a province, where the cultivation of the poppy is the principal industry, it proves impossible to entirely eradicate it in such a short period.

The last three provinces, Shensi, Kansu, and Kweichow, in which the cultivation of the poppy is now totally prohibited, have hitherto been distinguished by the failure of the officials to take any efficient steps towards the suppression either of consumption

or production. In all three it looks as if the amount of poppy grown last season was actually greater than in 1906, and the issue of the prohibition will not suffice by itself to effect any improvement, unless the authorities at the same time alter their whole attitude and take effective measures to ensure its enforcement.

In Chekiang orders have been issued prohibiting the growing of opium, but they are not as definite as in other provinces, and it will not, therefore, be so easy to estimate how far they have been carried out. Apparently an attempt is to be made this season to prevent any poppy from being sown, but the final suppression is not to be insisted on till 1911, *i.e.*, in three years. The attempts made to reduce cultivation in this province have already been attended with such good results that a definite immediate prohibition would probably have been successfully enforced.

From Hupei the reports are very unsatisfactory. It is true that the province produces but little opium and imports large quantities from other provinces, but on the whole no effective steps have been taken either to diminish the number of smokers or to reduce the small amount of poppy grown. On the contrary, in some districts more poppy was grown last season than before, and, as far as I can ascertain, no order has been issued forbidding the cultivation.

In the remaining province of Kiangsi there has never been any cultivation of opium worth mentioning.

It may be urged that throughout this report I am devoting all my attention to one single feature of the movement, *viz.*, the suppression of production, to the practical exclusion of the other features, such as the regulation and final abolition of the facilities for procuring the drug, the prevention of smoking, and the cure of smokers. As a matter of fact, I have described the various steps taken in each separate province, but the Chinese themselves seem to have come to the conclusion that the object that they must now aim at is the suppression of cultivation. It is clear that if the native supply is cut off, while the supply of foreign opium continues to be gradually diminished, opium smoking must in a few years become a thing of the past in China; therefore, the great thing to aim at is to diminish and ultimately extinguish the supply. The agreement with the Government of India involves a corresponding reduction in consumption as well as in production, but the annual reduction of the imports of foreign opium, Persian and Turkish, as well as Indian, being now assured, a decrease of production must, when the reserve stocks of opium are exhausted, imply a corresponding decrease in consumption.

The one preventive regulation that has, as far as one can judge, been enforced with a certain uniformity throughout all the provinces, except the very bad ones, such as Shensi, Kansu, Hupei, and Kweichow, is the closing of the opium dens. What happens in villages and on the country roads in this respect it is impossible to ascertain, but in the majority of cities and towns all dens have been officially closed, though a certain number of clandestine dens doubtless still exist in many cases with the connivance of the venal police.

As far as our information goes, no serious attempt to grapple with the question of providing a revenue to replace that previously raised on opium has been made since the publication of a decree in October 1908, imposing additional taxation on the sale of both raw and prepared opium. Sir A. Hosie has already mentioned the increase in the taxes on land planted with opium and on salt, and in certain provinces additional fees have been imposed during the past year for the issue of licences to opium shops and opium smokers. Various suggestions have been made as to measures which might be adopted to make good the deficiency; the Governor of Shansi, for instance, suggested higher taxes on tobacco, sugar, and wine, while the Governor of Hunan proposed that all business establishments should be required to take out a licence, on which a small fee would be charged. But, as I said before, the Central Government has not as yet devised any workable and satisfactory plan to make good the loss of the revenue hitherto derived from opium.

Another question closely connected with the above that still awaits solution is the question of discovering the most profitable crops to plant in the place of poppy in the various provinces. It has been pointed out in previous reports that one great obstacle to the abolition of the growth of the poppy is the extremely profitable nature of the crop as compared with other crops; while another obstacle, I understand, is that poppy so impoverishes the soil upon which it is grown that it is difficult to get any other crop to grow well on it. Some of the Viceroys and governors have already taken steps to find out what crops could be most profitably substituted for the poppy, but no practical steps have, as far as I can ascertain, been taken anywhere to assist the farmer by providing seeds or young trees. The Viceroy of Yünnan reported that

he was studying the possibility of planting rubber trees in Yunnan. The Viceroy of Szechuan has been experimenting with American cereals. In Shansi potatoes are being grown in increased quantities; in Manchuria, beans. Among other substitutes suggested from various sources have been cotton, hemp, tobacco, cocoa, ramie, tea, and the planting of trees, especially of mulberry trees for silkworm culture.

Many of the reports received from consular officials and missionaries mention the growing habit of eating opium in the form of pills—which, from all accounts, is now very prevalent—and also of hypodermic injections of morphia. Many Chinese, it is said, have ceased to be opium smokers only to become eaters or morphia injectors. By the consent of all the Powers the importation of morphia into China was prohibited from the beginning of the present year, and the Chinese Government issued elaborate instructions to prevent the import of morphia except for medicinal purposes; but it is to be feared that, without the assistance of the countries from which the morphia is exported, China will be unable to check the smuggling of morphia over her 7,000 miles of land and 4,000 miles of sea frontier. The Chinese Government and the provincial authorities appear to be fully alive to the danger of this vice, and stringent regulations have been issued against the unauthorised sale of morphia; and any person caught selling morphia or instruments for its use is to be banished to a “pestilential frontier of the Empire.” It is difficult to estimate how far the habit of morphia injections has taken root in various parts of the Empire, but to judge from Dr. Gray's report about Peking it was only a passing craze directly after the issue of the opium edicts and is already on the wane.

Apparently a much more prevalent vice is that of opium eating in the insidious form of so-called “anti-opium” pills, which are sold everywhere as a cure for opium smoking. I have already described the result of the analysis by the Government analyst in Hong Kong of different kinds of anti-opium pills openly sold in Canton, many of them under Government authority. Medical authorities appear to differ as to the comparative degree of harm wrought by opium smoking and opium eating, but I would call attention to what Dr. Gray says as to his personal experience on the subject in the capital.

At the beginning of this report I spoke of the continued zeal and determination shown by the court and Central Government in their prosecution of the objects embodied in the Imperial edict of the 20th September, 1906. I further stated that this year had shown a marked improvement in the attitude of the Viceroys and governors, who, with three or four exceptions already referred to, had loyally seconded the efforts of the Central Government, even going further in their measures than their instructions prescribed. What can be effected by a strong and determined governor, who can give definite orders and will not shrink from the employment of any measures, however stern, which may be necessary to secure the proper enforcement of his orders, has been seen in Shansi and Yunnan. Unfortunately not all governors, much less all local officials, show the necessary determination, but just as the Viceroys and governors have come to realise that the Central Government is in earnest, so the local officials soon realise that the Provincial Government is in earnest and act accordingly. In certain provinces it is hard for the governor to make his influence felt throughout all the province, and judging from the accounts of what has been effected up till now the vigour of the suppression varies, as a rule, in proportion to the distance from the provincial capitals, though, of course, even in the remotest districts an official who is in earnest can effect much. The venality and disloyalty of the underlings has greatly increased the difficulties with which the officials have had to contend, but fear of certain punishment following on detection has proved a powerful deterrent, and among this class also there has been a great improvement.

The most practical test, perhaps, as to whether a district is likely to get rid of the evil is to ascertain whether the magistrate and other officials are smokers. Where they are not and are possessed of a fair amount of energy and honesty, the licensing and other regulations are, in most cases, rapidly and easily enforced; but where the officials themselves smoke, the regulations merely provide them with a new and profitable source of illicit income. The Central Government therefore has shown great wisdom in paying especial attention to the observance of the rule forbidding officials to smoke, simultaneously with the issue of orders in so many provinces for the total suppression of cultivation.

I have left to the end the question of the improvement in public opinion in regard to opium smoking. Many persons hold that the best method of curing the habit, as distinct from stopping the supply, is by the education of public opinion, by

example, and otherwise; this view was clearly set forth in article 9 of the original regulations. There has been a marked improvement in this respect throughout the Empire. The rise in the price of opium and the fear of punishment have certainly been responsible for by far the larger share in the reduction of the number of smokers, especially among the poorer classes, but the marked change in public opinion has also had a beneficial effect in this respect. In old days it was considered good form for a young man to smoke opium; now the reverse is the case, and he no longer feels himself bound to indulge in his opium after dinner. Smoking is banished from public places, and though dens exist, they exist in defiance of the law like secret gambling hells in London. One may go so far as to say that there is a certain moral and social stigma attaching to the habit. Opium smokers, who are, of course, still very numerous, no longer confess to their failing, but indulge their craving surreptitiously; this in itself is a sign of the improvement in public opinion. Naturally the smokers themselves regard the anti-opium movement with hostility, or, at best, with apathy, but there is a growing body of public opinion which is prepared to welcome the adoption of any measures which may hasten the final extinction of a vice which many have come to regard as a national curse and disgrace.

To sum up, I consider that distinct progress has been made during the period under review towards the attainment of the objects China set herself in 1906. The progress is certainly most marked in regard to the suppression of cultivation in those provinces where it was definitely prohibited, and we are justified in looking forward to similar results in the further provinces in which the growth of the poppy has now been forbidden. It is much more difficult to measure the progress made in regard to the prevention and cure of smoking, but in this domain also there has been improvement in most provinces, especially in the capitals and larger towns. The enforcement of total prohibition of cultivation will, even in the absence of any survey or reliable statistics, make it possible to ascertain, with a sufficient degree of accuracy whether the reduction achieved in the internal production and consumption by the end of 1910 corresponds to the reduction in the export of opium from India to China, and whether His Majesty's Government is therefore justified in continuing the annual reductions until the trade in opium from India to China is extinguished.

I cannot help feeling that we shall find that China has more than fulfilled her share of the bargain; but in order to ascertain this in a convincing and satisfactory manner it will be necessary to secure independent evidence that the orders prohibiting the growth of poppy have been properly executed in the various provinces, especially in those provinces such as Szechuan, Kweichow, Shensi, and Kansu, where the largest amount of opium is still produced. I do not know whether the Indian Government intends to take any special steps before the expiration of the three years to ascertain how far the Chinese Government has fulfilled its promise; but having in mind the very clear and definite information obtained from the journeys of Messrs. Brennan and Rose in Shansi and Yunnan, I would suggest that one or two consular officers, with a knowledge of the language and some previous experience of the question, should be instructed to make extensive tours in the principal opium-producing provinces, especially in Szechuan, at the proper season in the course of the year 1910, so as to ascertain by personal inspection to what extent the orders prohibiting the cultivation of opium have been carried out.

W. G. MAX MÜLLER.

Peking, October 16, 1909.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

The Cultivation and Consumption of Opium in Shansi.

AS recently as a year ago the province of Shansi was noted for its output of opium. The absence of any trustworthy statistics on the subject renders even an approximate computation of the quantity produced extremely difficult, but as the Board of Revenue's return states the amount for 1906 to be 9,666 piculs, it is safe to suppose that the annual production was considerably in excess of that figure; whilst a moderate estimate gives the area formerly devoted to the cultivation of the poppy as at least two-thirds of all the watered land in the province. In some parts, notably the Chiao-cheng and Wenshui districts to the south-west of Taiyuanfu, and the Fenho Valley to the south, the proportion was much higher and practically all the fields in these regions were sown with poppy for the winter crop. The plant was also to be found in large

quantities anywhere where rivers, mountain streams, or wells permitted of proper irrigation, and wheat was only grown in the higher and dryer land where the more valuable crop would not thrive.

Until the autumn of 1908 there had been no serious attempt on the part of the provincial authorities to deal with the opium question. Proclamations had, it is true, been issued in obedience to the edict of 1906, ordering a decrease in the amount of land under cultivation, and had resulted, to a certain extent, in the substitution of wheat for opium in 1907, but it was seen that the officials did not intend to enforce the prohibitions, and in 1908 the crop, if not as large as before, was still considerable; in fact, in some districts it is reported that the area under cultivation had even increased. In the same year, however, the authorities at Taiyuanfu, either on their own initiative or in consequence of pressure exercised from Peking, came to the conclusion that an attempt must be made to deal with the question in an energetic manner and decided as a first step to prohibit the cultivation of opium forthwith throughout the province. The sale of the drug and the smoking of it were to be considered later, but it was felt that these questions would be easier of solution once the production had been stopped. This was in itself, of course, no light task, as it meant depriving the agricultural classes of almost half their income at one blow. It is estimated that a field under opium, after deducting the various extra taxes levied on account of the drug, still brings in more than twice as much to the cultivator as it would if sown with wheat, barley, or other crops.

Proclamations were issued in the autumn of last year forbidding the people to sow the plant and threatening them with severe penalties for disobedience. These seem to have been taken more seriously than the official pronouncements of former years, though many of the natives continued in the hope that the prohibition would be no more strictly enforced than before, and there were not wanting foreigners of experience in the province who expressed their disbelief in the desire or ability of the authorities to force such an unpalatable measure on the people, apart from the difficulties connected with the inevitable loss of revenue accruing from the trade. The Government has, however, been undoubtedly successful in suppressing the cultivation of opium in Shansi this year, as I venture to think will be shown by this report, although it does not necessarily follow that the poppy has been banished from the province for ever. Any slackening of the firm attitude at present maintained by the officials would mean its immediate reintroduction, and many of the natives hope that this will be the case. At all events, the first and most difficult step has been taken successfully, and now that the people have become reconciled to the prohibition it should be easier to guard against any attempt to grow the plant again.

Opinion in Shansi is divided as to whether the action that has been taken is, as some people aver, the result of a general scheme on the part of the Central Government to deal with the question of cultivation in one or two provinces at a time and that Shansi happens to be one of the first, or whether the sudden activity shown in this part of the Empire has for its sole author the energetic provincial treasurer, Ting Pao-chuan. The former theory would seem to be supported by the fact that in the adjoining province of Shensi, where the poppy is still grown, proclamations are said to have been issued stating that in 1910 the cultivation of opium will be stopped there in the same way as has been done in Shansi, but in either case it appears to be entirely owing to the energy and zeal of Ting Tajên that the prohibitory measures have been rendered as effectual as they have.

When at Taiyuanfu, I was accorded an interview by his Excellency and informed him of the object of my visit to the province. He spoke at considerable length on the subject of opium and appeared to be very much in earnest. He complained of the difficulty of stopping the cultivation in Shansi, when across the border in Shensi and Honan there were no such restrictions. The import of opium from other provinces was strictly prohibited, but, though he did what he could to prevent smuggling, it was to be feared that a considerable quantity of the drug was brought over in that way. According to him, Indian opium had never been imported into Shansi, and the fact that they only had the native article to deal with greatly facilitated its early suppression. This statement with regard to Indian opium is, I think, correct and agrees with information I received from opium-dealers in other places. He then turned to the question of revenue and stated that the amount formerly derived from the Tungshui tax was 300,000 taels, whilst the extra tax on poppy land brought in another 200,000 taels, but that by increasing the duty on matches, oil, wine, tobacco, furs, and other articles, they had almost made up this deficit of 500,000 taels.

I give these figures for what they are worth, but they can hardly represent the true facts of the case. If the Tungshui tax were 115 taels per picul, this would mean that only some 2,600 piculs had been accounted for. It is probable, however, as Ting himself admitted, that a large proportion of the duties actually levied never reached the provincial Treasury at all, and that office in turn would not acknowledge all that was received. At all events, he distinctly stated that, as regards the financial side of the question, they were not experiencing any great difficulties.

The Government, he said, were about to establish in the big centres throughout the province ten official stations for the sale of anti-opium medicines and the treatment of patients, and it was proposed to spend 3,000 taels on each. He himself had sent spies all over the country to watch for any attempt at opium cultivation, and rewards were being offered of 10 cash each for every poppy stalk brought in to the officials. It is certainly true that "weiyuans" from the capital are being sent on tours of inspection to the remotest districts, and I was frequently told at various places I visited that an official had just been there to examine the fields.

At Taiyuanfu itself the dens have all been closed, and the opium shops, of which there are about forty, are under strict police supervision. A system for the registration of smokers has been instituted and the procedure is as follows: the purchaser, when buying the drug, is asked his name, age, address, and amount of daily consumption, and these details are entered in a book of forms and counterfoils. The form, when filled in, is handed to him, while the counterfoil is retained by the shop for the inspection of the police. Each succeeding time that the purchaser goes to buy opium he must produce this form and the amount of his purchase is marked on it, but the amount must never exceed that of the time before. The form lasts for three months, at the end of which period a new one must be taken out and the amount of daily consumption decreased, the idea being that in due course the smoker will be obliged to abandon the habit entirely. Whether this procedure is strictly insisted upon for everybody I was unable to find out, but I imagine the richer classes buying a large quantity at a time would have no great difficulty in evading it. I examined two or three books of counterfoils, and found that it was generally small amounts that were bought.

The capital is the only place in the province, at present, where any attempt is made to regulate the sale of opium. There are no restrictions whatever in other towns, and even in places only a few miles distant from Taiyuan-fu the registration system is unknown.

One result of the suppression movement is a thriving trade in anti-opium remedies of all sorts. Advertisements for the sale of pills are to be seen in every street of the capital, and in one shop that I visited there were no fewer than twelve different kinds of medicines, some of local manufacture, but a great many seemed to be imported from Japan. They contain, as a rule, a large proportion of morphia or inferior opium mixed with boiled cowhide or other deleterious substances, and the people who take them to cure their cravings merely exchange one form of the vice for another. The medicine trade is proving so profitable that the Chinese are manufacturing pills from all sorts of things quite regardless of their curative properties, a favourite native recipe being millet ("hsiao mi") boiled in opium and mixed with cayenne pepper ("la") and other Chinese condiments, and it is said that these concoctions are far more ruinous to the health than the vice they are taken to cure.

With regard to the cultivation of the poppy in the neighbourhood of Taiyuan-fu, I learned, on good authority, that the plant was nowhere to be seen in the districts of Shaoyang to the east, Yütze to the south-east, and Hsukou, Taiku, Chihsien, and Pingyao to the south. It has never been grown in any quantity round Shaoyang, as the soil is unsuitable, but the other places to the south lie in the Fenho Plain and are therefore favourably situated for the production of opium. Some of the farmers had sown with poppy in the hopes that the prohibition need not be taken seriously, but had been severely punished for their disobedience, and it may be safely said that none of the drug was harvested in the district in question. I could see for myself that none was grown in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, though in former years poppy fields stretching along the banks of the Fen were visible from the city walls.

On leaving Taiyuan-fu I proceeded westwards to Fenchou-fu, passing through the districts of Chiao Cheng and Wenshui. As has been mentioned above, this region was once famous for its opium. In the spring the entire countryside as far as the eye

could see was covered with poppy fields, and the crop grown in the valleys to the north of Chiaocheng produced the strongest opium in the province. This year, however, no trace of it was to be seen; wheat and barley were grown everywhere, and though I spent some time inspecting the valleys off the main road and looked carefully for the plant in out-of-the-way and hidden spots, it was without success. In the neighbourhood of Wenshui there had been one or two attempts to disregard the regulations, but they were speedily discovered and punished; in one instance, I was informed, the offender had been beaten 100 blows and wore the cangue for a month. Deputies from the capital, it was said, were continually visiting the district and inspecting the fields. They avoided the local yamèns and stayed at the inns, like ordinary travellers, and it was only if he had offended that the unfortunate farmer discovered that he was dealing with an official.

At Fenchou-fu, and at Hsiaoyi, a day's journey further south, I met two missionaries, who, independently of each other, had recently made a tour of the region to the west of those cities, and they remarked on the complete eradication of the poppy. One of these gentlemen had travelled through Wucheng to Yungningchou, and then northwards for about 60 miles to a place called Huma, along the Peichuan River, and had then returned to Hsiaoyi via Ninghsiang, the whole journey covering a distance of about 150 miles. The places mentioned are stations within the care of his particular branch of the mission and are well known to him. He assured me that eight-tenths of the cultivated land in this region had formerly been under opium, but that on his recent trip he had not seen a single plant.

From Hsiaoyi my road lay southwards to Pingyang-fu, crossing the Lingshih Pass, and traversing the towns of Hochou and Hungtung. The district immediately to the north of the pass is mountainous and dry, and has never been of much importance as regards opium cultivation; but the country between Hochou and Pingyang was second only to the Chiaocheng department in the extent of its poppy fields and the quantity of the drug produced. The Fenho here flows along a broad valley, flanked on either side by gently sloping foot-hills intersected by a number of streams joining the main river at short intervals. The whole region is well irrigated and thoroughly suitable for the growth of the poppy, and in former years quite seven-tenths of the fields were given over to that plant. This year, however, its growth has been put down with extraordinary severity; not only is the cultivation absolutely prohibited, but even stray stalks of self-propagated poppy growing by the side of the fields are not allowed to pass unnoticed. One man at Hungtung was actually beaten because a single plant was found in his wheat-field, and the people complained that during the sowing season the laoyeh (local official) came and grubbed in their land with his own hands to look for poppy seeds. In ground that has formerly been under opium there is naturally a probability that a few stray plants will reappear, though none may have been sown, and the danger of this provides the yamèn runners with an excellent opportunity for blackmailing the farmer, of which they are not slow to take advantage.

In this district as well as in some others I passed through there had been attempts to sow opium together with peas, the idea being to root up the peas later and leave the opium, or *vice versa*, according to whether or not the prohibition might be disregarded. The trick, however, was discovered, both the crops were destroyed and the land was confiscated. Indigo is to a limited extent being introduced to take the place of opium. It is a more profitable crop than wheat, and always commands a ready market as a dye for the ordinary blue cloth so much used in China for the making of clothes.

At Hungtung I was able to get information covering the west of the province from Fenhsi to Hsichou and down to Puhsien. Here, as elsewhere, the reports were favourable, the officials were showing great activity, and the poppy was a thing of the past.

From Pingyang-fu to Hotsin, near the Shensi border, was my next stage. Hotsin is truly described by the resident missionary, Mr. Gillies, as the "back of beyond." It is at the very edge of the province; it is not on the road to anywhere; the district is desperately poor, and, moreover, the country has never been noted for the production of opium, the little that was grown having been practically suppressed some four or five years ago by the imposition of a heavy tax in aid of the local schools. It speaks well, therefore, for the thoroughness of Ting Tajèn's methods that even this remote spot should be visited by deputies from the capital. It is a pity, however, that they have not turned their attention to a large establishment here that is openly doing a thriving business in the preparation of cowhide, hoof parings, and other

refuse as an adulterant for opium. I was assured at Hotsin that all the country northwards as far as Hsiangning and Kichou, about 35 miles distant, had been cleared of the plant.

Having travelled as far west as this I took the opportunity to make a day's excursion into Shensi, which is only about 10 miles further on. The Yellow River, which forms the boundary between the two provinces, has to be crossed in a ferry-boat at a place called Yü Men Kou, named after the Emperor Yü, who, together with Yao and Shun, formed the legendary trio that were supposed to have ruled in the golden age of China, about 2300 B.C. Amongst his other achievements he is said to have instituted the ferry service at this particular spot.

Once across the river there was no lack of poppy cultivation, the fields extending nearly to the water's edge. By this time (11th June) the opium had all been harvested, and the labourers were engaged in cutting off and collecting the capsules for the manufacture of opium oil.

The duty of enforcing the regulations in the south-west corner of the province has been entrusted to the salt commissioner resident at Yücheng, a large commercial town not far from Chiehchou. This official, of the rank of taotai, has shown great activity in the issue of proclamations, uprooting of poppy fields, and punishment of offenders. He has threatened to fine opium growers six times the value of their crop, and in one case at least has made good his threat; a man who had planted opium in a small patch of ground, about the tenth of a mow, near Icheng, was made to pay 20,000 cash. The taotai's jurisdiction comprises an area of over 4,000 square miles, and I was informed by two members of the China Inland Mission who had recently journeyed through it that it was uniformly free from opium cultivation.

From Hotsin, I travelled eastward to Kiangchou and Icheng. At the latter place I was shown a letter received from the missionary living at Luan-fu, stating that the same stringent measures had been taken in the west of the province as those in force to the east of the Fen valley, and this statement was corroborated by communications from residents at Lucheng and Licheng. On leaving Icheng, I travelled over the mountains to Tsechou-fu in the extreme south-east of Shansi, crossed the border to Chinghua, the terminus of the Peking Syndicate railway in Honan, and so returned to Peking by rail.

My journey lasted exactly a month and covered a distance of over 400 miles, through what were formerly some of the most noted opium-producing districts of the province. I did not, however, from first to last, see a single field in Shansi under poppy cultivation. Where I have been unable to speak from personal observation, I have quoted from information kindly supplied by missionaries, as being more reliable than that derived from native sources, although I did not fail to question the Chinese themselves whenever an opportunity occurred, and both missionaries and natives were unanimous in affirming that the suppression of the poppy was complete.

This report, it will be noticed on reference to the map, only covers the southern half of Shansi, as it was unfortunately impossible to visit the regions to the north of the capital as well in the limited time at my disposal. According to Ting Tajên, however, the troops stationed at Kueihuacheng and other districts in the north have received orders to patrol the country and see that the prohibition is rigidly enforced, and this statement is confirmed by M. Larsson, a Swedish missionary living at Tatung-fu, who states that beyond one or two unsuccessful attempts to sow poppy with cabbages there has been no opium cultivation in the parts visited by himself and his fellow workers. This is the extent of my information on the north of the province, but I am told that the amount of opium grown there was comparatively unimportant, and in view of the thoroughness with which the orders of the Taiyuan-fu authorities have been carried out in the remotest parts of the south there is no reason for doubting that the same has been the case throughout.

The measures taken in Shansi against opium, have, as was to be expected, enormously increased the price of the drug, especially in the neighbourhood of the capital, but less so in places near the frontier, on account of the smuggling. An ounce (liang) of the best native article cost formerly about 300 cash. At Taiyuan it now fetches over 1,000 cash (roughly 1 dollar), at Pingyang-fu 700 cash, and at Hotsin 600 cash. As two-thirds, or at the very least a half, of the adult population both male and female consume a certain amount of opium, they are, of course, very seriously affected by the rise in the cost of the drug. The poorer classes are unable to continue buying the quantity to which they have become accustomed, and so, in order to derive the same effect from a smaller amount, they have taken to drinking instead of smoking it. It would appear that a fifth of the amount consumed in the pipe, if

dissolved in water and taken in that way, is sufficient to satisfy the same cravings. A great many of course are endeavouring to break off the habit altogether, as is evidenced by the large sale of anti-opium medicines, but it is to be feared that those who buy the ordinary pills sold in the shops obtain but little relief, whilst the few Government refuges, where a proper course of treatment is prescribed, are unsuccessful, because the patients are not cared for on the premises, and, if left to themselves, they have not the force of will to follow out the instructions, which entail a certain amount of suffering in the preliminary stages of the treatment. In the mission refuges, on the other hand, where the patients are not only under constant supervision during the course, but are kept on for about a week after the treatment is over to make certain they are really cured, a considerable amount of good is being done, and the number of people who pass through these institutions is increasing rapidly. At Icheng, for instance, M. Trüdinger, the missionary in charge, informed me that their refuge had treated 120 patients during the last six months as against 30 or 40 in previous years. Nearly all of these were of the poorer class, and were being driven to give up the habit by the increasing price of the drug; those who are not troubled by pecuniary considerations would seem to be making no effort to abandon the vice; on the contrary, some of the richer families boast that they have laid in enough opium to last them for fifty years to come. The breaking off of the opium habit is not such a difficult or lengthy affair as is generally supposed, three weeks or a month being as a rule sufficient to effect a cure, even in bad cases. At Hotsin I met a man who had been accustomed to smoke 4 oz. a-day, an exceptionally large amount; the average smoker seldom exceeds a tenth of that quantity, say, 4 or 5 mace. He was, however, completely cured, and had not touched the drug for several years.

The method of treatment adopted in most of these refuges is as follows:—

For the first five days the patient is given doses of morphia equivalent to the amount of opium he has been in the habit of consuming; after that the dose is decreased daily by a tenth until none is given at all, and at the same time the patient is nourished on good food, and is further strengthened by means of ordinary tonic medicines. The difficulty lies in the fact that the victim has usually taken to the drug in the first instance to gain relief from some disease, and on his abandoning the habit the malady reappears. Dyspepsia, for instance, is responsible for a good deal of opium smoking, and is very prevalent in Shansi owing to the way the people have of belting large quantities of half-cooked food.

Enquiries as to the popular sentiment with regard to the anti-opium measures generally elicited the reply that the people were on the whole glad that they were being obliged to give up the habit; they could not help realising its pernicious effects, but lacked the moral courage to abandon the drug of their own initiative. There is, however, a section of the community, chiefly of the student class and gentry, who are rather inclined to regard the action of the State as an unnecessary interference with the liberty of the individual, and would prefer to be left in peace to the enjoyment of their pipe.

The enormous increase in the marketable value of opium in Shansi has had the effect of widening the area under cultivation in the adjoining province, and a missionary, writing from Meih sien on the Wei River, in Shensi, states that the poppy is now grown to such an extent in the Wei valley that the farmers have actually had to import wheat for their own consumption from other parts of the province—a very unusual state of affairs. It is believed that the prohibition will be extended to Shensi in 1910, so the people are making the most of their opportunities.

In Honan less opium has been grown this year than last, especially near the main roads, and none was visible from the railway, but I am told that a considerable amount is still being cultivated in various parts of the province.

The energetic action that has been taken in Shansi is worthy of the highest praise, and it only remains to be seen whether the results are to be permanent or not. The regulations governing the election of representatives in the new scheme of constitutional government expressly exclude all opium smokers from holding office, so it is to be hoped that a safeguard against any reintroduction of the poppy will be afforded by the presence of a body of men in the councils of the capital whose desire for the welfare of the province is unhampered by considerations of a personal nature.

In conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to the Protestant missionaries of Shansi, from whom I always received the greatest hospitality and assistance, and to whom I am indebted for much of the information contained in this report.

J. F. BRENAN.

Peking, June 26, 1909.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

Report of a Journey into the Opium Districts of South-West Yunnan.

Object of Journey.—On the 22nd April, 1909, I left Tengyueh to make a flying tour round the districts in the neighbourhood of Tengyueh, the territory under the jurisdiction of the I-Hsi Taotai, which is estimated to produce 45 per cent. of the total opium crops of the province of Yunnan. The routes taken by myself and two Chinese assistants passed through the tracts which in the past have proved most favourable to the growth of the poppy.

Routes.—Leaving Tengyueh in a due easterly direction, I followed the main road for three days, then branched off on to a bridle path leading south-east in the direction of Shunning-fu; thence I turned north and reached Tali-fu by way of Meng-hua Ting, returning to my post through Yung-chang-fu. The consulate writer accompanied me as far as Shunning-fu, then proceeded to Yunchou, and took a more easterly road to Tali-fu. The third route lay to the south of Tengyueh, through territory administered by the Shan sawbwas.

Description of Country.—The track by which I travelled lay across a plateau from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, with frequent rises and falls, some of the passes being at an altitude of over 8,000 feet, whilst the Salwen valley is but 2,200 feet above the sea. In dry weather the firm, sandy path made walking or riding very pleasant, but in the heavy rains which overtook us on several days the steep slopes were almost impassable, and we were obliged to struggle up and down in straw sandals, whilst the mules found great difficulty in keeping their feet, and made slow progress. Our small party did double stages over practically the whole route, and it was therefore impossible to carry tents or heavy kit of any description. As a result we were dependent for a rude welter on the occasional mud huts by the way, and were often obliged to carry our own food and fodder. The nights are cold and inhospitable in these mountain regions, and, after a march from dawn till dark, there was a comfort in the wood fire built on the floor that made one forget the dirt, the crowding humanity, and the smoke that stung our unaccustomed eyes. The country is wonderfully beautiful: a succession of fir-clad uplands with great mountain ranges stretching beyond them, far below the Shweli, the Salwen, and Mekong, the Red River, the Hsia-kuan River, and the Yangpi that go whirling through their deep beds, one flanked by tropical jungle, the next by steep rocky gorges, whilst the Hsia-kuan can be seen for miles winding between grassy slopes, a white and foaming torrent descending 1,600 feet over rocks and boulders, in one day's march. The tropical sun is tempered by the mountain breezes, and the country was full of familiar northern flowers growing in vigorous profusion; the hillsides were bright with rhododendrons, red and white, with azaleas of many colours and long sprays of clematis, whilst roses and meadow-sweet grew in luxuriance in the sheltered valleys. The country is unlike the east and south and north of China in that its mountains are covered with forests and its streams run clear over their rocky beds, whilst for days at a stretch there is little sign of human habitation, save in the well-cultivated and populous valleys. Such people as we met between the towns were, however, friendly and willingly offered their rough hospitality; their faces, their homes, and the unbound feet of their women mark the people as tribesmen with a slight mingling of Chinese blood. In the Menghua district and along the northern route many of them are of pure Lolo race, though the handsome, clean-cut faces of the Szechuanese Lolos are seldom seen. All, however, who have the slightest tinge of Chinese blood claim to belong to the "family of Han," and there is little wonder that they cling to the traditions and name which represent, on the one hand, all power and wealth, whilst treating with a relentless contempt the "barbarian" of the hills.

OPIUM.

Opium Centres.—In dealing with the production of opium this circuit may be divided into two distinct spheres, the first comprising the districts under the direct control of the Chinese territorial officials, the second consisting of the frontier regions under the rule of the Shan sawbwas, including the fertile, low-lying valleys, and the Kachin hills, for which the sawbwas are nominally responsible. It was generally admitted that the Shan valleys were still under opium crops this season, and I therefore decided to send a Chinese assistant to get any possible information in this direction, whilst proceeding myself to the east of the circuit where the Taotai claimed

that the preventive work had been successfully carried out. My route was chosen through the greatest producing areas of the district and timed just before the opium harvest.

Destruction of Opium Crops in Chinese Sphere.—Speaking generally the work of prevention inaugurated by his Excellency Hsi Liang, governor-general at Yünnan-fu, has been carried out in the Chinese sphere with vigour and success. It was naturally impossible to penetrate into the remoter regions during the short period at my disposal, but, by careful enquiry and by watching the local markets for the drug, it has been possible to gain a fair estimate of the conditions of the present season. From the high passes of these districts can be obtained a broad view of the surrounding country, and the unmistakable colour of the poppy crops may be detected from a considerable distance when they exist to any extent. In the course of my journey, however, I did not see a single field of poppy, and the only evidence of cultivation was in the straggling flowers, which were freely scattered over the fields and were evidently the few survivors after the crops had been uprooted by order of the officials. The consulate writer reports similar conditions in the country lying between Yunchou and Menghua Ting. I have also reliable information from Mr. Coggin Brown, of the Geological Survey of India, and from other English sources, that, in the country to the north-west and north-east of Tali-fu (under the jurisdiction of the sub-prefects of Yunlung Chou and Pinchuan Chou), the main crops have been vigorously destroyed, though a little cultivation is reported in the remoter districts, which are difficult of access for the preventive officers.

Local Riots.—During December and the early part of this year the prefects and junior officers of the circuit were constantly under orders from the Viceroy, first to exhort the people to devote their land to other crops, then to destroy the crops if their earlier orders have been disobeyed. In many cases the latter course was necessary, and, from officials and people alike, one heard reports of crops which had been uprooted when nearing maturity. Troubles occurred in many districts, and it is rather to be wondered at that no serious outbreak has disturbed the province than that there have been local riots in isolated districts.

At Chenuan Chou, a notably rowdy city, the official was driven away, and it was necessary to send a detachment of soldiers in order to disperse the rioters. In the district of the Lung-ling ting serious trouble was threatened, and the sub-prefect applied for an armed guard, his request being refused, however, lest friction should be created with the neighbouring Shan sawbwas. Early in April the Tengyueh ting went into the Shan districts to the west to uproot the crops, but he was shot at, his chair was wrecked, and he narrowly escaped with his life at the hands of the Kachin tribesmen from the hills. The Menghua ting was also attacked on his rounds, and a serious rebellion threatened for a time in his district, the Lolos joining forces with the Chinese farmers and refusing to return to their homes, until the decapitation of fourteen men convinced them that the authorities were in earnest. At Yu-tien the ting endeavoured to compromise with his people by destroying the crops in the "pa-tzu," or valleys, and ignoring the hill cultivation. The Viceroy's deputy, however, discovered the omission, and the ting has paid for his clemency by the loss of his post. The prefect of Shunning has endeavoured to propitiate his district by posting a proclamation to the effect that he had a tour in December last, and, finding only a half of the usual area under opium crops, had petitioned the governor-general to approve this decrease; that he had received stern commands to destroy the remaining half also, and that an independent deputy appointed from Yünnan-fu would tour the district to ensure obedience. Deputies from the provincial court have been appointed to all the producing centres; I met several of them on their rounds, and, as they have spent three months in travelling through the districts allotted to them, there seems little probability that Hsi Liang has failed in his desire to clear the region of the usual winter crop. Proclamations were posted all along the road forbidding the cultivation of the poppy and exhorting the people to free themselves from the drug. It is a common practice in these parts for usurers to advance money to the farmers on their opium crops as soon as the plants are above the ground. This practice is now forbidden, and the notification that no law suit will be entertained in this respect will undoubtedly weigh heavily with the people. The teachings of the sacred edict have also been enlisted in the service of the preventive officers, and the neighbours on either side of a field are held equally responsible with the owner if the forbidden crops are found.

It is needless to say that the people are angry and unsettled. Throughout the district in which I travelled the main winter crop is opium, and from a half to eight-

tenths of the arable land is annually devoted to poppy cultivation. Those who listened to the earlier commands of prohibition have managed to raise crops of wheat, beans, peas, or maize, but the people have not learned by past experience to put implicit faith in proclamations of far-reaching reform, and a large proportion of the farmers have seen their poppies uprooted when it was too late to plant another crop. They have paid dearly for their want of faith, and they pointed to their bare fields with fearful curses on Hsi Liang. The winter has been unusually dry, and the substituted crops have proved but a moderate success so that everything has tended to unrest in the rural districts, and were it not for the fact that the people of Yunnan are by nature lethargic and law-abiding there would certainly have been serious and far-reaching trouble for the provincial authorities.

Opium in the Shan States.—In the Shan districts, which include roughly the country to the south of Tengyueh lying between the Salwen and the Burmah frontier, conditions are entirely different. The prefect of Yungchang and the sub-prefects of Tengyueh and Lungling have made prolonged tours, but even in the country inhabited by and directly subject to the Chinese they have not been entirely successful in destroying the opium. I estimate that about two-tenths of the usual crops have been harvested by the Chinese farmers and about seven-tenths by the Shans. Some of the sawbwas have yielded to pressure from the Chinese officials, and Mang Shih (Mong Hswan) has consented to the prevention of all crops in his valleys, though not in the hills. Other sawbwas, however, have not proved so complacent, and in Chefang, Mongpan (Mengka), Lungchuan (Mongwan), and Mongmao there has been little decrease in the area under cultivation. It is interesting to notice that even in Chen-kang, a State which has nominally reverted to Chinese control, the suzerain Power has not felt sufficiently strong to enforce these objectionable measures, and the poppy crops have been up to the usual standard. The prefect of Shunning has, however, posted a proclamation, aimed at Chen-kang and the neighbouring Shan States, forbidding them to bring their opium for sale to Shunning, its usual market, and imposing severe penalties on Chinese traders who proceed to the Shan States to purchase the drug. The market for the western States is at Tengyueh, and it is estimated that Nantien will have only a half and Kangai one-third of their usual supplies for sale this year. The sawbwas depend to a great extent on the opium tithes for their incomes, Nantien's receipts being estimated at about 1,000*l.* during 1908. This year he will receive only half of this amount, and it can be readily understood that the Chinese will have considerable difficulty in enforcing their regulations in such circumstances. The outlying Shan valleys and the Kachin hills can only be brought into line by a show of force, which the Chinese are neither willing nor able to present, and it is unlikely that any great decrease will be shown in these districts in the near future.

Estimate of Production.—In a careful report on Yunnanese opium, written at Ssumao in 1901, Mr. Commissioner Carey estimated the total production of the district under the jurisdiction of the Tengyueh Taotai (the western circuit) at 36,000 piculs. From the figure which I have been able to gather from the markets, I am of opinion that the production this year is not likely to exceed half that amount, namely, 18,000 piculs, nor does there appear great prospect of reducing the harvest below their present standard. Force is unlikely to be employed, and only an economic factor, such as the fluctuation of demand, is likely in the near future to seriously affect the cultivation of the poppy in the semi-independent and inaccessible regions of the frontier.

Substitutes for the Opium Crop.—If the higher provincial authorities continue their crusade against the poppy harvest, it becomes an urgent necessity to find some substitute which will profitably replace the winter crops of South-West Yunnan. Numerous plantations of mulberry trees have been made, and silkworms' eggs have been sent from Yunnan-fu to the district cities in the hope of stimulating a local silk industry. Wheat, beans, peas, potatoes, hemp, and maize have been sown in various parts, but the season has proved unusually dry, and the wheat in most parts has given poor return. There is at present a cheap and abundant food supply in the districts, and the real need of the farmers is some crop which can be exported to provide them with the silver with which to pay for their imports. The sudden attempt at the total prohibition of opium has produced an economical crisis in the frontier country, the full effect of which it is impossible as yet to realise. In 1902 it was estimated that 220,000 taels' worth of opium was sold at Hsia-kuan. This year I visited the exchange, a fine old inn in the centre of the town, on the day before the annual fair at Tali-fu, the time at which the local opium would ordinarily pass into the

hands of the Cantonese and Hunanese buyers; the exchange was deserted, and festoons of cobwebs hung over the doors of the inn, which had been the most famous and prosperous throughout the district.

Consumers.—It is difficult to obtain such figures as to the number of opium smokers as would enable one to form a reliable comparison with previous years. The prohibition measures, the proclamations, and the official anti-opium bureaux have all tended to conceal the smoker from the ordinary observer, and to drive him to quiet retreats. Every big city along the road appeared to have large stocks of the drug in hand, and quiet sales were everywhere effected, with little opposition from the opium-sodden yamèn runners. In the little inns by the road-side veiled offers of opium were everywhere noticeable, and there can be no doubt that both the sale and consumption of the drug goes on, though it has lost its fashionable publicity, and now lurks in the background—a recognised vice. The officials in some of the outlying cities are levying a heavy blackmail on the wealthier citizens who are known to be smokers, and in one yamèn there were reported to be 200 opium victims.

The lower classes will be forced in time to abandon the habit, as the drug has risen in price from twice to four times last year's value, and in Tali-fu—where the quotations were highest—it is becoming impossible for the poorer people to obtain their accustomed allowance. This factor must ultimately have a healthy effect in eliminating the drug, but in the meantime the people are finding that it is both more effective and less conspicuous to swallow opium pills than to use the pipe, and this habit shows signs of replacing the older and less dangerous one. Fifteen hundred men of the new provincial army are stationed at Tali-fu, where they are subjected to severe discipline, and smoking is impossible. In the opinion of a competent authority, however, at least 25 per cent. of the men take opium pills, and there can be therefore little difficulty in obtaining supplies.

Conclusions.—In conclusion, it impressed me in travelling through the country, that the governor-general undertook a difficult and dangerous task when he resolved to rid Yunnan of opium in two years, instead of effecting a gradual reduction, which would have given opportunities to the farmers to gradually replace their crops and possibly to meet some new demand. One can sympathise with him in the contention that ten years is a long period involving many changes, and that half-measures effect nothing in China; but, whilst he has achieved a great success in ridding large areas of the poppy, he has aroused a bitter opposition to the anti-opium measures, and has reduced the west of the province to a state of poverty which must have a marked effect on the trade of the next few years. Opium is the only product of the country for which there is at present any considerable outside market, and without opium there is no influx of silver with which to purchase the raw cotton and yarn, which is our principal import, and on which the people depend for their clothes. I shall deal later with the immediate economic effect as illustrated by the Tali-fu fair, but thousands of farmers have been suddenly deprived of their main winter's crop, and the fact we have escaped serious trouble bears the highest tribute to the law-abiding qualities of the people of Yunnan.

One other point strikes me as worthy of comment in reviewing the progress that has been made in dealing with the opium crops—I refer to the wonderful power which can be wielded by a sincere and effective Imperial decree, even in the most inaccessible circuit of this remote province of the Empire.

C. A. W. ROSE.

No. 2.

Sir J. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey.—(Received November 15.)

Sir,

Peking, October 25, 1909.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a report by Mr. Sly, His Majesty's acting consul at Chungking, on the progress of the movement for the suppression of opium in Szechuan—or, rather, in the eastern portion of that province.

This report contains so much interesting information and is so clearly written that I have thought it advisable to send it home separately, instead of waiting to incorporate it in the next general report on the opium question. I regret to see that Mr. Sly's information fully bears out what Mr. Max Müller wrote in his general report enclosed in my despatch of the 21st October, viz., that there had been no progress on the eastern side of the province, that in most districts no steps had

been taken towards suppressing the cultivation of opium, while in some there had been an actual increase in the amount grown last year.

The cultivation of opium is now absolutely forbidden throughout the province, and, as Mr. Max Müller has pointed out in his report, there is some reason to hope that the prohibition may be enforced with a considerable measure of success, though it is, I fear, too much to expect that it will be carried out as effectively as was the case last season in Shansi and Yünnan.

I have, &c.

J. N. JORDAN.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Report on Opium Eradication by Acting Consul Sly.

Introduction.

IT is intended in the following pages to report upon the aspect and progress of opium reform in Szechuan, more particularly as regards the Ch'uan Tung, or eastern, portion of the province, which is under the jurisdiction of the Chungking taotai.

With a view to obtaining as full information as possible I addressed on the 18th June last a circular to various missionaries, and also made other enquiries on the same lines. The circular contained ten questions, and in order to avoid the dangers of excessive condensation I propose, as a preface to this report, to state the questions seriatim, following them in each case with the replies received. The latter, though not always *in extenso*, have not been curtailed more than necessary to confine them to the particular points raised. I do not disguise from myself that this plan will not make for brevity, but whatever the length to which the report may reach it will be no more than a sketch, and will at best be but an imperfect and inadequate statement of all the facts.

It will be understood that, when reference is made to any particular year, the poppy was planted in the autumn of the previous year, and the crop garnered in the spring of the year named.

Question 1.—Did the area under cultivation last season show a reduction or increase as compared with the years 1908 and 1907, and with the average of the years previous to those dates? It will be within your recollection that it was in the latter half of 1906 that the Chinese Government proposed effective measures for securing the eradication of opium.

Replies.

Liangshan.—The area under cultivation has not been reduced, though I do not think the increase was considerable, as all available land was devoted to this crop from the first.

Tung Hsiang.—The area under poppy cultivation last season was about the same as the previous years; perhaps more than the season immediately before, as that season the weather was very wet, and they were hindered from planting it.

K'ai Hsien.—The area under cultivation last season did show an increase as compared with former years. I am working in this district for eight years, and never before have I seen as much of poppy as this year.

Wan Hsien.—Last season's cultivation fully 50 per cent. more than last three years.

Fengtu.—Last season's cultivation less by half than that of previous season, and 30 per cent. less than season before that.

Fuchou.—Last season's cultivation six times as great as the previous one, and twice as much as the season before that.

Chungchou.—Last season's cultivation 50 per cent. less than previous one, and 20 per cent. less than season before that.

Shih Chu Ting.—Cultivation 20 per cent. less than previous one, which was about equal to the preceding season.

Nan Ch'uan.—Crop six times as great as in 1908, and twice as much as in 1907.

Pa Hsien.—(Chungking). Crop twice as large as in 1908, and 10 to 20 per cent. above average.

Kiangpei.—Crop was one and one-third times as large as in 1908, and slightly above the average.

Question 2.—Was the crop adversely affected by atmospheric conditions, or was the acreage reduced by order of the officials?

Replies.

Liangshan.—The crop of 1908-9 was quite up to the average. I have not heard of any decrease of yield or acreage.

Tung Hsiang.—The atmospheric conditions were good. There were proclamations put out, but they did not affect the amount sown.

K'ai Hsien.—The crop this year was a very good one.

Wan Hsien.—The crop was adversely affected by atmospheric conditions.

Fengt'u.—Same as Wan Hsien.

Fuchou.—Information in Chinese is not clear; apparently exertions of the officials accounted for the decrease in the 1908 crop, but subsequently their energy relaxed.

Chungchou.—Reduction due to official action.

Shih Chu Ting.—Reduction in cultivation due to official action, but crop affected by bad weather.

Nan Ch'uan.—Reduction in 1908 crop due to official proclamation ordering gradual reduction in cultivation. Increase in 1909 crop due to a viceregal order requiring farmers to apply for a permit to cultivate; the farmers took advantage of this to extend the acreage under poppy.

Pa Hsien.—Increase due to changeable policy of officials. Decrease in the 1908 crop was caused by the institution of the "kuan kao tien" and the threatened anti-opium measures.

Kiangpei.—No answer.

Question 3.—What crops are suggested in substitution of the poppy?

Replies.

Liangshan.—The proclamations talk the usual platitudes of grow more wheat and pulse and less opium, but they are generally ridiculed. The culture of silk is now being tried as a possible substitute.

Tung Hsiang.—Last year and this year a good many mulberry trees have been planted to rear silk worms. The idea seems to be to prepare for the future if the officials become in earnest about prohibiting opium growing.

K'ai Hsien.—Nothing is suggested so far; some of the people are beginning to plant mulberry trees.

Wan Hsien.—Peas, beans, wheat.

Fengt'u.—Pulse and cereals.

Fuchou.—Pulse, cereals, rape, and potatoes.

Shih Chu Ting.—Wheat, cotton, mulberry, and tea.

Nan Ch'uan.—Pulse, cereals, and rape.

Pa Hsien.—Viceregal suggestion is American cereals; present winter crops, in addition to opium, are pulse and cereals.

Kiangpei.—Mulberry and tea.

Question 4.—(a.) What is the comparative value to the farmer of opium and wheat, beans or other cereals or crops with which it may be in contemplation to replace the poppy? (b.) What do you consider to be the prospects of such substitution?

Replies.

Liangshan.—(a.) The common percentage is as follows: "For every cash earned in wheat and beans, six are earned in opium." (b.) The people generally would be glad to revert to the old crops of wheat, cereals, and pulse, and if the prohibition of the poppy were enforced they would be really glad; but, left as it is now, one man will not give up the poppy as a crop simply because his neighbour profits by its culture. The difficulty would cease with a general and complete prohibition.

Tung Hsiang.—Informant has no knowledge.

K'ai Hsien.—(a.) The value of opium to the farmer compared with other crops is not a small one—perhaps, as much as three to one. (b.) The prospect on the whole will be a good one. The whole population will get benefited by it; as to the opium, only a few are getting rich.

Wan Hsien.—(a.) Opium is twice the value of other produce to the farmer.
(b.) Prospects of substitution favourable.

Fengtū.—(a.) Profits on opium three to four times as great as on cereals, pulse, and rape.

Fuchou.—(a.) Profits on opium six times as great as on wheat, and six and a-half times as great as on pulse, millet, and Indian corn.

Shih Chu Ting.—(a.) Profits on opium three times as great as on cereals, and three and a-half times greater than on maize.

Nan Ch'uan.—(a.) Profits on opium five times as great as on wheat, and seven times greater than rape and pulse.

Pa Hsien.—(a.) Profits on opium three times as great as on cereals and rape.

Kiangpei.—(a.) Profits on opium three to four times as great as on other crops, mulberry and tea excluded. (b.) Mulberry and tea will give almost as good a profit as opium.

Question 5. What has been done in the matter of closing opium dens ?

Replies.

Liangshan.—Opium dens have been effectively closed throughout the city and district. This has not reduced consumption.

Tung Hsiang.—I think it was in March when I was at Tung Hsiang for three days, all the opium dens were shut in the city and suburbs. I do not know whether this has been kept to. (My informant is not permanently stationed at Tung Hsiang, and was at Ch'ü Hsien when I wrote to him.)

K'ai Hsien.—A proclamation has been put out to close the dens, but they are still more or less selling it.

Wan Hsien.—Officially the dens are closed, but privately much smoking is done. Probably the trade is reduced three-tenths. An immense amount of boiling is going on by private owners to enable them to keep dens open, and there is no sale for official anti-opium medicine.

Fengtū.—Information somewhat vague. Open dens in city reduced from fifty to ten, but there are also secret dens.

Fuchou.—In the suburbs of Fuchou there are nine opium dens near the five city gates. Although officials are said to have closed 300 odd dens in the district, there are about 140 to 150 secret dens.

Chungchou.—Opium dens closed in city and market towns, but there are a few secret dens.

Shih Chu Ting.—There were during the year before last fifty and more opium dens in the city; present number is twenty-eight. In the market towns they have all been closed.

Nan Ch'uan.—There are four large opium dens in the city; in the suburbs there are no open dens, but many secret ones. Altogether, taking city, suburbs, and twenty-eight market towns, there are more than 180 dens.

Pa Hsien.—There were formerly 1,400 to 1,500 opium dens in the Pa Hsien district, reduced the year before last on the institution of the "kuan kao tien" to eighty in the city and one in each market town, of which there are 108. They were all closed on the 1st of the Chinese moon this year, but there are now more than 600 secret dens in the city.

Kiangpei.—There were formerly 300 odd opium dens, which were reduced for reasons above given under "Pa Hsien" to forty odd in the city and one or two in the forty-eight market towns, according to their size. This gave a total of 108 odd dens. They were all closed on the 1st of the 3rd moon this year; but there are still shops where opium is secretly sold and smoked, the total for city and market towns being over 100.

Question 6.—What is the general attitude of officials and people towards opium reform ?

Replies.

Liangshan.—The officials seem to do as the gentry advise. The gentry are as a class not serious in their endeavours to control the growth and sale of opium. The people, however, cry out for complete prohibition.

Tung Hsiang.—As you doubtless know, Tung Hsiang is perhaps the worst "hsien"

in Szechuan for opium growing. Of six fields I should say five grow opium. No one can borrow unless his fields are growing opium. In fact, most transactions are done in opium.

The people, although in conversation, &c., they all agree that the trade is indefensible and only ruins their "hsien," will do nothing unless forced to by the official. There is no public spirit about it. I cannot tell you the official's private attitude about it; he is certainly faced with a pretty tough job.

K'ai Hsien.—The general attitude is indifference.

Wan Hsien.—Indifference.

Fengtü.—Proclamations issued, but officials have not exerted themselves, and people not favourable to opium reform.

Fuchou.—Officials and people indifferent.

Chungchou.—Present officials are exerting themselves, but the people are not serious.

Shih Chu Ting.—People desire eradication of opium, but they have no good medicines or houses. Frequent conferences between the ting and the gentry have led to the decision that the only effective means of stopping opium smoking is to entirely prohibit cultivation, but effect has not been given to this opinion.

Nan Ch'uan.—Official action during last three years has not been consistent. People have very little knowledge of the advantage to be gained by the eradication of opium, and it is very regrettable that the officials are not in earnest.

Pa Hsien.—Officials have made efforts to stop opium smoking, but country-people and others are against it, as opium is the most profitable source of income. The police have endeavoured to prevent secret smoking and boiling, but the people have obstructed, and on both sides action really taken has been largely on the surface and in nominal obedience to orders from Chengtu.

Kiangpei.—Officials have not been in earnest, and people are indifferent.

Question 7.—Are steps being taken to register opium smokers?

Replies.

Liangshan.—I have not heard of any such registration in Liangshan.

Tung Hsiang.—I believe steps are being taken—anyway, there was a lot of talk about it. (This informant, as I have before stated, was away from Tung Hsiang when he wrote.)

K'ai Hsien.—No steps are being taken at all.

Wan Hsien.—Just started, but people not registering, and magistrate not enforcing it.

Fengtü.—Although smokers are supposed to have a licence, no effect has been given to this requirement.

Fuchou.—Registration ineffective. Great numbers have evaded it, and no licences have been issued. The people do as they please; they boil and smoke as much as they like.

Chungchou.—Enquiry ordered but not properly made, and no registration effected.

Shih Chu Ting.—Nothing done.

Nan Ch'uan.—Nothing done as yet.

Pa Hsien.—Although smokers are supposed to be licensed, and over 20,000 licences have been issued, the official opium in the "tsung kuan kao tien" finds no sale.

Kiangpei.—No real effort made to investigate number of smokers and issue licences.

Question 8.—Have any anti-opium societies been formed?

Replies.

Liangshan.—I have not heard of any.

Tung Hsiang.—None, as far as I know.

K'ai Hsien.—None.

Wan Hsien.—None.

Fengtü.—None.

Fuchou.—None.

Chungchou.—A refuge in the city.

Shih Chu Ting.—A refuge in the city.

Nan Ch'uan.—An official refuge in the city was opened by the last magistrate, but the medicines are expensive and useless. Those in charge think only of their own gain and care nothing for prohibition of smoking.

Pa Hsien.—There is an official refuge in the city, the average number of persons in residence being about 100. Although a good many have been cured, the number of smokers is very great. Private anti-opium refuges number thirty to forty; their methods are mainly identical, but number of effective cures very few.

Kiangpei.—There is no official anti-opium refuge, but some people, seeking for personal gain, have started a few refuges. They have no good houses or medicines, and cures are therefore impossible. Any who have really wished to give up the habit have gone to Chungking.

Question 9.—Have any "kuan tien" been established, and, if so, what is their procedure?

Replies.

Liangshan.—Offices have been established in every village for the purchase of raw opium. Theoretically these are the only people allowed to prepare opium for use; they also issue anti-opium pills (containing opium). The people in charge seem to be left largely to themselves as regards procedure.

Tung Hsiang.—No information.

K'ai Hsien.—A "kuan kao tien" has been opened, but only the signboard hangs outside, that is all. Nothing is done.

Wan Hsien.—There was one in each ward of the city—four in all; but all closed now.

Fengtu.—The city and each market town has a "kuan kao tien," and the maximum amount each opium den may purchase per diem is 4 oz.

Fuchou.—A "kuan kao tien" has been established in the city. Those in charge have taken advantage of their position to make profits on exchange, refusing to reckon the value of cash or sycee in accordance with local custom. Each market town has a "p'i fa tien," which is compelled to deposit 50 taels as security with the "kuan kao tien."

Chungchou.—A "kuan kao tien" established in the city.

Shih Chu Ting.—No "kuan kao tien" established.

Nan Ch'uan.—A "kuan kao tien" has been established in the city, and its opening has done a great deal of harm, conveying the idea to the ignorant country people that its institution is a cunning device to divert profits from their own pockets into those of the officials.

Pa Hsien.—There is at present a "tsung kuan kao tien" in the city of Chungking. I shall refer at greater length to this establishment below.

Kiangpei.—A "tsung kuan kao tien" was opened in the city the year before last; its representatives in the market towns were the local headmen. The competition of the smuggled drug was too strong, and the present stock in the "tien" is 100,000 oz.

Question 10.—What taxes is it proposed to introduce to replace the revenue derived from opium and opium dens?

Replies.

Liangshan.—No new taxes have been suggested on land apart from that levied for railway construction, which is half as much as the original land tax. In addition to this, taxes have been levied on the paper industry, which has given rise to considerable friction. Salt has also been more heavily taxed at the source of supply.

Tung Hsiang.—No information.

K'ai Hsien.—I have not heard of any suggestions.

Wan Hsien.—No other taxation has been proposed as yet, but heavier tax on opium consumed has so far resulted in a large increase to the authorities.

Fengtu.—No arrangements made for substituting other taxes.

Fuchou.—Official idea is to increase *li-kin*, e.g., an addition of 4 cash per catty on salt. If taxation assessed as follows were imposed: i.e., 300 cash per "tso" of wine, 200 cash per "cha" of oil, with 3 to 4 cash per "tso" and "cha" for petty expenses and 500 cash per pig, and the whole were handed over to Government, it should be possible to make up the opium revenue.

Chungchou.—Possible substitutes for opium revenue are taxes on boats, houses, and land.

Shih Chu T'ing.—The country south of Shih Chu T'ing produces very good tea, and the Viceroy has ordered increased cultivation; the mulberry does well and can also be extended. Officials look to taxation on these two products to make up loss of opium revenue.

Nan Ch'uan.—Suggests taxation on wine, oil, pigs, paper, tea, iron, and coal as follows: 400 cash per "tso" of wine, 200 cash per "cha" of oil, with an allowance per "tso" and "cha" combined of 300 to 400 cash for petty expenses, 500 cash per pig, 48 cash per picul of paper, 750 cash per picul of tea, 10 cash per picul of iron, and 7 cash per picul of coal. An additional *li-kin* of 100 cash per head of cattle, 100 cash per pig, and 200 cash per head on water buffaloes might also be introduced, and the combined total derived from all the items mentioned should slightly exceed the opium revenue, provided the whole were handed over to Government.

Pa Hsien Suggestions.—Increased taxation on sugar, oil, and salt, and, if this should be insufficient, the addition of a house tax and a levy on prostitutes. For the people it is suggested that they should improve their methods of agriculture, and experiment with sericulture, forestry, and tea planting.

Kiangpei.—Suggest increase of land tax, and, if that should not be sufficient, addition to the taxation on oil, pigs, and salt.

Remarks on the above.

It is my intention to offer below some personal and general observations on the whole question of opium reform in this province; but it will be desirable, in the first instance, to invite attention to certain matters having special reference to the information of my correspondents above given. They are:—

Area under Opium Cultivation.—Opium is grown in all parts of Szechuan, but the most renowned districts are—

(a.) The Hsü Ting (Suiting) Prefecture, which includes Tung Hsiang, T'ai ping, K'ai Hsien, and Wan Hsien.

(b.) The Chungchou Sub-Prefecture, including Fengtu, Tien Chiang, and Liangshan.

(c.) The Fuchou Sub-Prefecture.

(d.) Yung Ch'uan Hsien.

(e.) The Chien Chou Sub-Prefecture, which is not under the Ch'uan Tung taotai.

The Hsu Ting Prefecture.—In amplification of the information already given in regard to various places in this prefecture, I should mention that the informant to whom I am indebted for the particulars obtained as to Liangshan states in the body of his letter as follows:—

"In your postscript you also ask for information from Tung Hsiang and T'ai ping. I regret to say that my knowledge of these two districts is very superficial, having merely gathered in the course of conversation with the worker stationed in Tung Hsiang that little or nothing was being done to stop the sale or growth in these two 'hsiens.' This seems to be generally true of all the large opium-growing districts in this part of the province. K'ai Hsien and Tien Chiang, with whom we join borders, rank with the above two 'hsiens' in being the main sources of the opium supply. To say that little or nothing is being done to restrict the growth or sale of the drug is to repeat the common report of those who trade or journey in these parts, and not to give first-hand information arrived at by personal observation and enquiry."

Another correspondent from Hsü Ting, quoting from information supplied, mentions a very slight reduction in Ta Hsien, Tung Hsiang, Ch'ü Hsien, and T'ai ping, and a distinct reduction in Hsin Ning Hsien, Ta Chu Hsien, and Ch'eng K'ou T'ing, all of which places are in the prefecture. The information as regards Tung Hsiang, however, does not agree with the statement of the missionary gentlemen working in that district.

Yung Ch'uan.—Reports from various sources are to the effect that the poppy was very extensively grown in this district, and that there was a considerable increase over the previous year.

Considering only the places the particulars as to which form a preface to this report, it will be noted that in three of them alone is there any mention of a decrease, namely, Fengtung, Chungchou, and Shih Chu T'ing, the last having the same area under cultivation as in the season of 1907.

Comparison of Estimated Profits on Opium and other Crops.—The estimates of different informants vary, but a rough average makes the profits on opium three to four times as great as on pulse and cereals.

Observations.

I pass now to a general consideration of the opium question in Szechuan, and the remarks thereon will conveniently fall under the following heads:—

- Measures for prevention of opium smoking.
- Area under opium cultivation.
- Taxation in substitution of opium revenue.
- The position of the Szechuan farmers.
- The effect of opium eradication on the economic conditions of Szechuan.
- Difficulties and prospects.

Measures for Prevention of Opium Smoking.—The particulars with which this report opens do not encourage the hope that much has been done in Ch'uan Tung to exert a real check upon indulgence in the drug. Indeed, if Chungking may be taken as an example, I know of no better criticism on the steps taken than the Chinese aphorism, "Yu ming wu shih," *i.e.*, the measures adopted have had effect in name, but not in fact.

Chungking has had its "tu hang," or raw opium depôt, under official control, a head official prepared opium store ("tsung kuan kao tien"), four branch stores ("fen kuan kao tien"), licensed opium dens, and "p'i fa tien." There remain at present the raw opium depôt and the head prepared opium store, and this is the net result: the smoker has been, and is, able to get all the opium he wants without application to any official institution, the city is honeycombed with secret dens, and the head prepared opium store has a large stock in hand of which it has been unable to dispose for some months. The doings of the deputy in charge of this store have been similar to those of his confrères at Chengtu. The drug was offered for sale at a prohibitive price, and was adulterated to such a degree that nobody would purchase. In the end an enquiry was held, and he was ordered at his own expense to reboil it, separating the good from the bad, and adding a sufficient quantity of the pure article to bring the whole amount of nearly 200,000 oz. up to standard. This he did; but the difficulties of the store were not then over: there were no branch stores or licensed dens or "p'i fa tien" to assist in the disposal of the rehabilitated stock; the police and headmen of the different wards of the city, whose services were sought, refused to have anything to do with it, and it has now been arranged that so-called reputable merchants, furnished with adequate guarantees, shall be allowed to purchase and sell it. As a Chinaman justly observed, this opens the way to various abuses, and any person charged with smoking can retort that he is consuming the official drug. It may be taken for granted that the authorities care naught so long as the stock can be sold and the accounts of the store be duly squared. It is reported that the offending deputy has been dismissed, and it is estimated that his speculative venture will have involved him in an outlay of several thousand taels. He remains, however, in Chungking, and is possibly being detained until the whole business is settled. It may here be explained that opium dens being, on paper, now non-existent, the necessity for "kuan kao tien" should cease; but it will be understood from what has just been said that the officials do not mean to be left with any surplus stocks.

Area under Opium Cultivation.—Basing my conclusions on the statistics with which this report opens and on information acquired in a general way, I have no doubt that the area under opium cultivation in Eastern Szechuan last season was much in excess of that during the preceding one, and was, I am disposed to think, up to the average of previous years. To do full justice to this part of the matter extended travel is necessary, but I can say this much from personal observation, namely, that in April last the poppy was growing in abundance along both banks of the Yang-tsze the whole way from Chungchou to Chungking, passing by Shih Chu T'ing, Fengtu, and Fuchou, a distance by water of 540 li. Two ostensible causes may be assigned for this increase: firstly, the vacillating and changeable policy of the officials; and,

secondly, the threat of total prohibition this autumn. Though operating on the minds of the people in different ways, the effect was the same: the man who saw that his neighbour had not suffered by cultivation the previous season again took heart, while the threat of impending total prohibition acted as a stimulant to sow as much seed as possible and make hay while the sun still shone. In fact, the Chungking prefect is, popularly credited with having said that the people might grow as much as they liked last season as there would be no poppy allowed this.

Taxation in Substitution of Opium Revenue.—Two taxes have been introduced which are to take effect throughout the province. One is an increase of 3 cash per catty on salt and the other an addition of 200 cash on every pig slaughtered for food.

I have endeavoured to form an estimate of the revenue previously collected by the provincial authorities on salt, and of the extra amount likely to be obtained from the increased taxation now imposed. Mr. George Jamieson, in his report on the revenue and expenditure of the Chinese Empire, 1896, puts the total revenue accruing to the province from this commodity at 2,170,000 taels. He takes the total production at 400,000,000 catties, and reckons 1,600 cash to the tael. Substituting Sir Alexander Hosié's round figures of 500,000,000 catties for the 400,000,000 mentioned by Mr. Jamieson, and taking 1,500 cash to the tael—which is a better average rate for Szechuan at the present time—I estimate that the total annual revenue previous to the new increase was approximately 2,500,000 taels, and that the addition of 3 cash per catty will furnish a further sum of 1,000,000 taels, which is 100,000 taels in excess of 900,000 taels, the amount of native opium *li-kin* as reported to the Peking Government in the 28th year of Kuang Hsu.

The additional levy on pigs which became operative on the 1st of the 8th moon (13th September) was inaugurated by a viceregal proclamation, in which the people were given to understand that the proceeds were to be sent to the Board of Finance as the province's contribution towards the loss of revenue which will result to the board from the eradication of opium. The Viceroy in his proclamation estimates that the additional tax will not raise the cost of pork more than 1 to 2 cash a-lb. (catty). The future may bear testimony to his sagacity; but at the present moment the price of pork in Chungking is 112 cash per catty; it had not previously gone above 100. Two or three months only have elapsed since the former levy of 300 cash per pig was increased to 400, and the pork butchers have taken advantage of the new impost to run up prices as above described and to fix a minimum of 106 cash a catty. This, however, is somewhat of a digression, and, to return to the point at issue, pork and salt will provide the funds necessary to meet the demands at present made by Peking, it being presumed that the former acknowledged revenue of 900,000 taels from opium *li-kin* was held at the disposal of the Central Government. There remains the question of provincial requirements. The new salt levy will, as previously explained, apparently leave a small surplus of 100,000 taels. Salt being a Government monopoly its taxation is easily controlled, and it would appear that the idea of the present Viceroy is to obtain a tighter grip on the revenue derived from other sources and to some extent concentrate taxation. Thus, except in the small districts, fees on land transfers have been taken from the magistrates and are now collected by the inland revenue officers, who are appointed from Chengtu, and who have also been made responsible for the taxes on wine, oil, and pork. In principle, there is a good deal to be said for the Viceroy's scheme, as there is for his recent innovation of a fixed scale of salaries for district magistrates; in practice, there is good reason to doubt whether these measures will be equal to the strain put upon them, and one may look to see the old abuses, where not continued in whole or in part, give place to new. Generally speaking, too, it may be expected that the different localities will be largely left to shift for themselves, and that fresh taxes will spring up according to place and circumstance. Some districts report new levies on inns, coal, tea shops, and paper; at Chungking, however, the only increase which can to date be definitely ascribed to opium reform is—excluding, of course, salt and pork—the tax on tea shops of 10 cash per table per diem reported in my intelligence report for the June quarter.

The Position of the Szechuan Farmers.—The conditions of tenancy of agricultural land in the province of Szechuan are not, I believe, generally known. Briefly, the position is this: The land-owner when leasing to the tenant exacts an adequate deposit in cash as security; the summer crop of rice, less a percentage calculated in various ways, belongs to the land-owner; the winter crops are the tenant's own, and they with the percentage on the summer crop, which I have heard stated may be taken at a rough average of 25 per cent., are supposed to recoup the tenant for his labour and furnish a proper rate of interest on his deposit money. It will, of course, be

understood that this is a mere outline of the system, and does not embrace the numerous modifications of which every Chinese arrangement of the kind is capable. The winter crops, then, being the tenant's, it follows *per se* that the opium crop falls to him and not to the land-owner. I have already shown that a rough average assesses the profits on the poppy cultivation at three to four times the amount of those on pulse and cereals. I think that this fact should be borne well in mind when we are told, generally by missionaries, that the people in the province are in favour of opium reform. Such a state of mind does not accord with the character of the Chinese. It is, in fact, quite evident that the entire prohibition of opium cultivation is a very serious matter for large numbers of Szechuanese farmers; it deprives them of their most profitable crop without making provision for an equally valuable substitute. It is easy to talk of sericulture, tea-planting, and cotton; but time, knowledge, suitable physical conditions and capital are needed to make these industries pay. What is possible in one place is not suited to another, and for the most part I understand that, should the poppy not be allowed, its place in Ch'uan Tung can, in the immediate future, only be taken by the usual winter crops of pulse, cereals, and rape. It will be said that the prices of these foodstuffs will thereby be reduced. So they will, but the cheaper they become the smaller the margin of profit affecting both land-owner and tenant—the former indirectly; and it must be remembered that in average years Szechuan already produces enough to feed its large population.

The Effect of Opium Reform on the Economic Conditions of Szechuan.—To put the matter tersely, opium prohibition involves Szechuan in a commercial and fiscal revolution. New sources of revenue have to be found, and I have shown under the preceding heading that the farmer will be a keen sufferer, intimating that the land-owner will be called upon to share in the tenant's loss. I have, in fact, already heard of local meetings between landlords and tenants, the stand taken by the latter being that they cannot lease on the old terms if deprived of the benefits of poppy cultivation. Farmers and land-owners, however, do not stand alone. Opium, as before stated, is the province's most valuable developed asset, and to Szechuan opium is money, for the whole trade of the province with the outer world is practically an exchange in kind in the hands of the merchant capitalists who (*vide* Chungking Trade Report for 1903) control the import of yarn and export of opium and silk. Thus it may be anticipated that the abolition of opium will induce a decline in the import of Indian yarn; while it is evident that the poorer the people the smaller their taxable capacity.

Difficulties and Prospects.—The difficulties in the way of opium reform in Szechuan have been mostly indicated when considering the preventive smoking measures, the position of the farmer, the question of taxation, and the effect which total prohibition will have on commercial and fiscal arrangements generally. Hence the existence of secret opium dens and other conditions entirely at variance with official proclamations and protestations. As things now stand, proclamations and regulations are of little solid account. The important point is whether the total prohibition of cultivation is, at the present time, a practicable possibility. There is room for very considerable doubt, and it is the irony of fate that complete suppression will fall most heavily on the three distant provinces of Szechuan, Kweichow, and Yünnan. The communications in all are bad and difficult, and the two latter are in their present undeveloped state poor provinces, each receiving a large annual contribution from Szechuan.

Following in the footsteps of Hsi Liang, the last Viceroy of Yünnan, the Viceroy of Szechuan has sent forth a fiat ordering that no poppy shall be planted this autumn in the province under his jurisdiction. A viceregal proclamation, dated the 4th August, and posted in Chungking, threatens that the poppy will be trampled down, and that land-owner, tenant, and headman will all be fined and punished. It does not, however, carry a threat of confiscation of the land as does a proclamation recently issued by the Pa Hsien, which also asserts that guarantees have been furnished by the headmen of the various localities undertaking to prevent cultivation. Time alone will show to what extent these commands have been obeyed; but it may be mentioned that the Pa Hsien is shortly to vacate his post, and it is not of good augury that in Ch'uan Tung the progress made towards the restriction of cultivation the season before last was sacrificed in 1909, and that no effective steps have been taken to check indulgence in the drug.

A somewhat more hopeful story is told by Mr. Smith's correspondence in his

thirteenth opium report, and a considerable improvement is noted at Shih Ch'ian, Ngan Hsien, Paoning, Kuan Hsien, Tzu Chou, and Mien Chu. All these places, however, are in the silk district, while Tzu Chou has sugar and Kuan Hsien medicines. More important, perhaps, still is the fact that, with the exception of Paoning, they are all in the circuit of the Ch'eng-Mien-Lung-Mao taotai, which office is now associated with the taotai of industries, the incumbent being resident at Ch'engt'u under the eye of the Viceroy. I am told also that none of these districts are considered to be large opium-producing centres, and the same is said of Suifu, Luchow, and Fushun. The two former report a largely reduced area under cultivation, and Fushun no poppy at all. It may be here permitted to allude to one of these anomalies which ever beset the path of enquiry into things Chinese, namely, that at Suifu, which is at the junction of the land and water route to and from Kweichow and Yunnan, most of the opium consumed comes from the former provinces. In fact, in Szechuan generally the well-to-do classes prefer the Yunnan drug, which, though more expensive, is superior in quality to the local article.

A factor which cannot be neglected in considering the difficulties in the way of the opium reform movement in Szechuan is the will of the people. Mr. Phillips in his report on the subject for November and December last, instances the case of Yung Ch'uan Hsien, where a newly arrived magistrate showed himself over-zealous, and had to be removed to appease the populace. The Chinese up to a certain point, and within somewhat extended limits, are a patient race; but the degree to which they will tolerate the increased taxation rendered necessary by opium and other reforms is a cause of some anxiety. Leaving aside the addition of 3 cash a catty on salt, three new taxes have been introduced at Chungking since my arrival in April last. The first, a tax on pigs of 100 cash per head, was imposed for the benefit of the self-government assembly; the second, a charge on tea-shops of 10 cash per table per diem, was necessitated by the loss of revenue attendant upon the closing of the opium dens, and is levied for the purpose of the new police force; the third is the further levy of 200 cash on pigs for remittance to the Board of Finance. A fourth impost is in form somewhat similar to a graduated income tax, the proceeds to go to the self-government assembly. What do the people get in return for these imposts? Opium, their most valuable crop, is threatened with extinction, and for the rest, allowing that something has been done for the beggars, vagabonds, and needy poor, and in the matter of street-lighting, the city of Chungking is as dirty and malodorous as it was five years ago, while the new police have sadly degenerated.

The question as to what is to take the place of opium has already received some attention, and the ideas of various correspondents have been stated. Silk is the staple industry of Szechuan, and that it is capable of expansion would seem to be beyond doubt. Sir Alexander Hosie, in his report on the province ("China," No. 5, 1904), which was written before the question of opium suppression had arisen, expressed the opinion that "the present number of trees could be quadrupled without injury to the usual crops, and the silk production correspondingly increased." In another place, speaking of the methods of reeling, he says: "It seems to me that foreign reeling plant might be introduced into the province with advantage to home engineering establishments and the natives engaged in the silk industry." The Chinese authorities would appear not to be in ignorance of the possibility of further development, and some steps have been taken, in the shape of schools, for instructing the uncultured in the methods of sericulture. Private enterprise, too, has not been wanting. It would, however, be unwise to be optimistic. The radical change in the commercial and fiscal conditions of Szechuan which I have shown will result from the abolition of opium is a serious matter, and capitalists and markets are not found in a day. In so far as Ch'uan Tung is concerned, there is, as has been previously stated, every reason to think that, should the poppy not be allowed, its place in the near future must mainly be taken by the customary winter crops of pulse, cereals, and rape.

In the light of all that has been said, it will be easy to realise that the task which the Chinese authorities have set themselves to perform in Szechuan is one of exceeding difficulty. We know that the order has been given that no poppy shall be planted this autumn, and can only wait upon events. Personally I do not consider that total prohibition is possible, and the opinion of a Chinaman who has given some thought to the matter is that the cause of opium reform in this province rests very largely on the adequacy or otherwise of the measures now taken. He holds that total prohibition of cultivation is the only effective measure, and that, if the area under poppy is reduced 70 or 80 per cent. during the coming winter, and if there is

no relaxation thereafter, success will be attained, but that if there is to be further vacillation and laxity on the part of the officials failure will threaten.

In conclusion I may state that, the report of impending total prohibition having reached the south, orders were recently received from Kuangtung, Kuangsi, and elsewhere for supplies of opium to the value of 700,000 taels or more.

H. E. SLY.

Chungking, September 18, 1909.

Despatches from His Majesty's Minister at
Peking, forwarding Reports respecting the
Opium Question in China.

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